THE CHURCH IN HISTORY

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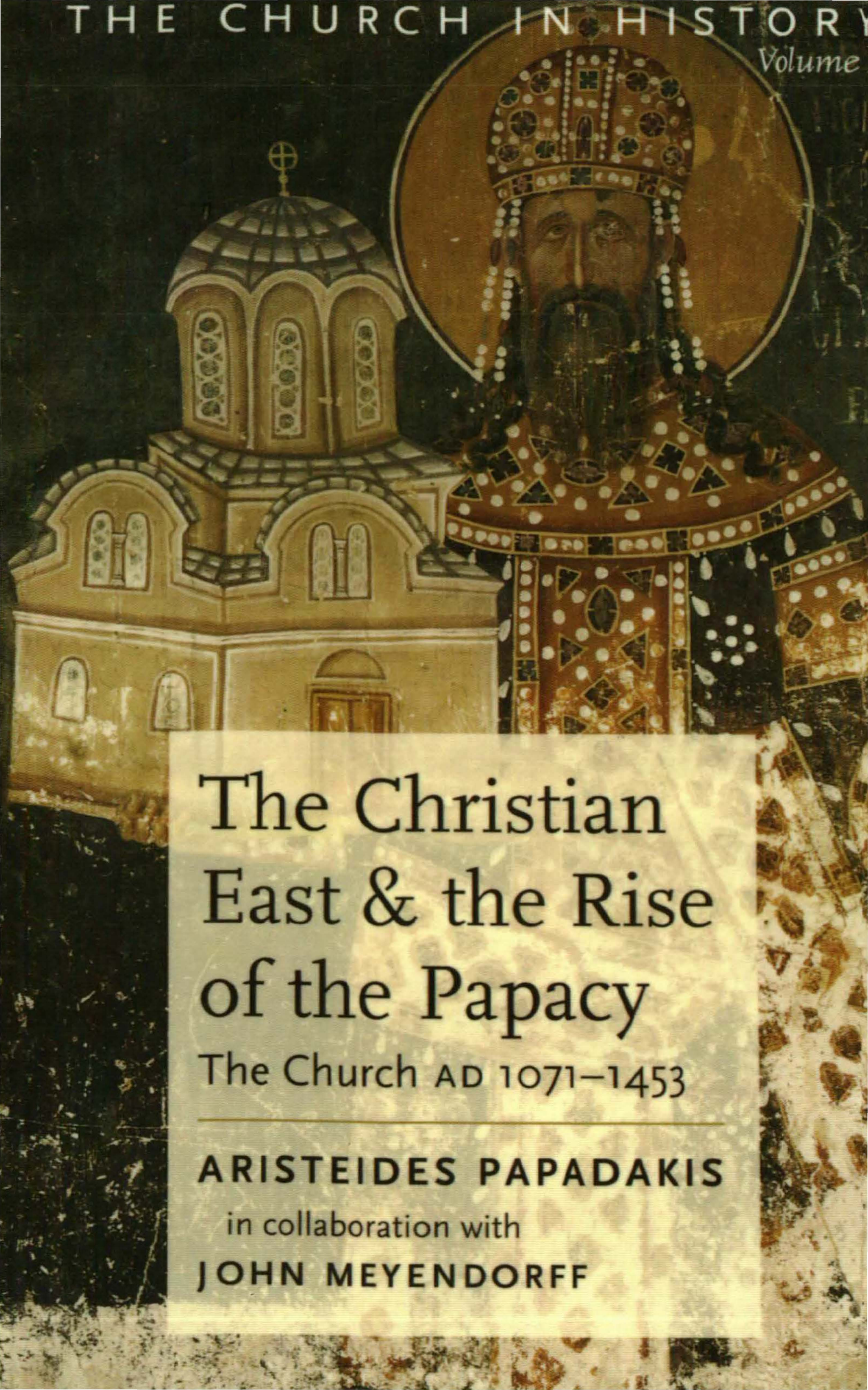

The Christian East & the Rise of the Papacy

The Church AD 1071–1453

ARISTEIDES PAPADAKIS

in collaboration with

JOHN MEYENDORFF

THE CHRISTIAN EAST AND THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

The Church AD 1071–1453

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THE CHURCH IN HISTORY, VOLUME IV

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ARISTEIDES PAPADAKIS

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27. Emperor John VIII Palaeologus, painting by Benozzo Gozzoli, Palazzo Riccardi, Florence, *c.* 1459.
(Courtesy: Mauro Pucciarelli)

Abbreviations

Alberigo	J. Alberigo, ed., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, Basel, 1962.
B	*Byzantion*, Brussels, 1924-.
Beck, *Kirche*	H.-G. Beck. *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII, 2, 1) Munich, 1977.
BS	*Byzantinoslavica*, Prague, 1929-.
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Leipzig, 1892-.
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum orientalium*, Paris, 1903-.
Dölger, *Regesten*	F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, pts. 1-5, Munich and Berlin, 1924-65.
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Washington, D.C., 1941.
Dossier grec	V. Laurent and J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273-1277)* (Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 16) Paris, 1976.
DS	*Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, Paris, 1937-.
DTC	*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Paris, 1903-.
EO	*Echos d'Orient*, Paris, 1897-1939 (continued as *REB*).
GOTR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, Brookline, MA, 1952-.
Hamilton, *Latin*	B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church*, London, 1980.
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, London, 1950-.
Mansi	J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, Florence, 1759-63.
Meyendorff, *Theology*	J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, New York, 1974.
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Hanover, 1826-.
Costitutiones	*Constitutiones et acta.*
Epistolae selectae	*Epistolae selectae.*
fontes iuris	*Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi.*
Libelli de lite	*Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum.*
SS	*Scriptores.*

MM	F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*, 6 vols., Vienna, 1860-90.
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, Rome 1935-.
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Rome 1935-.
ODB	A. P. Kazhdan, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford, 1991.
PG	P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Graeco-Latina*, Paris, 1857-66.
PL	J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, Paris, 1844-55.
PSRL	*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, St. Petersburg-Moscow.
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*, Bucharest and Paris, 1946-.
Regestes	V. Grumel, *et al.*, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, 6 fascicules, Paris, 1932-79.
Rhalles-Potles	Γ. Α. Ράλλη-Μ. Πότλῆ, *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, I-VI, Athens, 1852-9.
RIB	*Pamyatniki drevne-russkago kanonicheskago prava*, I [A. S. Pavlov, ed.], *Russkaya Istoricheskaya Biblioteka*, VI, St. Petersburg, 1880.
SC	*Sources chrétiennes*, Paris, 1941-
SVQ	*St. Vladimir's Theolgoical Quarterly*, New York, 1951-.
Synodicon	J. Gouillard, "Le Synodicon de l'Orthodoxie, édition et commentaire," *TM*, 2 (1967) 1-316.
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*, Paris, 1965-.
TODRL	*SSSR, Akademiya Nauk, Otdel drevne-russkoy literatury, Trudy*, Leningrad, 1934-.
Triads	Grégoire Palamas, *Défense des saints hésychastes*, 2 vols., J. Meyendorff, ed., Louvain, 1959.
VV	*Vizantiisky Vremennik*, St Petersburg, 1894-1927; Moscow-Leningrad, 1947-.

PREFACE

The scientific study of the Church in the Middle Ages continues to hold its own as an important field of concentration within contemporary medieval historiography. Professional research in Latin Christendom, especially of the centuries covered by this study, is thriving. Within the broader canvas of medieval studies, remarkably, this seemingly restricted sphere of investigation is one of the most prolific. On the other hand, non-Western Christendom is routinely ignored and dismissed by most scholars. As Jaroslav Pelikan recently stressed, this neglect of Orthodox Christianity may be shocking, but not surprising. "Ignoring the Christian East has long been characteristic of the churchmanship and of the scholarship of the West, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant" (H.W. Bowden, ed., *A Century of Church History: The Legacy of Philip Schaff* [Carbondale, Ill., 1988] x). By reviewing events in both East and West in the present volume, hopefully, the more obvious limitations characteristic of other scholarly treatments of the period 1071-1453 have been minimized; the focus of investigation and interpretation at any rate has been more evenly distributed. This goal should become a special priority in the field as a whole. As an *indispensable*, and not merely valuable, dimension of Church history, Byzantine Orthodox theology, spirituality, liturgy and history, can no longer be limited to a few impartial scholarly specialists and ecumenists. Once again, as in volume two of this series and for the same reasons, massive bibliographies and a detailed apparatus have been avoided. Quite simply, the critical footnotes are not meant to be thorough or exhaustive. The existence of easily available comprehensive bibliographical lists (to say nothing of the broad range of the present survey) made such compilations and complete citations unnecessary.

With the unforeseen death in 1992 of Father John Meyendorff, the universal Orthodox church lost one of its most distinguished scholars. We are consoled nonetheless by the knowledge that we were blessed in having known this gentle and perceptive priest, colleague and teacher. His achievements were numerous and of international significance, but perhaps none were as remarkable as his contribution to Byzantine studies in the twentieth century. Nowhere at any rate is the catholic spirit of Christian Byzantium revealed more perceptively and, indeed, more luminously, than in Fr. John's precious scholarship. His impressive list of publications will long remain the essential guide in the field of Byzantine theology and spirituality. Shortly before his sudden illness and death, Fr. Meyendorff, as general editor of the present series, had read the final draft of this volume, and with his customary competence, learning and insight, had made numerous valuable suggestions for its improvement. His own contribution, the two chapters dealing with the Churches of the Balkans and Russia, had already been written before he fell ill. They are his last scholarly contribution to the field. Sir Dimitri Obolensky, professor emeritus of Christ Church College, University of Oxford, graciously accepted to read and review both of these chapters. He is of course in no way responsible for any errors or omissions they contain. I am grateful to this eminent senior scholar for his cheerful assistance.

Many people have contributed to the final preparation of this volume with their useful suggestions, assistance, and practical advice. A primary debt is owed to the library staff of Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, D.C. It is a particularly pleasant duty to thank my former student, Mr. Mark Zapatka, Assistant for Readers' Services, and also Mrs. Natalia Teteriatnikov, Curator of Visual Resources at D.O. Equally, I am grateful for the assistance of my colleague and friend, Professor John Nesbitt, also at D.O. Then, too, I am indebted to Professor John H. Erickson for his vigilant and perceptive reading of the entire text. I also wish to express my appreciation to Professor Albert Failler for his permission to use the important resources of the Institut francais d'études byzantines in Paris, during my sabbatical for the academic year 1988-89. I am grateful, likewise, for the hospitality offered me at that time by the Benedictine fathers of the Abbaye Sainte Marie in the French capital. I shall long cherish my stay at this humble abbey with its peaceful gardens and cloister, in the heart of the sixteenth *arrondissement*. Finally, I wish to thank Linda Hatmaker and Claire Monroe, of the History Department at the University of Maryland Baltimore County, for their great skill and care in typing the manuscript. Their professionalism and patience proved, as always, both invaluable and indispensable.

A.P.

INTRODUCTION

The development of the Church from 1071 to 1453 is the actual chronological focus of this fourth volume of Church history. To an unusual degree, perhaps, neither date—the first marks the near-dismantling of the Byzantine army at the battle of Manzikert, the second the actual physical destruction of the Byzantine state—appears to have any connection with the history and life of the Church. The fixed boundaries seem beside the point or at any rate inappropriate for a volume of Church history. On purely historical grounds, nonetheless, such criticism is misleading. In the Middle Ages, in both East and West, religion was inseparable from society and government; treating ecclesiastical developments in isolation from their social or political context is virtually impossible. What happened in one sphere invariably could not but impinge and affect the other. The hesychast revival on Mount Athos in the fourteenth century and the Gregorian reform movement of the eleventh (to mention only two events discussed in this volume) are eloquent examples of this reciprocal relationship between the secular and the ecclesiastical. The same must be said of Manzikert and the fall of Constantinople. They were both to affect the Church as profoundly and as permanently as they did the Byzantine empire and Christendom in general.[1] As it turns out, both events resulted in the collapse of the eastern wall of Christendom to militant Islam, to say nothing of the irrevocable destruction of ecclesiastical institutions and structures. Orthodoxy before long became virtually extinct in Anatolia because of these military and political reversals.

On the other hand, this does not mean that we should assign absolute significance to set chronological limits, even if they represent violent upheaval and unqualified disaster. History is basically an unbroken continuum in which any clear-cut break or division is impossible and delusive. For instance, the schism of the Churches, it is generally agreed, was consummated in this period. And yet, it is also reasonably certain that its deeper roots also stretch back to the fourth and the fifth centuries. It did not in sum begin with the famous anathemas of 1054 *tout court*, often loudly proclaimed as the final parting of the ways.[2] To cite another example, western suspicion and incomprehension of the Christian East, expressed in the conflicts of the crusading period, can likewise be discerned (if less dimly) during the first millennium. The literary testimony of the westerner Liudprand of Cremona is a case in point. His jaundiced view of Byzantine culture, enshrined in his *Legatio* of 968, is a clear foreshadowing of Odo of Deuil, to name only one writer from the twelfth century. The depths of the alienation or confrontation between the two cultures is doubtless deeper in Deuil, but it is by no means less evident in the ambassador from Cremona. It is understandably for such reasons that professional historians have refused to take tidy water-tight divisions in history too seriously, however convenient or practical. Historians, in the final analysis, may quarrel about interpretation, or methodology, and the proper subject of their discipline, but they do not disagree about the arbitrary and artificial character of historical divisions.

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[1] See generally S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh Through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971); on the Church and the social environment, see especially R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1970), 15-23.

It is for reasons such as these, above all, that we begin this summary Introduction from the wider perspective of the eleventh century, with a brief survey of both East and West at the turn of the millennium. Some themes in this study, including the crusades, the widening of the schism, or the papal revolution, would make little sense without it; they were all in one way or another consequences of the critical changes society underwent in the eleventh century. Actually, the many changes and developments of this century as a whole were to define and sometimes confine the general direction of medieval civilization for the next several centuries. If we focus first on western Europe we can say that the century truly marked the end of the early Middle Ages, with their political and economic fragmentation, and the beginning of the classic high Middle Ages when Europe gradually recovered its strength and stability. Although the forces at work in this recovery are almost all controversial and complex, the transformation they brought to pass was fundamental. For many historians this change is the authentic beginning of Europe. Only then did the full creative potential of European civilization actually begin. As one gifted historian of the central Middle Ages recently wrote, "for a thousand years Europe has been the chief centre of political experiment, economic expansion and intellectual discovery in the world. It gained this position during the period with which we are concerned; it is only losing it in our own day."[3]

[2] A. Papadakis, "Byzantine perceptions of the Latin West," *GOTR* 36 (1991), 231-42.

[3] R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven and London, 1953), 12.

The general situation in Europe before 1000 was doubtless one of widespread disunity and disintegration in virtually every sphere. Charlemagne's reign, as is well known, was only a temporary interval in the expansive confusion and decline that set in soon after the collapse of Rome and the Germanic *Völkerwanderung*. The earlier tendency toward political fragmentation and regionalism continued in post-Carolingian Europe. It gained momentum especially after Charlemagne's death (814), as the emperor's grandsons struggled for possession of the realm in the civil wars and partitions that followed. It was not, nevertheless, Charlemagne's heirs who gained the most from these dynastic disputes and confusion, but the great landowners and magnates who took advantage of the political chaos to become even more automonous than before. Semi-independent feudal principalities and even petty kingdoms (with only indirect nominal authority remaining to the Carolingians) was the result. All in all, Europe's internal political breakdown became reality before the dawn of the tenth century and the demise of the last Carolingian.

To the prevailing insecurity and instability was soon added the pressure of new large-scale invasions, as waves of Vikings, Magyars, and Arabs poured into Europe from virtually every side. The well-organized raiding parties of these newcomers with their systematic destruction of life and property continued for decades; they constitute in reality a rebarbarization of Europe. Saracens actually managed to terrorize pilgrims and travellers over the Alpine passes for a century. Viking naval superiority, on the other hand, was far more catastrophic, especially for those communities located near Europe's northern coastline and navigable rivers. Monastic foundations in some areas—Northumbria, for example—all but vanished. Once again, however, the real advantage lay with the territorial lord—the only effective opposition to the invaders at the local level. Indeed, the attacks were usually so wide-ranging and unexpected that the burden of defense was often necessarily assumed by the only strong man available in the threatened district, namely, the local feudal magnate. Increasingly, of course, this only reinforced or encouraged the tendency towards autonomy and localization. Although the progress of feudalization was probably nowhere the same, the new political pattern soon imposed itself in most areas. The seeds of dissolution finally prevailed over the thin veneer of unity and stability that Europe had briefly enjoyed under the early Carolingians.

Of course, overall, this collapse into barbarism was never total and should not be exaggerated.[4] Still, Europe soon became a negligible backwater. If the continent had been landlocked in Charlemagne's time it now became more so, as its coastline and overland routes were endangered or disrupted by the new incursions. Lines of communication and navigation at any rate became dangerous, if they did not entirely disappear. So of course did trade, which soon became hazardous and undependable. Typically, towns vanished or declined in both size and importance. As a result of the need for personal protection, moreover, people not only sought security from the stronger, but in greater numbers, as they began to crowd close together in large communities scattered unevenly across the countryside. The typical village was organized for survival. Though there was actually little demographic growth at the time, these "population islands" in the midst of open spaces became in effect overcrowded human settlements. One reason why people refused to settle beyond the village, into the wilderness and wasteland that surrounded them, was doubtless the need for safety. Only the congested village could provide the needed protection. Increasingly, this artificial overpopulation crisis also caused havoc to agricultural production. Both famine and poverty increased.[5] It seems safe to assume that in this world of disorder, economic deterioration, and social stagnation most of the advances made earlier by the Western Church during the so-called Carolingian renaissance invariably went by the wayside. Theological creativity, to say nothing of intellectual life and learning so crucial to Europe's subsequent intellectual growth, barely survived. In addition, ecclesiastical discipline and morality collapsed, as sexual incontinence and simony spread unchecked among the western clergy. The Church, quite simply, was unable to escape the corrosive effects of feudalization and the prevailing chaos. Characteristically, one of the major casualties was the city of Rome itself: in the tenth century it was rare for the papal incumbent to be more than the plaything of the city's feudal factions.

Such then were the staggering reversals visited upon a harassed Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. The breakdown seemed final and irreversible. Basic physical preservation was the normal preoccupation. But even so, the worst was over by the late 900s, as the former invaders began to settle permanently and to convert to Christianity. Waiting in fear for the unexpected attack from the outside became less urgent. Pressure began to relax, making possible the emergence of some order, recovery, and even rebuilding. By the early eleventh century a seemingly limitless restlessness, dynamism, and drive had become characteristic of western society. It is of course easy to overstate this change of mood, particularly before 1000. Yet there is no doubt that the decreasing danger of large-scale invasion and devastation provided increasing stability—the one element needed above all for recovery. Much of the physical dislocation after all had been caused by the incursions from the outside. Whatever the case, before long the new stability was to generate a sharp rise in population. Although statistics are wanting, demographic growth probably nearly doubled over the next three centuries. The population crisis of the early Middle Ages, when there was little genuine growth, was clearly over. Suffice it to say, without this new expanding birth-rate, the subsequent high Middle Ages revival, with its growth of trade and commerce, education, urban culture, and the rise of towns and political reorganization, is difficult to imagine.

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[4] C. R. Latouche, *The Birth of Western Economy: Economic Aspects of the Dark Ages* (New York, 1966), 211.

[5] Many of these basic developments are explored by D. Herlihy in his essay, "Ecological conditions and demographic change," in R. L. DeMolen, ed., *One Thousand Years: Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1974), 3-43 (esp. 13-20).

Not surprising, the increasing security soon persuaded people to leave their crowded neighborhoods. New agricultural settlements were before long founded throughout Europe, as the abundant forests, marshes, and wasteland of the continent, were cleared for cultivation and put under the plow. To cite only one example, France, as a consequence of this clearance was to witness its greatest increase in cultivable area since prehistoric times.[6] But if settlements multiplied, so did churches and new monasteries. In the immortal words of one chronicler, it was as if the world had cast off its old age by clothing itself everywhere in a white garment of churches.[7] Of course this building boom also involved the construction of castles, the repair of old damaged dwellings, towns and monasteries. In fact, before long, the limiting existence of the earlier isolated village became a thing of the past in many districts. Somewhat later the self-sufficient subsistence economy of the village would also be undermined by the rise of new urban centers with their demand for saleable agricultural products. The European countryside and economy were clearly being transformed, often beyond recognition. As life expectancy and population took an upward turn (stimulated by the security and increased productivity) so did Europe's confidence and self-reliance. A new rapidly changing and expanding eleventh century Europe slowly

[6] M. Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics* (Berkeley, 1966), 5.

[7] Raoul Glaber, *Historiarum sui temporis libri quinque*, *PL* 142: 651D.

emerged, different in virtually every respect from the simplified society of an earlier age. The period of inner consolidation generated by the new developments in the West were in the end to give European society a new identify, even destiny. If changes in the ecclesiastical sphere are taken into consideration, an increasingly homogeneous Latin Christendom was taking shape for the first time.

Predictably, this internal western consolidation and colonization had its external side as well. Europe's Carolingian frontiers, at any rate, were soon found too confining. As a result, the drive to the East, the so-called eastward migration or *Ostsiedlung*, soon pushed German colonization beyond the Elbe River, eventually tripling the area of Germanic settlement. Likewise, early in the eleventh century the tiny Christian states of northern Spain launched a similar campaign, and by 1200 had reconquered most of the peninsula from the Muslims. This unmistakable foreshadowing of the crusade—Europe's overseas expansion into Palestine—is also reflected in the revival of Christian sea-power, with the successful expulsion of the Muslims from the Baleric Islands, Corsica, and Sardinia by Pisa and Genoa; Latin Christendom was evidently taking the offensive against the enemies of the faith, as secure beachheads were being established throughout the western basin of the Mediterranean. Actually, by the end of the century Normans were even to succeed in expelling both Muslims and Byzantines from Sicily and south Italy respectively. Bari, the last Byzantine stronghold, ominously enough, fell into Norman hands in 1071—the year of the battle of Manzikert. It was, significantly, the arrival of the Normans in Italy early in the eleventh century which set the stage for the fatal papal embassy to Constantinople in 1054. Both the Byzantine Church and empire felt consciously threatened by their military maneuvering. The region of southern Italy was still at the time ecclesiastically and politically subject to Constantinople.

On the other hand, except for these developments in Calabria and Apulia, Byzantium did not feel threatened in this period. Europe's new stability, mobility and more dangerous expansionary mentality went unnoticed. It would be sometime before anyone in the East would appreciate or understand the importance of a confident and resurgent Europe. Actually the Byzantine state at the time was at the height of its own power. Its political and intellectual superiority had no rivals; the cultural and military brilliance that the empire had attained by the late tenth century was at any rate very impressive. What is more, Byzantium was consciously proud of its preeminence—hence its attitude of contempt and indifference toward things western. Patriarch Nicholas I in the tenth century was even able to assert to the caliph of Baghdad that there were only two supreme powers in the world at the time—that of the Saracens and that of the Byzantines. "Both stand above all lordships on earth and shine out like two mighty beacons in the firmament."[8] In other words, it was with the Muslim world that the Byzantines had to contend with and not with the West and its feudal rulers; western Europe simply did not exist. This Byzantine world-view was doubtless just as typical of the early eleventh century as it was of the tenth when the patriarch wrote (914). In neither case was the highly feudalized structure of the West viewed as a potential threat to Byzantium. It was an attitude also shared by most Latins. Even Liudprand of Cremona, for all his disparaging comments and experience while in Constantinople, could not in the end conceal his true feelings.[9] His sense of inferiority and sensitivity are all too evident, especially when Byzantium's centralized autocracy was compared with western political reality at the time.

To be sure, the Macedonian period (867-1056) was an era of steady geographic expansion and reconquest.[10] The resulting military gains—the subjugation of territories in both Europe and Asia—were in fact spectacular. Cyprus, Crete, and Tarsus, long held by the Arabs, were all brought under Byzantine rule by the 960s. Even Antioch, the ancient patriarchate lost to the empire since the seventh century, was reconquered in 969. On the European front, on the other hand, the expansion included the ruthless annexation of Bulgaria by the most capable member of the Macedonian dynasty, Basil II (1018). Once again, as in the time of Justinian, the entire Balkan peninsula with its Danube frontier became an integral part of the empire. Everywhere Byzantium's most dangerous enemies had been decisively crushed and humiliated by what seemed like an invincible military power. Conceivably, had Basil lived, all of north Africa and Italy (the south as we have seen was still officially part of the empire) may have been reconquered as well. Arguably, in 1025 he was preparing to consolidate his position in Italy with a military campaign when he died. By then the frontiers of the empire stretched from Armenia east of Manzikert to the Adriatic. They were wider than at any time since the seventh century and the rise of Islam. The borders to the north and the south—from the Danube to the Mediterranean—were no less extended. It was doubtless an impressive achievement, dazzling at the time for both the Arabs and Latins.

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[8] R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink, eds., *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople Letters* (Washington, DC, 1973) 3 (Letter 1). Cf. G. Holmes, ed., *The Oxford Illusatrated History of Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1988), 175 (R. Morris).

[9] Cf. A. Kazhdan and G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 1982), 149.

[10] The theme of "reconquest and consolidation" describing the period has long been a commonplace of the secondary literature. See R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries A.D. 610-1071* (New York, 1966), 241-332; and *ODB*, 1:352-53 (A. Kazhdan).

As we should expect, Byzantine ascendancy set the tone for Byzantine Church history as well, since the spiritual sphere (to repeat) could not be separated from its wider social context. Byzantine expansionism in any event was to prove a great boon to the Orthodox patriarchate of Constantinople. The territorial advance in the eastern highlands of Anatolia and in the south inevitably produced corresponding ecclesiastical gains. New bishoprics and metropolitan provinces were soon created for these regions.[11] The collapse of the so-called first Bulgarian empire, the other casualty of Byzantium's military offensive, was to prove no less advantageous; its incorporation into the Byzantine theme system also automatically brought it under the direct jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople. Although long an Orthodox nation, Bulgaria's autocephalous status was in fact abolished and an archbishopric (with Greek-speaking Byzantine incumbents) was established in its stead. In the Near East, it went without saying, Constantinople's primacy was no less sovereign. It was inevitable that this should be so, particularly after the loss of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem to the Arabs early in the seventh century. Interference in these patriarchates *in partibus infidelium* was not unknown and was naturally strengthened whenever their territories were conquered. Typically, when Antioch was captured in 969, approval of the city's patriarchs became a prerogative of the standing synod of Constantinople.[12]

It was understandably during this same period of expansion and centralization that the "Byzantine Commonwealth," to borrow Professor Dimitri Obolensky's winning phrase, was also rounded off, when Orthodox Christianity became the official state religion in Kiev.[13] If we exclude the earlier evangelization of the south Slavs, the baptism of prince Vladimir and his people in 988 was obviously Byzantium's supreme missionary achievement.

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[11] H. Gelzer, "Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae Episcopatum," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 21 (Munich, 1901), 576-79; usefully summarized by Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, 34-5.

[12] V. Grumel, "Les patriarches grecs d'Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantine," *EO* 33 (1934), 130-47.

[13] D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453* (London, 1971); *idem*, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988).

The conversion brought the entire principality of Kiev (along with its later successor in Muscovy) within Byzantium's powerful cultural and religious orbit. Not surprising the new Orthodox community before long was to adopt the native Slavonic vernacular of the Balkan Slavs for its liturgy. Its metropolitan bishop on the other hand remained canonically dependent on Constantinople. Until the 1440s he was almost always a Byzantine Greek appointed by the patriarchate. The crucial link binding the Slavic peoples to the Orthodox commonwealth down to the breakup of the empire in 1453 was in fact their profession of Eastern Christianity and their recognition of the ecumenical see of Constantinople. It goes without saying of course that this extensive missionary expansion by the patriarchate, to a large extent, was responsible for preserving the universal character of Byzantine Christianity. The Orthodox Catholic Church of Christ never became a "national" Church as did several other native Christian communities in the East.

But the wide spiritual hegemony and prestige enjoyed by the Byzantine Church at the dawn of the eleventh century was also matched by the vitality of its spiritual and monastic institutions. The leading contemplative of the age, and arguably Orthodox Byzantium's greatest mystic, was St Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022). Aside from the monasteries in the capital itself, where Symeon was himself active, first as a novice and then as abbot, the chief monastic region of the empire since the seventh century was Anatolia. It was probably here that the grassroots popularity and appeal of Byzantine monasticism could best be seen, especially in the "holy mountains" of Olympus, Galesius, and Auxentius. A vigorous Orthodox eremitical tradition was similarly thriving in the ecclesiastically disputed region of southern Italy. Early in the eleventh century its principal representative in the area, St Nilus, was to found S Maria di Grottaferrata (τῆς κρυπτοφερράτης) some fifteen miles southeast of Rome.[14] It was at this time, too, that the famous cenobitic model of the Orthodox world—the Great Laura on Mount Athos—was built by St Athanasius with the personal support of the emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963). In time the mountainous peninsula of Athos would be transformed (with additional numerous solitary settlements, hermitages, and imperial foundations) into the major ascetic center of the empire. Its dynamic role in ecclesiastical affairs during the late Byzantine period, and in particular, during the hesychast controversy of the fourteenth century, was to be decisive. As it turns out, the theological issues raised in the late Byzantine period (in

[14] *Vita Nilii, PG* 120:15-165. B. Hamilton, "The City of Rome and the Eastern Churches in the tenth century," *OCP* 27 (1961), 5-26.

contrast to the christological problems of an earlier age) focused by and large on the nature of grace and the possibility of actual communion with God.[15] As such, they were inseparably linked to Byzantine monastic piety and spirituality.

In general terms, the confidence enjoyed by the Byzantine world as a whole also explains its frequent ignorance of ecclesiastical developments in the West since the late ninth century. No doubt, the factionalism and moral chaos in Rome at the time only reinforced Byzantine indifference and lack of knowledge. In the event, Constantinople time and again was unaware of who the rightful papal incumbent was. The pope's name in the patriarchal diptychs (normally seen as a sign of unity and communion between local Churches) was as a consequence often missing. Arguably, this Byzantine self-confidence helps clarify at least in part the legation sent to Rome by Basil II and patriarch Eustathius in 1024. Its goal, it is likely, was to gain official recognition of Constantinople's canonical primacy in the East and, no doubt, in southern Italy as well. Papal jurisdiction over the Byzantine Church was to be excluded.[16] The idea actually was not new: Rome had agreed to such terms of equality and autonomy at the union council of 879. There is, finally, the Byzantine attitude to the events of 1054. Given the situation in Rome a few years earlier, when there were three papal pretenders, it was hardly possible for the patriarchate to take cardinal Humbert's behavior too seriously.[17]

To sum up, at the beginning of the eleventh century the prevailing atmosphere within Eastern Christendom was one of genuine confidence and great pride. Byzantium's imperial might buttressed by its long-standing mythology of empire appeared unchallenged. There were at any rate convincing reasons to believe, so it seemed, that the security and prosperity achieved by the state would be maintained. Even so, no human community is immune to disruption and change. Problems before long were to surface and to multiply, bringing the empire to the brink of extinction. If by the end of the century Byzantium's political philosophy was still unassailable, its internal stability and economic prosperity were foundering, as social and political disintegration gradually set in. A weakened centralized monarchy and a

[15] V. Lossky, *The Vision of God* (London, 1963), 123, 126. For a recent survey of fourteenth century Athos, see J. Meyendorff, "Mt. Athos in the fourteenth century: Spiritual and intellectual legacy," *DOP* 42 (1988), 157-66.

[16] *Regestes*, no. 828.

[17] J. Meyendorff, "Les causes directs du schisme," *Le Messager Orthodoxe* 7 (1959), 4-5. Cf. D. M. Nicol, "Byzantium and the papacy in the eleventh century," *JEH* 13 (1962), 6-7.

hereditary landed aristocracy were already in place when the Comnenoi arrived. In addition to this decentralization and "nascent feudalization,"[18] the empire's frontiers were in danger of collapsing, as the imperial defense system slowly began to unravel even before the crushing defeat at Manzikert. In short, by the end of the century a general feeling of impotence and exhaustion had replaced the earlier euphoria under Basil II. The reasons for this transformation were no doubt complex. A new line of weak emperors who had replaced the more aggressive earlier Macedonians, and the struggle between the civil bureaucracy and semi-feudal military aristocracy often take center stage as main causes. Economic problems, however, were just as important as the political and the military. The depletion of the treasury and the ensuing debasement of the coinage also helped to undermine Byzantine complacency.

In a genuine sense, these dramatic developments were no less striking than those taking place in the western Mediterranean at the same time. It is likely some of the changes were determined by the general evolution of the medieval world as a whole, rather than by Byzantium's political and military misfortunes. This is particularly true of the empire's cultural and socio-economic developments. A shift toward rationalism, toward a "scholastic" approach to philosophical and theological questions, for instance, is evident in both societies. Recent scholarship has argued that the age cannot be described solely in terms of decline. A burst of sustained energy is to be found in both East and West. And yet again, territorial losses and pressures were to prove fatal to Byzantium's status as an international political power. Its previous super-power policy was never a viable option in the late Byzantine period; the revival of this policy by the Comnenoi and later by Michael VIII Palaeologus, as everyone knows, was short-lived. In the final analysis, it will be the dynamic and expansionary West that would dominate, impinging on the Byzantine world in ways unthinkable before the eleventh century. Actually, western advances into the eastern Mediterranean become evident first with the Norman assault on the Balkans, shortly after the conquest of Byzantine Italy. The invaders were no doubt aiming at Constantinople and not at peninsular Greece or the Balkans. Their aggression illuminates a whole historical landscape, insofar as it anticipates the Frankish conquest and the later wilful destruction of the Byzantine capital by the knights of the fourth crusade (1204).[19]

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[18] A. P. Kazhdan and A. W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1985), 73.

[19] See especially P. Lemerle, "Byzance et le croisade," *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (Florence, 1955), 3:598.

To say it once more, developments of this kind in both East and West, could not but affect ecclesiastical life in profound ways. In the Latin West, the powerful Gregorian reform of the Church actually paralleled Europe's more general transformation and rejuvenation. Indeed, it is often said, that the new-style papacy resulting from that reform was to prove the most remarkable creation of the medieval world as a whole.[20] The fundamental changes in the see of Rome which the Gregorian reformers were to generate (discussed below in the first chapter) were especially foreboding for the Christian East. For the most part, before this revival the Byzantine government was able to ignore the papacy as a power. A weak and incompetent papal court, incapable until then of sustaining its prestige or its claims, was on the whole seldom useful to the Byzantines. The reform, however, was to transform the papacy into an independent political power in its own right. In the event, as we shall see, Byzantium was forced to deal with this new international entity, not to mention a papally reorganized and controlled Europe.[21] The other side of the Gregorian revolution—the theological and ecclesiological—was no less momentous. Actually, problems began to surface early in the century, before the launching of the Gregorian movement itself. While the "mute schism"[22] caused by the gaps in the commemoration diptychs mentioned earlier was not serious, the sudden decision to alter the common creed certainly was. The step was taken in 1014, when the *Filioque* formula was accepted by the Roman bishop for the first time. Until then the western patriarchate had in actual fact faithfully adhered to the previous decision of the Church universal expressly prohibiting any addition. If this interpolation of the text of the creed was unilateral and illegal for the Byzantine world, it was also theologically ill-advised. For it was then possible for the first time to identify within the creed itself a clear and unmistakable doctrinal difference between the Churches.

But the decisive change in the Roman Church was the unprecedented transformation of its legitimate primacy into monarchy. The theoreticians of the Gregorian movement were to devise a new ecclesiological model in which Rome was conceived legalistically and juridically as the head and mother of the Churches. Although this new papalism was to prove a source of strength for the West, in the East it was repeatedly denounced as an inadmissible

[20] Holmes, *The Oxford Illustrated History*, 352.

[21] G. Tellenbach, "Die Bedeutung des Reformpapsttums für die Einigung des Abendlandes," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 125-49.

[22] A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, 2 vols. (Paderborn, 1925-30), 1:20.

pretention, as unacceptable as the unauthorized formula of the *Filioque*. Quite simply, Byzantium was unwilling to exchange or surrender its traditional autonomy for Gregorian authoritarianism. Indeed, the autocratic basis of the new ecclesiology, in contrast with Eastern Christendom's traditional collegial and synodal structure, left little room for accommodation or compromise. The shrill demand of the Roman Church for submission was to become an invariable feature governing its relations with Byzantium. To put it otherwise, the theological and ecclesiological principles which had permitted sacramental communion to exist between the two sees until the eleventh century were seriously impaired during the second millennium.[23] The gap first became unbridgeable in the centuries covered by this volume. As one historian aptly emphasized thirty years ago, "the eleventh century began with a flourishing empire in the East and a weakened and ineffectual papacy in the West. It ended with a supremely powerful papacy in the West and an empire struggling hard to reassert itself and repair its fallen fortunes in the East. Whatever one may think about the schism of 1054, whether it was the final act that rent the garment of Christ, or whether it was merely an unfortunate if symptomatic incident, it is significant that it occurred in the middle of that century."[24] Historically, certainly, the mounting hostility which gives the period 1071-1453 a certain recognizable unity, even uniformity, has its origins in the eleventh century, in the highly centralized papacy and its novel claims.

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[23] Cf. G. Alberigo, ed., *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/39-1989* (Louvain, 1991), 169.

[24] Nicol, "Byzantium and the papacy," 20.

CHAPTER I

THE PAPAL REFORM MOVEMENT

It is doubtful if any other chapter in the entire history of medieval Latin Christendom was as pivotal or decisive as the papal reform movement of the eleventh century. The far-reaching changes of the Gregorian reform, to use the misleading label by which the movement is better known, was to affect the Christian West permanently and profoundly. In the past, to be sure, most of its lasting achievements, including a highly-centralized papalism, were often consciously toned down, while the actual reform was habitually portrayed primarily as a papal quarrel with the German empire. Time and again, the focus of the secondary literature was the investiture contest between Henry IV of Germany and pope Gregory VII. Doubtless, the theoretical importance of their struggle is undeniable; the remarkable polemical literature generated by the two sides, to say nothing of their drive and determination, is eloquent evidence in support of this truism. For both factions in the controversy the principle issue in question was fundamental. And yet, in the end, this approach to the papal reformation is too superficial. It is also unambiguously far too narrow.[1] As it happens, the movement was to result in genuine spiritual and moral renewal, involving not only the liberation of the Latin Church from lay power and the reform of the clergy, but the affirmation of the Roman primacy as well. The revitalization, even reconstitution, of western Christianity on new ecclesiological foundations was actually a primary objective of the movement's founding fathers. The reformers were to elaborate a program in which the Church as community with its own legal and canonical autonomy—independent of secular authority—was viewed as the center of all social reality. Arguably, the tussle of "Church and state," the tag with which *der Investiturstreit* is routinely dignified, cannot compare with the often unmistakably revolutionary results of the movement as a whole. The coherent ideology of the Gregorians was more comprehensive than the conflict between papal power and royal-imperial authority implies.

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[1] The misleading label is derived from the magisterial study of A. Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1924-37). For recent guides in English, see H. Jedin and J. Dolan, eds., *Handbook of Church History*, vol. 3: *The Church in the Age of Feudalism* (Montreal, 1969) (in particular the exceptionally thoughtful analysis of F. Kempf); and more succinctly, U.-R. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988). Both of these volumes (translations from the German) contain extensive critical bibliographies. See also H. Jacobs, *Kirchen-reform und Hochmittelalter 1046-1215* (Oldenbourg, 1984).

1. The Church in feudal society

The fundamental problem facing the Latin Church in the eleventh century was its almost total absorption by feudal society.[2] Inroads into the life of the Church made by the political system of the previous centuries were so deep that few in the priesthood had been able to escape their consequences. Broadly speaking, the origins of this assimilation or, better still, laicization, stemmed from the appropriation and confiscation of Church properties and revenues by the early Carolingians. This practice was the result above all of the pressures of an advancing feudalism, the need to compensate and reward military vassals with landed estates, and German customary law. Given the fact that the Church was by then Europe's single largest landowner, the Carolingian inroads were probably unavoidable.[3] The situation, understandably, deteriorated further during the ensuing Frankish breakdown and the inevitable atrophy of royal power everywhere. It was during this period of general anarchy and confusion that most appointments to bishoprics and abbeys came under effective lay control. Nominations to ecclesiastical office, involving clerical selection, election, and eligibility ceased to be a canonical or ecclesiastical matter and became instead a virtual monopoly of the secular power. By the dawn of the tenth century if not before, a major shift in the focus of power and influence in ecclesiastical life had occurred in Western Christianity.

By and large, this new arrangement was entirely at the expense of the Church and its scattered personnel throughout Europe. In fact, one immediate result was the unrestrained secularization of the western clergy. By the 900s most churchmen—both high and low—had lost nearly all their independence and sense of corporate identity, as their functions everywhere became identified or confused with those belonging to lay vassals. Quite simply, as rulers came to regard all ecclesiastical organization under their effective control as a facet of the secular system, conventions governing one sphere were adjusted to fit the other. As a result, bishops and abbots were not exempt from the secular obligations and responsibilities attached to feudal tenure. As feudal dependents they, too, had to attend court, give advice and, when required, supply their lay superiors with military service. Typically, most of the mounted knights used by the Saxon and Salian emperors during their Italian campaigns in the tenth and eleventh centuries were supplied by ecclesiastical tenants.[4] That they were also used in the chancery and the royal chapel, as secretaries and envoys, and even as chancellors, is well known. After all, the typical vassal by contrast, was usually illiterate and, therefore, unsuitable as a civil servant or secretary. Characteristically, promotion to an episcopal see or a rich abbey was often the reward of previous dutiful service in the royal household. It is worth adding that ecclesiastical tenants were also preferred for many posts because their lands and their jurisdictions were not governed by inheritance. Whereas the heirs of a lay vassal holding of the king by hereditary right could occasionally create legal difficulties or foment rebellion, an heirless but enfeoffed celibate cleric was incapable of doing so. This was probably a decisive reason why so many high ecclesiastics, time and again, became essential associates in royal government everywhere.

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[2] A. Fliche and V. Martin, eds., *Histoire de l'Église*, vol. 7: *L'Église au pouvoir des laïques (888-1057)* (Paris, 1948) (E. Amann and A. Dumas); although the Fliche analysis (see previous note) is old, it is by no means out of date; see also G. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest* (Oxford, 1940).

[3] Cf. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983) 95, 123-42, 270.

As we should expect, pastoral responsibility was a major casualty of clerical secularization. The spiritual and sacramental life of the Western Church was often seriously compromised as clergy became more deeply involved in lay political life. The hastily ordained and "invested" clerk was often altogether unworthy (if not also incompetent and untrained) of the priestly calling. Church assemblies and individual churchmen, it is true, routinely complained. All the same, neither the power of laymen to appoint and invest clergy, nor the encroachment and spoliation of Church property, were ever discontinued. As a matter of fact, lay nominations to vacant sees became so frequent that they were no longer regarded as a radical departure from canonical tradition. The abuse was recognized as a perfectly acceptable practice. In 921 the archbishop of Cologne was thus solemnly admonished by the pope himself for attempting to block a royal appointment at Liège. Pope John X's letter informing the archbishop that no episcopal candidate was to be consecrated in any diocese without royal authorization still survives.[5] As far as pope John was concerned, the right of the feudal power to interfere at the highest level in the internal affairs of the Church was "ancient usage." Ecclesial autonomy, to say nothing of ecclesial political and economic freedom, was apparently of little consequence. Canon law evidently had long given way to the feudal system.

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[4] For the situation in Germany, cf. J. Fleckenstein, "Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche," in K. Schmid, ed., *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit. Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlass des 80. Geburststags von Gerd Tellenbach* (Sigmaringen, 1985), 83-98; T. Reuter, "The 'imperial church system' of the Ottonian and Salian rulers: A reconsideration, *JEH* 33 (1982), 347-74.

[5] *PL* 132:806-8.

As noted earlier, the anarchy of the post-Carolingian period almost certainly contributed to the absorption of the Church into the political organism. Given the insecurity of the age, such an evolution was perhaps inevitable. On the other hand, arguments of this kind are not very illuminating in explaining the phenomenon of royal episcopal appointments and the willingness of the Church to sanction them. It is true, the Church had always preferred the physical protection of monarchy to the unpredictable security of the feudal baronage. The best available guarantee for stability and security had always been the king. And yet, by the tenth century, it is also true that as a consequence of the political decentralization and anarchy mentioned above, monarchy was actually no longer able to exercise its traditional role of guardian in any effective way; with the progressive localization of power, royal centralized authority was barely capable of holding its own. Too many individual lords had established themselves in positions of hereditary power. To be short, the line of reasoning used to justify either the compliance or acceptance by churchmen of royal interference in ecclesiastical matters, including appointments, fails in the end to persuade. Historical development does not support it.

And yet, in the end, monarchy or, more precisely, theocratic kingship does contain the answer.[6] Although kings had been stripped of their power, their claim to rule by divine right had remained intact. This belief was, in all essential respects, established doctrine, and had not been undermined by the feudalization of society. Its origins are rooted in earlier redefinitions of kingship undertaken by western churchmen in the 700s, when Old Testament concepts were first used to promote the notion that rulers were the Lord's anointed and the vicars of Christ. Invariably, the office came to be viewed as sacred, as conferred by God, while its occupant was raised to the equal of the clergy by virtue of his anointing during the coronation ceremony. Indeed, insofar as a royal anointing resembled an episcopal consecration, a king could be said to be on the same level as a bishop; he was arguably even capable of sharing the episcopal office. He was almost certainly above the laity. The sentiments expressed by the eleventh century Anonymous of York were by no means unfamiliar to the post-Carolingian age nor, perhaps, to those consecrating Pepin I in 751.

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[6] J. Fleckenstein, *Early Medieval Germany* (Amsterdam, 1978), 55-59; and the classic guide of E. H. Kantorowitz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), 42-86; *Sacral Kingship: Contributions to the Eighth International Congress for the History of Religions, Rome, April 1955* (Leiden, 1959), esp. section 8.

> Kings and priests have a common unction of holy oil, a common spirit of sanctification, a common quality of benediction, the name and power of God and Christ in common... If therefore the king and the priest are both, by grace, Gods and Christs of the Lord, whatever they do by virtue of this grace is not done by a man but by a God and a Christ of the Lord. And when the king gives a bishopric or a priest a kingdom, it is not a man who gives but a God and a Christ of the Lord.[7]

Suffice it to say, this remarkable passage needs no exegesis. It speaks for itself. It was ecclesiastically sponsored notions like these, from which the theoretical foundation and theological justification of ecclesiastical feudalism were in the end derived. That they were capable of promoting and encouraging the propriety of royal interference and leadership in ecclesiastical matters is obvious.

It goes without saying that the developments outlined thus far affected the lower ranks of the clergy as well, and not just the episcopate. A rural parish priest, particularly in the more isolated districts, was much worse off than most of his superiors. Historically, significantly, his life and dependent status had been defined before the episcopate was itself absorbed into the feudal net. This had occurred perhaps as early as the sixth century (before the rise of feudalism, in other words) when the parochial system had first begun its advance into the countryside.[8] As with so many other developments of the early Middle Ages, the new local church system could not avoid the influence of German legal procedure and practice. The immediate consequence of this inevitable pressure was the so-called *Eigenkirchentum*, or proprietary church system, an arrangement by which the parish with all its appurtenances became the private property of its founder. In terms of ecclesiastical power, according to one investigator, the main result of this "Germanization" or "privatization" was complete revolution.[9] Its overall effect on Latin ecclesiastical organization at any rate was profound as well as extensive.

This becomes evident when traditional canon law is compared or contrasted with German land law. Plainly put, unlike the Church, early barbarian Europe did not understand the legal concept of corporate ecclesiastical ownership. The idea of an abiding corporation with legal rights simply did not exist in German customary law. Thus, the conviction that the Church could also simultaneously own land or real property, as a corporate personality or institution, was unknown. Rather, according to Germanic law, everything built on a plot of land, whether it was the local parish church or the monastery, was considered the exclusive "property" of the landlord; the man who had built and endowed it was also its real owner. Control and rights of ownership of the foundation constructed on an estate, quite simply, continued to be in the hands of the proprietor. To be sure, the church could never actually be secularized. On the other hand, it could always be given, sold, traded, or exchanged if necessary. It was even possible to dispose of it as a sort of fief by leasing it to one's relatives or liegemen. In sum, the treatment of parishes was identical to the handling of ordinary pieces of real property. As private "buildings" they did not differ from the ownership of a barn or an oven.[10] In the event, increasingly, the system became an object of feudal exchange involving transmission, partition and concession. As a rule, such transactions were not confined to the private sector. Anyone (including bishops and monasteries) could involve himself in them and thus own and exploit a parish church. It is worth adding that the resident priest of the *Eigenkirche* (usually an ill-trained serf from the lord's own estate) was in practice appointed and dismissed by the proprietor. His status resembled a small quasi-feudal dependent. Almost invariably, if the incumbent was married or living in concubinage he was able to pass the parish on to his son or heir.

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[7] Cited in R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven and London, 1953), 93.

[8] H. E. Feine, *Kirchliche Rechtsgeschichte* (Weimar, 1955), 147-58; U. Stutz, "The proprietary church as an element of medieval Germanic ecclesiastical law," in G. Barraclough, *Medieval Germany 911-1250* (Oxford, 1961), 35-70.

[9] *Ibid.*, 49.

It bears repeating, parenthetically, that the practice of buying and selling rural parishes as a profitable investment was in time also applied to bishoprics and cathedrals. Although such sales were not a general phenomenon, it remains true that in some areas such as the Midi region, bishoprics were habitually sold or bequeathed as *Eigenkirche*. This was presumably still the practice in 1067 when the bishopric of Carcassonne was sold to the count of Barcelona by the viscount of Albi. The same proprietary rights and juridical ideas governing conventional private churches and their goods were apparently used in these transactions as well. In many areas, in sum, the legal categories which had initially brought the rural parochial system into existence also came to justify the monopoly of power and control of an episcopal see claimed by a territorial lord or king.[11]

[10] C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), 26-8.

[11] Feine, *Kirchliche Rechtsgechichte*, 61F.; cf. *The Church in the Age of Feudalism*, 273 (Kempf).

Although the privatization of local churches was at first gradual, by the eighth century it had become quite common. The process doubtless was accelerated by the general secularization of Church property and by nascent feudalism. Of course, the institution continued to be under episcopal supervision and jurisdiction. Ecclesiastical endorsement was required for every parochial appointment, despite the control exercised by individual laymen. And yet, the relationship of the parish priest to his ecclesiastical superior had changed. Everywhere the priest had really become essentially an estate servant. His private arrangement with the lord of the parish had in fact replaced the canonical bond uniting him to his bishop. It was this personalized local relationship that ultimately mattered, rather than the bishop's *potestas jurisdictionis.* Throughout Europe, to put it another way, episcopal control enjoyed by all prelates was succeeded by a division of control among an unlimited number of owners. The diocese no longer actually functioned as a single administrative unit, but as a collection of private independent churches, in which the bishop's pastoral and disciplinary powers were in practice relaxed or ignored altogether. Before long, given the moral and intellectual shortcomings of the priesthood, this diocesan decentralization was to generate further serious pastoral and canonical problems. The confusion of authority and rights within the diocese just described was, in the main, also responsible for the ensuing simony and incontinence among the western clergy.

It was undoubtedly lay control of ecclesiastical structure that made possible the purchase or sale of virtually every clerical grade the general rule by the tenth century. Simony became in fact unavoidable once clerical offices began to be treated like secular appointments. If a secular vassal could be taxed on inheriting his fief, so could every clerical candidate on his elevation to office. Besides, the offices in question were profitable, and to grant them out without any remuneration would have been pointless if not unusual in the agrarian world of the Middle Ages. In the event, the bishop who had received his position by canonical election (without paying for it) had before long become a great rarity. The purchase of episcopal sees and abbeys was doubtless easier for those who had the financial means. It was, however, equally tempting, since candidates were able to enjoy the revenues derived from the office. It was by no means unusual for someone who had successfully bid for an office to try in turn to recover his expenses by selling the appointments belonging to his newly acquired rank. Episcopal consecrations and lesser ordinations at any rate were often available for a price. In the end, evidently, the corruption and venality came to include both parties in the original transaction.

It goes without saying that the highest or more lucrative posts, especially those with landed endowments, were also the most expensive. Whereas the abbey of Reichenau could be bought for a thousand silver pounds by the abbot of Bamberg in 1071, a bishopric understandably was more costly.[12] The purchase of the archbishopric of Narbonne (reported at the local council of Toulouse) may serve as a remarkable famous example.

> When my uncle the archbishop of Narbonne died [the speaker is the viscount of Narbonne, Berengar] count Wilfred of Cerdana, to whom my wife was a kinswoman, came to Narbonne and approached both my parents and myself to obtain the archbishopric for his son who was only ten years old at the time; and he offered a great gift of a hundred thousand solidi to my father... We then gave it to Wilfred's son... and he was enthroned in the cathedral and grew in years... But then, arrogant as a devil, he unexpectedly provoked me to anger and harassed me and built castles against me and made cruel war on me with a vast army... Then he snatched away from God and his ministers the castles together with the revenues and possessions of the canons and what they held in common, and gave them to the devil and his servants.[13]

Significantly, the father of the young archbishop in question also succeeded in providing for his four remaining sons: except for the heir of Cerdana, all the other sons were actually furnished with bishoprics as well. If the greed and rapacity portrayed in the above passage were not necessarily typical of the eleventh century, the unrestrained trafficking in money undoubtedly was. Simony was the great scourge of the eleventh century when the Gregorians arrived, as their subsequent heated debate on the validity of simoniacal ordinations illustrates (to say nothing of their anti-simony legislation). No doubt, one of the most disturbing facts about this excessive commerce in ecclesiastical appointments (aside from their glaring simoniacal character) was the ignorance and incompetence of many of the clergy involved. Rarely, at any rate, was any importance attached to spiritual merit in these transactions. As the negotiations for the see of Narbonne reveal, it was by no means unusual for a bishop-elect to be underage as well as unworthy, or even illiterate and entirely untrained. As abbot William of Hirsau was to emphasize in the 1080s, "in the appointment of bishops useless nobility is usually considered or an abundance of riches interferes. In no way is the venerable quality of spiritual men taken into account."[14]

But if the secular clergy in the West were often unworthy and unsuitable for the priestly office, they were, it seems, often also unchaste. Very few individuals fortunate enough to procure a church office felt bound by the rules of Latin ecclesiastical discipline. Above all, canonical rulings and papal decrees of the fourth and fifth centuries establishing clerical celibacy in the West among all the higher clergy, were either disregarded or consigned to complete oblivion. Relaxation of morals became characteristic of all the clerical ranks from top to bottom. Marriage, concubinage, and simple cohabitation without legal or formal marriage, were typical ways by which the obligation of celibacy was repeatedly breached throughout Europe.[15] The situation apparently was sometimes no different in many decayed abbeys, where monks and abbots alike had wife and children. Typically, "nicolaitism," the umbrella term used later by the reformers to describe this relaxation in discipline, was by then practically synonymous with fornication and lechery. Arguably, the economic and social problems generated by this issue of incontinence were no less disturbing. In one way or another the Church also often had to contend with the fact that its feudalized clergy routinely passed on to their sons not only their offices but their ecclesiastical estates as well. As a rule, both the legitimate and illegitimate children of priests were provided for in this way. It was doubtless an intricate problem with practical difficulties, involving not only the priest and his sons, but his wife and dependents. Later reformers were to discover that such complex issues could not always be resolved by legislation alone. Turning the tide would also require understanding and, occasionally, even compromise.

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[12] *L'Église au pouvoir des laïques*, 466-75 (Dumas).

[13] Mansi, 19:850-51; cited in B. Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050-1350* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1964), 29-30.

[14] *MGH, Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 5:42 (Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV).

Enough has been said about the process of feudalization in Western Christendom that lay investiture should be briefly described.[16] It was often an important part of the process, since it was designed after all to express the *de facto* power of Europe's aristocracy over the Church and, in particular, its virtual control of all appointments to ecclesiastical office. In reality, the famous installation ritual was a simple juridical ceremony by which the lord solemnly invested a bishop with the ring and the pastoral staff, the spiritual symbols of his ecclesiastical office. The investment was also accompanied by the words "receive this church" pronounced by the officiating layman. Needless to say, the highly uncanonical implications of this formulary were never acknowledged by the Church, even when the practice had become virtually universal and even crucial in the elevation of a bishop. (As pope Gregory VII's frontal attack of the ceremony will later emphasize, only a churchman could chose, elect, and invest another churchman or clerical candidate to ecclesiastical office; the privilege claimed by laymen was non-existent.) It was in fact this muted ecclesiastical disapproval that was to force those who were involved in the ceremony to argue that investiture (and the simoniacal transaction that often preceded it) did not actually entail the conferring of any spiritual function or power. Rather, what had been paid for and then bestowed in the ritual was the grant of land (the fiefs or temporalities of the office itself) with which laymen endowed abbeys and dioceses. In other words, the installation was explained "as an act of conveyance with purely temporal (or more specifically, proprietary) implications."[17] As we should expect, the reasoning was found specious and, as such, was entirely unacceptable to the reformers, especially to the blunt and inflexible radicals, such as cardinal Humbert of Moyenmoutier and archdeacon Hildebrand (the future Gregory VII).

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[15] *L'Église au pouvoir des laïques*, 476f. (Dumas). For a balanced summary description of the canonical legislation on celibacy before the eleventh century, see A. L. Barstow, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: The Eleventh Century Debates* (New York and Toronto, 1982), 19-46.

[16] R. Schieffer, *Die Entstehung des päpstlichen Investiturverbots für den deutschen König* (Stuttgart, 1981), 7-26 (=Schriften den *MGH*, 28); *L'Église au pouvoir des laïques*, 198-210 (Dumas).

Although the general political situation in the West was in the main responsible for the ecclesiastical decline we have briefly summarized, the inertia and indifference of the papacy were also contributing factors. Had Rome itself remained untarnished and independent, providing the needed leadership and example, the breakdown perhaps would not have been so pronounced. A free or untarnished papacy, however, was almost impossible to maintain, especially after the decline of the Frankish empire. Doubtless, the often scandalous situation in which the Church of Rome found itself, particularly in the 900s, has been exaggerated; even those contemporaries who were first to describe it cannot always be trusted as authoritative guides. For all that, the bankruptcy of the papacy during the so-called pornocracy period (as the tenth century is sometimes labelled) was real enough and cannot be disguised, even by the more official documents of the age. The general ineffectiveness of the post-Carolingian popes is reasonably certain; as is indeed the simony and corruption for which some were judged and deposed. Graphic descriptions of the tenth century papal incumbents as contemptible are not really fiction.[18]

On the other hand, the reputation and prestige of the city of Rome itself was not affected. Despite the impotence and notoriety of its bishops, Rome was still the mother Church of Western Christendom where Sts Peter and Paul had died. It had never ceased to be the goal of the European pilgrim, as the journeys of many pious lay people in this period again and again illustrate. In actual fact, pilgrimage to the tombs of the great apostles—*ad limina apostolorum*—remained the city's basic industry long after its economic importance had vanished. Remarkably, the operation of the papal chancery and the long tradition of papal administration also remained largely unaffected by the incompetence of Rome's bishops. The wheels of government continued to turn as usual—a fact of crucial importance to the papal reformers of the eleventh century. And yet, neither the survival of the papal secretariat nor the veneration of the city, as the great spiritual center of the West, were able to salvage the papacy's international standing. "Men went to Rome," as one modern scholar maintains, "not as the centre of ecclesiastical government but as a source of spiritual power"—as a popular center of pilgrimage, relics, and shrines.[19] It was, at any rate, not until the reforming initiatives of the Gregorians that Europe would begin to take notice of the pope as *summus pontifex*, and of the revitalized papacy as an international spiritual and political power. Until then, the popes' fragile hold upon Western Christendom was largely imaginary.

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[17] R. L. Benson, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton, 1968), 215.

[18] Cf. *MGH, SS* 3:672.

The parochial world of Roman politics was actually the papacy's only domain before the eleventh century and, not surprising, the main source of its problems. The remarkable fluctuation of Italian politics following the collapse of Carolingian power and the rise of a number of local noble families had brought Italy to near-anarchy by the end of the ninth century. Because none of these aristocratic houses was able to attain undisputed hegemony, factionalism continued for decades. In this incessant instability it was impossible for Rome and its bishop to remain neutral. Before long the Church was hopelessly entangled in the political turmoil. Increasingly, domination of the city by any one faction also meant domination of the pope.[20] As a result, the papal office came to be viewed almost exclusively as a family possession by the ruling party—a family sinecure to be enjoyed by one of its members. Both the Crescentii and Tusculum families, in effect, were able to create what appear like hereditary papal "dynasties" while in power. The papal incumbents of the

[19] Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 136; R. Elze, "Das sacrum palatium Lateranense im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," *Studi Gregoriani* 4 (1952), 27-54.

[20] K.-J. Hermann, *Das Tuskulanerpapsttum (1012-1046)* (Stuttgart, 1973); G. Tellenbach, "Zur Geschichte der Päpste im X. und früheren XI. Jahrhundert," in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für J. Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1984), 165-77.

first half of the eleventh century were actually usually related to the dominant Tusculum counts. Benedict VIII and John XIX were brothers of the count, while Benedict IX (raised to the papal chair at the uncanonical age of twelve as John's successor) was himself a nephew.[21] All the same, this hereditary transmission of papal authority was necessarily unstable; the city's ever-changing political situation worked against it. In fact, popes generally followed each other with bewildering speed, as the average pontificate for the period 900-1050 indicates. The typical reign was apparently less than four years (with some candidates ruling only a few months) while the total number of popes (excluding antipopes) was thirty-five. This contrasts sharply with the fifteen patriarchs who ruled the see of Constantinople during the same period.

But the control of the papacy by Italy's unruly native nobility was not the only problem faced by the Church of Rome. Before long Germany, in the person of its king, Otto I, was to add to its troubles. The new link with Germany was to erode papal authority and prestige even further. Ironically, it was Pope John XII (famous for his political intrigues and disreputable life) who initially convinced the king of Germany to come to his aid against Berengar of Ivrea, Otto's own disloyal vassal. The consequences of this invitation for the papacy are well known.[22] On 2 February 962 Otto compelled the pope to revive the defunct Carolingian Roman Empire by having himself crowned emperor. To ensure the subservience of the papacy to himself and the new empire, the king then proclaimed that all future papal incumbents would have to take an oath of allegiance to his envoy before taking office. In fact, the Romans were no longer to choose or elect the pope without German imperial authorization. Suddenly, to be short, the papacy was turned into a sort of imperial *Eigenkirche* or vicarage of the German crown. The pope was to be the instrument and even the pawn of the Germans, as opposed to the Romans. The highest ecclesiastic in Latin Christendom had become an imperial official, the status actually possessed at the time by most German bishops.

Historically, it is true, the provisions of 962 imposed on the papacy by Otto I were based on Carolingian precedent and were, as such, not altogether novel.[23]

[21] L. Duchesne, *The Beginnings of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes A.D. 754-1073* (London, 1907), 249f.

[22] *Ibid.*, 225-33; Fleckenstein, *Early Medieval Germany*, 148f; *The Church in the Age of Feudalism*, 205 (Kempf).

[23] T. F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal States, 680-825* (Philadelphia, 1984), 308-21.

Still, they were far more elaborate and restrictive. In actual fact the pope came to be viewed as chief chaplain to German imperial authority. Granted the papacy periodically would again fall victim to Roman factional strife after 962; popes again on occasion would follow each other in swift and often sudden succession. This was unavoidable since the German monarchy did not reside in Italy. In the best Carolingian theocratic tradition, however, the peculiar papal-imperial relationship established in 962 eventually blurred into permanent Ottonian tutelage. During the century following the revival of the empire, twenty-one popes from a total of twenty-five were virtually hand-picked by the German crown. The Germans doubtless were aware that if the imperial ideal was to be maintained, mastery of Italy and the papacy was essential. Besides, the right to consecrate the emperor had become the exclusive prerogative of the Roman bishop.[24] For Germany this effective papal weapon was reason enough for some degree of imperial control of the papacy.

Although the German move in 962 was entirely political in character, it was not long before theology entered the picture as well. The seizure of the papacy by German forces actually also marks the gradual revival of German theological influence at the papal court. This is perhaps most obvious with the *Filioque*, or doctrine of the double procession. Granted this formula had by then spread throughout northern Europe and had been added to the creed before the tenth century. On the other hand, this had been achieved without official papal approval or authorization. Rome had condemned the extra phrase on more than one occasion; it had even been its primary opponent in the West since Charlemagne's advisors had seen fit to pronounce on its orthodoxy. Be this as it may, after 962 the papacy began to waver on the matter and at the coronation of the German emperor Henry II the formula was introduced into Rome as well (1014). It was a good example of the triumph of German theology south of the Alps after Otto's coronation, although it was not the last. Presently, we will see that many of the agents of the Gregorian reform were of German origin or members of the German episcopate. In fact, the ideology of the reformation will be implemented initially almost entirely by an inner circle of non-Roman northerners, even Rhinelanders.

2. *Libertas ecclesiae*

To an unusual degree, the situation facing the Roman Church at the dawn of the eleventh century was both grim and depressing. Papal decadence and subservience to the secular power were of course only part of the problem, since conditions north of the Alps were no less alarming. The situation in Rome was actually only a reflection of the more universal secularization characteristic of the Western Church as a whole. Clerical abuse was by no means a Roman monopoly. There is, indeed, no reason to portray the abuses in Italy as more glaring; Europe's feudalized episcopate was often just as unworthy. Still, the situation seemed especially bleak because reform from the center of Western Christendom appeared unlikely, given the existing conditions. And yet, change was in the air and did eventually come with the accession of Pope Leo IX in 1049. Moreover, stirrings of renewal were evident in monastic Europe as well, especially in the great Burgundian abbey of Cluny south of Dijon, founded by Duke William "the Pious" of Aquitaine in 910.[25] Although this renewal was purely monastic in origin, it was later to provide Rome with some of its own inspiration and drive; Cluny's support of papal authority, clerical celibacy, and ecclesiastical centralization will later actually prove crucial to the papacy's struggle for freedom.

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[24] G. Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (New York, 1979), 60-61.

Of course, western monasticism, broadly considered, had not been spared the breakdown resulting from the lay exploitation of ecclesiastical institutions and structures throughout Europe. The same problems flourishing everywhere (both administrative and disciplinary) were to be found in many monasteries as well. The abbey of Cluny, nevertheless, thanks to the constitutional novelties of its charter and its pious founder, was able to avoid most of the spiritual and material decay characteristic of other monastic foundations.[26] In the first place, from the outset the community was able to place itself under the immediate protection of the papacy and its patrons Sts Peter and Paul. Its direct and exclusive protector became in effect the distant pope. By being no longer subject to the will of its founder, Cluny ceased to be a "proprietary monastery." External intervention—a basic reason of so much monastic and ecclesial decline elsewhere—was through St Peter's protection formally and perpetually disallowed. Significantly, by 1024, in addition to this immunity from secular patronage and control, the abbey was also able to acquire complete exemption from episcopal or diocesan jurisdiction. Of equal importance to Cluny's independence, finally, was the right of its monks

[25] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970); G. Tellenbach, ed., *Neue Forchungen über Cluny und die Cluniacenser* (Freiburg, 1959). For a rich collection of articles and a full bibliography, see H. Richter, ed., *Cluny: Beiträge zu Gestalt und Wirkung der cluniazensischen Reform* (Darmstadt, 1975).

[26] For the charter, see Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, 8-15.

to elect their own abbot. As in other matters, no lay or ecclesiastical power was allowed to interfere in the electoral process. On the whole, these crucial constitutional provisions partially explain how the abbey managed to become a model of strict Benedictine discipline and observance.[27] They also, however, contributed to its transformation into a vast monastic empire, as hundreds of dependent or affiliate cloisters, founded or reformed by the abbey, came under its jurisdiction. By the late eleventh century, during abbot Hugh's rule (1049-1109), some two thousand monasteries were apparently legally dependent on Cluny. Characteristically, this arrangement, in which the entire Cluny congregation was treated as a single centralized monastery directly dependent on the mother-abbey in Burgundy, was also an innovation. Until then at any rate traditional Benedictine communities had been autonomous self-contained units, each subject to its own abbot, as was the case with Byzantine Orthodox monasticism. And yet, it bears repeating that without the leadership of Cluny's remarkable abbots, the abbey may never have achieved its great reputation. It has indeed been suggested that in the last analysis it was its capable abbots who transformed it into an authentic paradigm of monastic freedom and ecclesial *libertas*.[28] The abbey's unique constitution, different privileges of exemption, and papal protection, do not alone account for its well-deserved fame.

The impressive prestige and influence acquired gradually by the Cluniac network was doubtless well-earned. The great abbey, nevertheless, was not the only reform center. Similar independent monastic movements had begun to appear, almost at the same time as Cluny, in the Rhineland and, especially, in Lorraine. Although more confined geographically, the individual reform centers of Brogne in northern Lorraine near Namur (c 910), and Gorze in the south near Metz (c 933), were of great importance.[29] Their impact before long was to be felt by other foundations both within and outside of Lorraine. Gorze was actually eventually to become the nucleus of an entire federation of reformed abbeys in Bavaria, Swabia, and Hesse. The dissemination of the Gorzer observance in southwest Germany is in fact comparable with Cluny's own role and expansion in France. Unlike Cluny, however, the Gorzer abbeys were not stripped of their corporate or abbatial status. They did not at any rate adopt the

[27] C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism* (London and New York, 1984), 76-90.

[28] See Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 65-66.

[29] K. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1950-51); and T. Schieffer's review of this monumental study, "Cluniazensische oder gorzische Reformbewegnung?" in Richter, *Cluny*, 60-90.

highly centralized administration which held Cluny's satellite priories together. The feudal suzerainty exercised by Cluny's abbot was for them an unknown. It is on the whole agreed that the Gorze reforms were not derived from Cluny.[30]

The impact that this general monastic renewal had on the reforming propaganda of the Gregorians and on the papacy as a whole has not always been assessed identically by contemporary scholarship.[31] On the one hand, it has been pointed out that the Cluniac movement was initially aimed at the renewal of Benedictine monasticism and not at a comprehensive purification of the medieval Church or the transformation of society at large. It was not in sum interested in resolving the problems facing the feudalized Church of its day. It seems safe to assume as a matter of fact that the movement was essentially conservative in its objectives and had no desire to defy or subvert the existing order. The idea that it was the advance guard of the later Gregorian reform must therefore be rejected. The movement was essentially pre-Gregorian. On the other hand, there is no doubt that it would have been difficult for the Church to affirm its authority without the spiritual support and idealism provided by western monasticism. The Cluniac and Gorzer traditions did help generate the essential moral and spiritual atmosphere needed to liberate the Latin Church from the inherent inconsistencies in which it was then entangled. To an unusual degree, the values and aims which inspired the reformers were often unambiguously monastic in origin. Monastic reform set the standard, even if it did not take the lead. There is indeed conclusive evidence that Cluny's exceptionally effective abbots and the popes at Rome both actively promoted each other's message and ideals; both were fully aware that their larger goals were not really in opposition or contradiction. Their uncompromising hostility towards any corruption made them natural allies. In the final analysis, "Cluny stood for the liberty of the Church no less than did Gregory VII, and the popes themselves spoke of it as the archetype of that liberty. For this reason a decisive divergence of objectives between Cluny and the Gregorian papacy was unthinkable."[32]

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[30] Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 2:765f.

[31] M. Pacaut, "Ordre et liberté dans l'Église: l'influence de Cluny au XI^e et XII^e siècles," in D. Loades, ed., *The End of Strife* (Edinburgh, 1984), 155-79.

[32] Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, 156; cf. D. Knowles, *Christian Monasticism* (New York and Toronto, 1969), 51: "If Cluny as a body was uncommitted in the contest between empire and papacy, she undoubtedly controlled the greatest volume of spiritual influence in eleventh century Europe, and as such stood on the side of the reformers in matters of simony and clerical celibacy." See also Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 1:584.

Although monasticism cannot explain the sudden launching from Rome of the papal reform movement, the Gregorian reformers were initially almost all of non-Roman origin and actually hailed from either Burgundy or Lorraine.[33] These primary agents of the papal revolution could not have been unfamiliar with the vigorous monastic reform then in progress north of the Alps. In fact, all of them were in full sympathy both with the goals and achievements of the Gorzer and Cluniac movements. Typically, before becoming pope in 1049, the Alsatian Leo IX was bishop of Toul, itself a center of the monastic renewal in Lorraine. Leo was in fact already well known before he became pope for his spirited denunciation of simony and clerical marriage in his diocese. An equally obvious outsider was the pope's sponsor and relative, the German emperor, Henry III. Although Henry's intentions were controversial, his swift installation in Rome of four German popes (beginning in 1046) was the signal by which the whole process of Church reform was set in motion. The fact that the Gregorian movement of the eleventh century was the work of the papacy is thus not in question. The agenda of the reformers from the outset had both the sanction and authority of Rome and was by no means carried out in defiance or in spite of the papacy (as was of course the case later with the Lutheran reformation).[34] Initially, the movement was non-Roman in inspiration and origin. It was at first little more than a talented band of Rhinelanders. It was not from Rome nor from Italy but from outside that the first reformer popes and their patrons came. None of them had ties to the city itself or its aristocracy.

The emperor's forceful move in 1046 was no doubt urgently needed, even if it was in the best theocratic tradition. Roman factionalism in that year had produced three rival candidates to the papal throne, each of whom claimed to be the lawful incumbent. At the same time, one of the rivals may have been guilty of simony. Considering the bizarre history of the papacy in the tenth century, these conditions were perhaps not altogether unusual. Still, Henry III was determined to end the anomalous situation quickly, as his deposition of all three claimants and their replacement in rapid succession by German reformers seem to suggest.[35] His first appointee, nevertheless, died within less than a year, while the second survived only twenty-three days. The idea that they were both poisoned is speculation, even if the local Roman factions were almost certainly ill-disposed to the new German-oriented papacy. The next imperial nominee, the emperor's own cousin, the forty-six year old Leo IX (1049-54), was far more successful. The transformation of the papacy into a forceful agency of renewal begins with his enthronement in 1049. He is the real founder of the so-called Gregorian reform and not Gregory VII for whom the movement is erroneously named. As one observer notes, "he was a quieter and much less controversial character than Gregory VII, but nearly everything that we associate with the papacy in its most expansive period can be traced back to his initiative."[36] Long before Pope Gregory's own accession to the papal throne in 1073, to put it otherwise, the decisive developments which were to change the direction and character of the papacy had already been realized. The radical transformation of the papacy into a monarchy was in a genuine sense the work of this earlier charismatic pontiff. Even the spirit and tone of future papal dealings with the Eastern Church and Byzantium were determined in large part in his reign.

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[33] Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne*, 1:129-59.

[34] Cf. C. Dawson, *The Making of Europe* (Cleveland and New York, 1968), 235; H. Daniel-Rops, *The Church in the Dark Ages* (London, 1959), 586.

[35] E. Boshof, "Das Reich in der Krise. Überlegungen zum Regierungsausgang Heinrichs III," *Historiche Zeitschrift* 228 (1979), 265-87; P. G. Schmidt, "Heinrich III. Das Bild des Herrschers in der Literatur seiner Zeit," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 39 (1983), 582-90.

From the outset, the new pope was determined to make the papacy an instrument of spiritual and moral rejuvenation both in Rome itself and throughout Europe. To this end Pope Leo journeyed to central and south Italy, but also to France and Germany, crossing the Alps three times. Nearly four and a half years of his five year pontificate were in fact spent on trips outside Rome. The numerous regional reforming synods held during these lengthy sojourns often had as their target the traffic in ecclesiastical offices and unchaste clergy.[37] Their object above all was to rid the Church of these abuses by restoring canonical discipline. The need to reassert both the validity and binding power of canon law for all clergy was repeatedly emphasized. In addition to the decrees against simony and sexual laxity promulgated by these local synods, however, simoniacal and concubinary clergy were examined and, when required, suspended, deposed and, even excommunicated. The object, in short, was to punish the offenders as well. Even if the synods were not always successful, no one was in doubt that Leo IX and his team of like-minded assistants were serious. The immediate impact of this flurry of activity was often extraordinary. Contemporaries in any case were astonished by the papal posture.[38] After all, to say it once more, the papacy until then really had no sense of itself as an international body with broad responsibilities for the world beyond the Alps, or for Christian Europe. As its confining history during the post-Carolingian age illustrates, Rome until then had rarely interfered outside Italy. By contrast, in 1049 it was being extolled as the undisputed center of Latin Christendom—the supreme divinely ordained authority of the Church universal. These simple facts explain the electrifying effect the papal strategy had on contemporaries. If anything, papal activism had forced Europe to take notice. The Church of Rome was unambiguously on the threshold of a new age.

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[36] R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1970), 100.

[37] Cf. Mansi, 19:741-42; U.-R. Blumenthal, "Ein neuer Text für das Reimser Konzil Leos IX. (1049)?" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 32 (1976), 23-48; cf. the translations in Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State*, 31-32.

But papal visibility was not the only innovation of the new leadership in Rome. Leo IX was likewise responsible for reorganizing and indeed enlarging the duties of the Roman cardinalate. Increasingly, too, the institution was consciously internationalized. Whereas until then Roman cardinal bishops, priests and deacons had been on the whole natives of the diocese of Rome, Leo's nominees (such as Humbert of Moyenmoutier, appointed cardinal-bishop of Silva Candida in 1050) were virtually all outsiders.[39] Arguably this development parallels the equally deliberate simultaneous internationalization of the papacy. It is indeed safe to assume that the reformers were determined to emancipate both the pope and the cardinals from Rome's ambitious noble families. What was to be true about the lineage of the Roman pontiffs for the next several generations was to be equally true of the cardinals: only a handful would be of Roman stock. Of greater significance doubtless was the transformation of the actual office of cardinal. Until then, as is well known, the duties of all cardinals were purely liturgical. Their titles did not denote positions of authority. Nor did they have a role in the papal household. By appointing them as papal co-workers, legates, and supervisors, however, Pope Leo in effect transformed them into his immediate principal counsellors or advisers. Their new enlarged governmental responsibilities identifying them as policy-makers and actual administrators of papal departments, rapidly overshadowed their former ceremonial functions.[40] Before long, as a result of the papal election decree of 1059, cardinal-bishops would in fact be honored with metropolitan authority as well, when they were also given the leading role in the election of a new pope. Significantly, the belief frequently expressed by medieval authors that the college of cardinals was the pope's supreme advisory body and, as such, was an imitation of the ancient Roman senate, was first articulated by one of the most uncompromising of the early Gregorians, Peter Damian.[41] He was himself eventually appointed cardinal-bishop of Ostia in 1057—the senior bishopric of the college. To summarize, long before the end of the eleventh century, the pope's immediate staff, the single sacred college of cardinals, had assumed both the role and identity that it retains to this day. Institutionally speaking, the personnel changes introduced early in pope Leo's pontificate were of crucial importance to future papal history.

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[38] Cf. John of Fecamp, *Epistola ad S Leonem IX, PL* 143:797B-C.

[39] H.-W. Klewitz, "Die Entstehung des Kardinalkollegiums," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung* 25 (1936), 115-221; R. Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus and Kirchen Roms, 1049-1130* (Tübingen, 1977).

[40] See the authoritative summaries of I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), 33-56; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 165-8.

These rearrangements in the papal household, however, were also important to the Gregorian movement in another equally practical way. Leo's cardinal-collaborators were bound to feel a profound empathy for what he was trying to accomplish. Their energy and devotion and, of course, idealism, were to prove invaluable to the international reform drive that was by then under way. In this respect, it is worth adding that before 1046 there was as yet no existing blueprint for reform. Coordination among enthusiasts of renewal was nowhere to be found. A practical program for reform materialized, in other words, only in 1046 or, more accurately in 1049, during Leo's enlightened pontificate. It was this particular pope together with his dedicated circle of friends and reformers, with their integrity and exemplary moral life, who set the pace for the movement as a whole. "What could not have been foreseen was the scale of the offensive, its suddenness, the coherent ideology which was developed to support it, and the decisive impact which it was to have on the whole history of the Western Church. In the course of twenty-five years, the popes began to intervene vigorously in the affairs of other Churches and became the leaders of an international movement."[42] It is difficult to conceive of this crucial stage in the history of the papacy without the initial fundamental contribution of Leo IX and his energetic staff of devoted supporters.

Overall, the progress of the new papal program was not all smooth sailing. Widespread protest, often accompanied by violent resistance, was to continue for decades. Yet, all in all, by the end of the century the popular defenders of simony, of clerical marriage, and of the evils of the proprietary church had by and large vanished. The champions of reform at any rate proved more unyielding than their often more numerous adversaries.[43] This was particularly evident in the skillful drive of the reformers to make celibacy an absolute prerequisite to ordination. This part of the Gregorian platform was reinforced by the monastic ideal, since many of the reformers were actually monks and had already embraced a continent life. Some, like the ascetic Peter Damian, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, were even eager to treat the problem as heresy and not as a matter of discipline. But the reformers were perhaps also uncompromising on this issue because they were convinced that compulsory clerical continence could advance the process of de-laicization—another more general item of their platform. A monasticized priesthood, quite simply, was viewed by reformers everywhere as a crucial corrective to clerical involvement in the world. If successful, the strategy, it was hoped, would provide the clergy with that sense of solidarity and corporate identity needed to distinguish them from the laity. In all essential respects, as one scholar has put it, the reforming initiatives of the popes were "an attempt by men trained in the monastic discipline to remodel Church and society according to monastic ideals.... to train churchmen to think of themselves as a distinct 'order' with a life-style totally different from that of laymen."[44] Behind the campaign for celibacy, in sum, aside from the moral and canonical issues involved, was the desire to set all churchmen apart from and above the laity; the need to create a spiritual elite by the separation of the priest from the ordinary layman was an urgent priority. Doubtless, in the end, the Gregorian priesthood did achieve a certain *libertas* and even a sense of community, but only at the expense of a sharp opposition between itself and the rest of society.[45]

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[41] *Contra philargyriam et munerum cupiditatem*, *PL* 145:540B.

[42] Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 79 (also 86-9, on Leo's collaborators).

[43] Barstow, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy*, 105-56; K. F. Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church 300-1140* (Princeton, 1969), 293-95.

By contrast, in the Christian East, as in primitive Christianity, a wholly celibate priesthood never became the norm. Celibacy at any rate was never transformed into a requirement for ordination. Rather, all clerical candidates to the subdiaconate, diaconate, and priesthood were allowed to marry or remain celibate, if they so desired, before ordination. Typically, the vow of perfect chastity or celibacy as an absolute prerequisite to these clerical ranks was repeatedly repudiated by both local and ecumenical councils—beginning with Nicaea I (325). The condemnation enshrined in canon 3 of the sixth ecumenical council (692) is quite explicit: "If anyone shall have dared, contrary to the Apostolic Canons, to deprive any of those who are in holy orders, presbyter, or deacon, subdeacon of cohabitation and intercourse with his lawful wife, let him be deposed. In like manner also if any presbyter or deacon on pretense of piety has dismissed his wife, let him be excluded from communion; and if he persevere in this let him be deposed." A totally monogamous clergy, evidently, was always permitted in the Christian East. In point of fact even bishops were allowed to marry until the sixth century, when for the first time this office was restricted by law to celibate or widowed clergy. The self-conscious monasticized clergy imposed on the Western Church by the Gregorian enthusiasts was ultimately alien both to Christian antiquity and the medieval Byzantine Church.[46]

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[44] I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest* (Manchester, 1978), 2-3; cf. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 99: "The papal reform movement did not mark the abandonment of the monastic approach so much as its adoption as the policy of the Roman Church."

[45] See the standard summary statement on separation by Humbert, *Adversus simoniacos*, *MGH*, *Libelli de lite* 1:208; J. Gaudaumet, "Le célibat ecclésiastique: le droit et la pratique du XIe au XIIIe siècle," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung* 68 (1982), 1-31.

After Leo's energetic pontificate the reform could only go forward. By taking personal command of the movement, a small circle of Rhinelanders had indeed managed to transform a weak and invisible papacy into a dynamic agent of renewal. By reorganizing Rome's institutional and administrative structure; by systematically staffing its bureaus with experienced reformers; by introducing uniformity and conformity in both discipline and ritual among its clergy; and by promoting the pope's constitutional status throughout Christendom, the Roman Church was well on the way to reformation. But this active revival of the Church as community, together with the increasing centralization and standardization that accompanied it, would have meant little if steps had not also been taken to suppress simony and nicolaitism. The seemingly rigorously logical solution to these common evils in the end succeeded, despite (to repeat) frequent opposition. The struggle was waged by synods, by letters of the popes, by excommunications of unworthy clerics, by the cooperation of laymen refusing to assist priests in their duties, and by the actions of papal legates at the local level. Even so, neither the claims of monarchy to appoint and invest bishops, nor the related problem of papal elections and their manipulation by the emperor and the Roman aristocracy, had as yet been addressed in a practical and decisive way. Curiously, the power of the secular arm to interfere in Church appointments had not yet been questioned.

Still, speculation about this broader issue was not absent, as the *Libri tres adversus simoniacos* of Humbert of Silva Candida illustrates.[47] As an essential item of the *libertas ecclesiae* it was obviously not an unknown. Overall, Humbert's logical view that simony was a heresy, along with his conviction that a simoniacal ordination was an empty formality without any validity whatsoever, found very few supporters. It was in fact Peter Damian's moderate sacramental theology which in the end was alone found satisfactory, with its affirmation of the efficacy of all sacraments performed by unworthy clergy and its rejection of reordination.[48] On the other hand, Humbert's theory concerning the actual practice of lay investiture was received with enthusiasm. For Humbert, offering payment to a layman for the ceremony with ring and staff was altogether unacceptable; investiture, for him, was ultimately the cause and the source of most of the Church's problems, including the evils of simony. In particular, a layman had no right to appoint, invest, or install anyone with the insignia of a sacred office. Rather, the installation conveyed both "pastoral care" and "the entire episcopal office" or priestly authority, and, as such, was an ecclesiastical function to be performed solely and exclusively by the Church according to established canonical procedure. In sum, as a layman, the secular ruler could neither govern nor administer the Church as he pleased; the Church did not belong to him. As a result, any intrusion in its affairs was to be deemed an unlawful usurpation of an ecclesiastical prerogative.[49] In fact, in the end, any interference on his part could only result in the turning of the canonical election sequence on its head. "Nevertheless the sacred canons are being rejected and the whole Christian religion confounded because these things are done backwards... For the secular power comes first in electing and confirming, and then whether they like it or not there follows the consent of the clergy and people and finally the judgment of the metropolitan."[50] Humbert evidently was denying monarchy, or temporal authority in general, not only the use of the clerical symbols for the ceremony of investiture, but any and all royal rights of appointment to an ecclesiastical office rooted traditionally in theocratic government.

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[46] Cf. the bibliography of the entries "celibacy," "clergy," and "laity" in *ODB* 1:395-96, 471; 2:1169 (A. Papadakis, A. Kazhdan).

[47] *MGH, Libelli de lite* 1:100-253. See the synoptic exposition by Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne*, 1:283-308; and Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 89-92.

It is likely some members of the papal reform movement were not convinced by this radical reassessment of established usage. Until then, after all, the reform had aimed at internal Church renewal and not at the dismantling of the political and cultural unity of Europe implied by Humbert's extremism.[51] No doubt, for these reformers, enforcing such views was itself a dilemma. And yet, the idea that the spotlight of renewal was too narrowly focused and had to be broadened gradually took hold. It became increasingly evident that what was needed was a more sweeping reformation. A declaration of war against early medieval tradition and all its blessings (including royal theocracy, lay investiture, imperial interference in papal elections, and anointed kingship) came to be seen as inevitable.[52] In sum, by the late 1050s, the internal reform movement of the early Gregorians was in the process of being radicalized. A determined effort was being made—primarily by hardline reformers such as Cardinal Humbert and the archdeacon Hildebrand—to eliminate all forms of lay control and interference in Church matters. It comes as no surprise that Humbert's polemic on the subject was at least in part the theoretical basis of this new campaign. Both the papal election decree of 1059, and the investiture controversy that broke out fifteen years later during Hildebrand's tenure as pope, were arguably similarly inspired.

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[48] *Liber gratissimus, MGH, Libelli de lite* 1:15-75 (esp. 68). J. Gilchrist, "'Simoniaca haeresis' and the problem of orders from Leo IX to Gratian," *Proceedings Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Vatican City, 1965), 209-35; cf. the older synopsis by J. Leclercq, "Simoniaca heresis," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 523-30; and *L'Église au pouvoir des laïques*, 466-75 (Dumas).

[49] *Adversus simoniacos, MGH, Libelli de lite* 1:108, 205-6.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1:205.

On the whole, although the control of papal elections by the lay power was routinely deemed a dilemma by reformers, the issue became a pressing problem only after the death of Henry III in 1056. Significantly, no one had thought of objecting to the emperor's intervention in Rome in 1046, which in time led to the appointment of the first four reform popes (even if this was viewed as a violation of ecclesiastical procedure).[53] It is likely no one doubted his motives or his genuine zeal for reform. And besides, Henry III had appointed suitable and dependable men to the post. On the other hand, the possibility that his successors would also be inspired by a similar sense of responsibility was unlikely. The assumption that they would be willing to abandon control of papal elections was at best unrealistic. Besides, Henry had himself refused to do so in 1046. It was arguably this sort of reasoning which compelled the reformers (after Henry's death) to issue the famous papal election decree of 1059 (in the pontificate of Nicholas II). As a result of this declaration, for the first time, the election of a new pope was placed primarily in the hands of the cardinals, while the rights of both the emperor and the anti-reform Roman aristocracy were intentionally reduced to the barest minimum. Although the decree notes that "the apostolic see, being superior to all the Churches in the world, can have no metropolitan set over it," the cardinal-bishops were in fact assigned the role normally and canonically exercised by metropolitans in episcopal elections. They were actually to act as Rome's own quasi-metropolitans. Their preliminary selection of a new pontiff was to be followed by the formal acclamation or "consent" of the other cardinal clerks, Roman clergy and people. Although the legislation alluded to the German emperor's traditional prerogative in the election process, in practice the prerogative disappeared; it was mentioned only incidentally as if it were a dispensable privilege rather than an inalienable right. Significantly, at the time, the son and successor of Henry III, the eight year old boy-king, Henry IV, was hardly in a position to protest. Evidently the aim of the decree was to prevent both the Germans and the Romans from interfering. With one bold move secular authority was stripped of one of its most effective powers; in the future it would not be able to hand-pick the pope. To be sure, the decree was not accepted calmly; nor was the danger of a double election eliminated altogether. Even so, the unprecedented election procedure of 1059 and its purposely imprecise "royal clause" remained. On this question, at any rate, the papal struggle for full autonomy and independence from the secular power was for the most part over. Before long, the communication sent to the German court announcing a papal election would be just a formal notification rather than an endorsement petition.

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[51] Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 91, notes that on the basis of ancient canon law, Humbert "puts forth demands for a radical reordering of the relationship between Church and monarchy."

[52] *The Church in the Age of Feudalism*, x.

[53] *MGH, Constitutiones* 1:539-41.

But if in principle the issue of papal elections was resolved without a great deal of debate, the long-standing practice of lay investiture was to prove otherwise. Although earlier synods had often implied condemnation of the controversial ceremony, it was not until the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-85) and his collision with Henry IV that the first explicit ban was actually issued.[54] The decrees of 1075 and 1078 clearly indicate, both by their simplicity and directness, that Rome was by then demanding more than a simple ceremonial change. Strictly speaking, the right of laymen to appoint bishops was then denied. "We decree that no clerk may receive investiture of a bishopric, abbey, or church from the hands of emperor, king or any lay person, male or female."[55] Not surprising, the ban had been preceded by a lengthy campaign against suspected simoniacs in Germany, whom the emperor had almost certainly encouraged. Although the timing of Gregory's struggle with Henry IV is controversial (to say nothing of his inflexible and impulsive nature) there is little doubt that he was unwilling to have the reform movement undermined. He knew or at least suspected as an experienced reformer and as a member of the papal bureaucracy (since the days of Leo IX) that such a possibility was quite real with the slippery young emperor. He was as a result all the more determined that this would not be allowed to happen, even if it was to be "at a cost which would have seemed unthinkable a few years before."[56] In addition, by then, Gregory was possibly convinced that the principal issue at stake behind the question of investiture was the claim of laymen to dispose of ecclesiastical offices arbitrarily by their own power. As his former mentor, Humbert, had previously stressed, the symbols of episcopal authority could not be bestowed by a non-ecclesiastic. A layman was, precisely, only a layman.

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[54] The bibliography is vast. See the useful introduction of I. S. Robinson, "Pope Gregory VII: Bibliographical survey," *JEH* 36 (1985), 439-83; R. Morghen, *Gregorio VII* (Torino, 1945); *idem, Il pontifacato di Gregorio VII* (Rome, 1959). Both Tellenbach and Fliche (see note 2 above) continue to be useful. See also Morrison, *Tradition and Authority*, 265-360; *The Church in the Age of Feudalism*, 367-84 (Kempf). Cf. the useful introduction to Henry's correspondence in T. E. Mommsen and K. F. Morrison, *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century* (New York, 1962), 3-51; and J. Vogel, *Gregor VII. und Heinrich IV. nach Canossa. Zeugnisse ihres Selbstverständnisses* (Berlin, 1983).

Although the emperor was probably not surprised at the papal attack against abuses in Germany, he was clearly unprepared for the inflexible attitude Gregory soon assumed in the struggle. In order to understand the emperor's position it is necessary to emphasize that the German kingdom was at the time still administered primarily by clergy. Gregory's ban, as a consequence, was seen by the German sovereign as a challenge to his authority and, of course, to his theocratic power to grant out bishoprics to his followers and loyal civil servants. After all, anointed kingship and all its traditions were centuries old. Henry's predecessors had done what he was now doing in Germany since the days of Charlemagne. Put another way, he was being asked to secularize his so-called "imperial Church system" (the *Reichskirchensystem* of German historiography) by abolishing the centuries-old mutual dependence of kingship and priesthood, of pope and emperor.[57] In the event, he refused to comply, and instead chose to deny the pope's authority by declaring Gregory—"the false monk Hildebrand"—a usurper of papal power. In February 1076 Gregory replied in kind, and with characteristic forcefulness excommunicated Henry depriving him simultaneously of his royal authority. He also absolved all his German vassals from their fealty. Considering the anxiety felt by the German aristocracy toward the centralization policies and strong-arm tactics previously adopted by Henry in Germany, political polarization was inevitable. Henry was in point of fact faced with immediate open revolt on the part of some of his vassals and a few bishops; the spiritual sanctions imposed by the pope were the political opportunity for which they had been waiting. In the event, there was little Henry could do but to seek peace and, indeed, absolution, at the pope's castle retreat of Canossa, in the Apennine mountains. Gregory was of course suspicious of his previously defiant adversary suddenly turned penitent. He was above all skeptical about the king's objective, being fully conscious of the fact that the young Henry (unlike his father) had never been driven by piety or a sense of duty for Church matters. Still as a priest, he was forced to lift the excommunication and absolve Henry, even if he could not be sure of his sincerity (28 January 1077).

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[55] See Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198*, 409.

[56] Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 113; cf. W. Goetz, "Zur Persönlichkeit Gregors VII," *Römische Quartalschrift* 73 (1978), 193-216 (a portrait of Gregory based in part on his correspondence). On Gregory's timing, see the recent learned analysis by Schieffer, *Die Entstehung des päpstlichen Investiturverbots*.

[57] See above, note 4; *The Church in the Age of Feudalism*, 205-16, 247 (Kempf).

For Gregory the dramatic encounter with Henry high in the Apennine mountains of central Italy was of course a triumph. The unplanned self-humiliation of the emperor has ever since been regarded as a powerful symbol of papal supremacy or, more generally, as a moral victory of the Church over the state. The Gregorian reform had indeed travelled far since the days of Leo's papal tenure, when the papacy was still dominated by the theocratic but pious Henry III. At Canossa, after all, the German monarch was forced to accept the unprecedented claims made for the papal office by Gregory VII.[58] By his humiliating reconciliation he had in effect explicitly acknowledged the papal right to judge temporal rulers. And yet, on the other hand, the emperor's abject submission was also only temporary. Besides, Henry had really outmaneuvered his disloyal vassals by his solemn penance. His opponents were no longer able to justify their rebellion after Canossa. In the last analysis, in terms of practical politics, Canossa was a great tactical success for the emperor. Indeed, despite a subsequent second excommunication, Henry was eventually able to consolidate his authority in Germany by defeating his political opponents, whereas Gregory was forced to seek refuge in south Italy. Actually when the pope died as an exile among his Norman vassals, the

[58] H. Kämpf, *Canossa als Wende. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur neueren Forschung* (Darmstadt, 1969). Historians are not agreed on the question whether the pope at Canossa restored Henry to both communion and kingship: see in particular, K. F. Morrison, "Canossa: A revision," *Traditio* 18 (1962), 121-48; and H. Beumann, "Tribur, Rom und Canossa," in J. Fleckenstein, ed., *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Sigmaringen, 1973), 33-60.

controversy was still unsettled (25 May 1085). The struggle was to continue for nearly four more decades when it was finally resolved through the Concordat of Worms (22 September 1122).[59]

The famous compromise settlement of Worms for the most part turned out to be rather simple. Henry's successor finally formally agreed to renounce his power to invest bishops with the insignia of their authority. Although the emperor was given the right (at a separate ceremony) to bestow the feudal properties or imperial fiefs on a chosen candidate—the so-called *regalia* of the diocese—the spiritual office itself with its ring and staff was to be received solely from the Church. By the formal armistice of 1122, in other words, a clear conceptual distinction was drawn between a bishop's secular jurisdiction, involving his feudal lands or temporalities held of the king, and his actual sacred office of which the Church was alone the grantor. At the same time, the emperor agreed to proper canonical elections and consecrations.[60] That is to say, all elections were to be free and without simony. On the other hand, in exchange for these promises, the pope was bound by the terms of the agreement to allow the election of bishops and abbots to be held in the presence of the emperor or his accredited representative. Evidently, the settlement of 1122 was not on the whole revolutionary. Although the modification of the emperor's traditional rights could be described as a critical change, in a certain sense it was not so sweeping. The truth of the matter is that his actual control remained undisturbed and indeed protected, even if he was deprived of the symbol or sign of his power over the episcopate: German bishops after all were still feudally subject to the emperor for the temporalities that went with their office. More fundamentally, elections actually continued to be influenced and even dominated by the emperor, since his presence at such "canonical" proceedings was necessary. Often these free episcopal elections or appointments were in fact purely formal. Indeed, in the final analysis, in both England and France, it was because of these same advantages that the practice of royal investiture had been renounced long before 1122. (Both the English and the French were actually able to avoid the enormous political damage suffered by the empire in its struggle with Rome, because they had agreed on most of the same points so much earlier.) Clearly, insofar as the Western

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[59] *MGH, Constitutiones* 1:159-61. H. Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages c. 1050-1200* (Cambridge, 1986), 81-102; for Gregory's exile among the Normans, see especially H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius. Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), 136-76.

[60] P. Classen, "Das Wormser Konkordat in der deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte," in Fleckenstein, *Investiturstreit und Reichsverassung*, 411-60 (422).

Church had confined itself almost exclusively to the more restrictive legal question of investiture, Worms, in the end, was not altogether a triumph.[61]

Still, the renunciation of the offensive symbol of lay investiture was a success of sorts for the Roman curia. It was in fact a demonstration of the papacy's newly acquired ability to chastise and also condemn any German or non-German ruler within Western Christendom if it so desired. Rome's political leverage could no longer be ignored or dismissed by the Germans (as had of course been the case earlier, under the Saxon emperors).[62] Moreover, despite the controls retained by monarchy, the notion that bishops were no longer purely royal nominees was firmly established. In fact, the surrender of investiture by ring and staff meant not only the rejection of the proprietary church system but of the theocratic principle as well. It is indeed safe to assume that the conceptual distinction on which the two parties agreed in 1122, implied a new notion of royalty. Theocratic monarchy was in any case stripped of its semi-ecclesiastical status. The divinely ordained popular duality of papacy and empire, dominant in the early Middle Ages, was simply declared an anachronism.[63] This demotion or de-Christianization of the secular ruler was in the last analysis revolutionary. The old classroom cliché is no less true for being a cliché: as a result of the investiture quarrel the state was actually able to develop along more secular lines for the first time. On the other hand, after centuries of lay subjugation, the Church was able to breathe much more freely.

To summarize, the overall policy of the Gregorian movement, as we have seen, was focused initially on internal renewal. From the outset its disarmingly simple objective was the eradication of simony and the moral reform of the clergy. The *de facto* elimination of these common ills continued to command center stage down to the death of Henry III (1056). However, before long the reformers began to expand their activities by focusing their energies on liberating the Church from all lay patronage as well. Asserting the superiority of the clergy over the laity eventually became an essential aim of Gregorian propaganda. This more militant side of the movement first revealed itself in the successful legislation of 1059 dealing with papal elections; it was to reach its greatest momentum during the generally tumultuous pontificate of Gregory VII. On the other hand, these were frustrating times.

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[61] Z. N. Brooke, "Lay investiture and its relation to the conflict of empire and papacy," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 25 (1939), 217-47 (244); Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198*, 436-41.

[62] C. Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages 962-1154* (London, 1975), 287.

[63] Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 118; cf. R. Schieffer, "Gregor VII.—Ein Versuch über die historische Grösse," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 97 (1978), 105.

Implementing the goals of the movement as a whole often proved an arduous undertaking. Convincing the clergy of the Western Church to return to canonical practice was perhaps no less difficult than persuading Europe's feudal aristocracy that ecclesiastical institutions were not created to serve their secular needs. All the same, the genuine drive for reform launched in 1046 proved in the end irresistible and could not be thwarted. In the event, the dubious compromises made by the Church in the early Middle Ages gradually vanished. Remarkably, by the early twelfth century the canonical election of bishops by chapters, the selection of clergy by bishops, and the control of most local parishes by ecclesiastical officials had become common practice. By then, too, "simoniacal heresy," the long-standing rule of clerical sexual laxity, and the more obvious evils of lay control, had disappeared. A new unmistakable confidence was by then dominant in the Roman Church. Numerous practical results and improvements in virtually every area of Church life could be seen everywhere. The building of Latin Christendom for which the Gregorian reformers had patiently struggled had succeeded.

3. *The rising tide of papalism*

In addition to the demand for *libertas* and spiritual renewal, however, a determined effort had been made by the papacy to see that its claims to a universal jurisdiction throughout Christendom were everywhere acknowledged. The reformers in fact resolved to reorganize the Church along monarchical lines. From the outset it was agreed that this was to be accomplished by the systematic promotion of the pope's ancient primacy and authority everywhere. The vigorous interventionist policy initiated by Leo IX was almost certainly inspired by such sentiments. In brief, from the beginning the pioneers of the reformation were convinced that an independently powerful papacy exercising direct jurisdictional control over Christendom was an indispensable preliminary condition to renewal. The idea that the reform was to be founded on the restoration of papal authority was soon standard sentiment. Any concession or compromise on the pope's alleged constitutional status in the Church universal was conceived as a threat to the movement as a whole: Roman primatial centralism could alone guarantee ecclesial unity and renewal. Evidently, the papal reform movement was never exclusively limited or restricted to spiritual or moral renewal.

Without doubt the reign of Gregory VII is the best vantage point from which to examine this important feature of the Gregorian platform. It is of course true that Gregory's ideology owed a great deal to some of his predecessors.

Many of his views were already forged during his years as a subordinate papal bureaucrat and archdeacon. His understanding of lay investiture (to say it once more) was often a faithful reflection of Humbert's own theories, while one of his more controversial texts, the *Dictatus papae*, contains sentiments and beliefs already present in the papal curia of Leo IX. On the whole, the conclusion that Gregory was more a resolute man of action than a man of incisive ideas is certain. It was not his deep learning but actions that were to leave the world "breathless."[64] At the same time, nevertheless, his tenure as pontiff was also the high point of the rising Roman tide of the eleventh century, when the theme of papal primacy was to achieve a degree of practical and theoretical development unknown to the first reform pioneers. The principles and foundations of Roman reform ecclesiology are best observed in his reign.[65] The mystical identification with St Peter occasionally cultivated by the popes of the early Middle Ages first acquired its more extreme and indeed bizarre interpretation under Hildebrand/Gregory. The *Petrusmystik* dominates his reign.

The *Dictatus papae*, a collection of twenty-seven short statements dealing with the Roman primacy, is without doubt one of the most synoptic manifestos in existence on the subject. To be sure, some of its notions, in terms of origin, pre-date the eleventh century. For instance, number nineteen (see below) is actually directly traceable to the sixth century Symmachian forgeries. Still the arbitrary terms in which the fullness of Roman universal power is described is unparalleled. The fact that the original text was inserted in the official register of Gregory's correspondence does not of course tell us much about its purpose or origin. Such matters are hidden in obscurity. On the other hand, the suggestion that the list was intended as an index or a list of sorts—a table of contents or chapter headings—for a lost collection of canon law on the primacy has much in its favor.[66] As it happens, except for five of

64 *Ibid.*, 104, 106; "Gregor VII. der kein kanonist war und auch keinen kanonistischen Ehrgeiz besass, hat gleichwohl die Blütezeit des mittelalterlichen Kirchenrechts heraufgeführt,—nich durch seine Gelehrsamkeit, sondern durch seine Taten, mit denen er die Welt in Atem hielt... Gregor VII. war im Grunde wohl weniger ein Mann der weitreichenden Konzeptionen als der entschlossen Tat."

65 L. F. J. Meulenberg, *Der Primat der römischen Kirche im Denken und Handeln Gregors VII* (The Hague, 1965); cf. the critical review by W. Ullmann, *JEH* 19 (1968), 101-4. The subject of Gregorian ecclesiology is also analyzed to best advantage by the following guides of Y. Congar, "Der Platz des Papsttums in der Kirchenfrömmigkeit der Reformer des 11. Jahrhunderts," in J. Daniélou, ed., *Sentire Ecclesiam. Festschrift Hugo Rahner* (Freiburg, 1961), 196-217; and W. Ullman, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages. A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power* (London, 1970), 262-309.

66 K. Hofmann, "Der 'Dictatus papae' Gregors VII. als einer Kanonessammlung?" *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 531-7. For a rejection of the "index thesis," see H. Fuhrmann below, note 88.

its *capitula* dealing with Rome's relationship to the temporal power, the list is concerned exclusively with the divine origin and practical consequences of the pope's primatial rights and prerogatives.

1. That the Roman Church was founded by God alone.

2. That the Roman pontiff alone is rightly to be called universal.

3. That he alone can depose or reinstate bishops.

4. That his legate, even if of lower grade, takes precedence, in a council, of all bishops and may render a sentence of deposition against them.

7. That for him alone it is lawful to enact new laws according to the needs of the time, to assemble together new congregations, to make an abbey or a canonry; and, on the other hand, to divide a rich bishopric and unite the poor ones.

8. That he alone may use the imperial insignia.

9. That the pope is the only one whose feet are to be kissed by all princes.

11. That his title is unique in the world.

12. That he may depose emperors.

16. That no synod may be called a general one without his order.

17. That no chapter or book may be regarded as canonical without his authority.

19. That he himself may be judged by no one.

21. That to this see the more important cases of every Church should be submitted.

22. That the Roman Church has never erred, nor ever, by the witness of Scripture, shall err to all eternity.

23. That the Roman pontiff, if canonically ordained, is undoubtedly sanctified by the merits of St Peter.

26. That he should not be considered as Catholic who is not in conformity with the Roman Church.[67]

Considering the shadowy status of the papacy before 1046, the forceful and outspoken character of these claims is remarkable. Despite its brevity, the document is actually a comprehensive summary statement of the reorganized Church under papal sovereignty as conceived by the Gregorian reformers of the eleventh century. The pope is throughout represented as an absolute monarch, as the supreme authority over bishops, councils, clergy, and all temporal rulers. Simultaneously, papal authority is everywhere deemed preeminent, especially in administration and legislation, as Rome's arbitrary right to review petitions, authorize canon law, convene ecumenical councils, and deliver judgments (from which there is no appeal) illustrate.

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[67] *MGH, Epistolae selectae* 2:201-8 (=E. Caspar, ed., *Das Register Gregors VII*); English translation in S. Z. Ehler and J. B. Morrall, *Church and State Through the Centuries* (Westminster, MD, 1954), 43-44.

Invariably, in order to explain the unaccountability and supremacy of the pope, the *Dictatus* implicitly insists on the old proof from apostolicity. This argument was rooted in the familiar Petrine texts of Matthew 16:18-19, Luke 22:32, and John 21:15-17 and, especially, in the peculiar "Roman" exegesis with which the reforming popes chose to invest them.[68] Specifically, the promise and commission of Christ to the apostle Peter (enshrined in these texts) was thought to refer to the *Roman* see alone. The sweeping powers they imply were apparently bestowed by Christ exclusively on the Roman Church. The sole heir of the promises given to Peter by the Savior was indeed the Roman pontiff. This papalist reading is obviously behind the claim of the *Dictatus* that the see of St Peter is divinely-instituted or as "alone founded by God". In obvious contrast to all other sees and patriarchates, it is actually incapable of error and infallible. Remarkably, St Peter's trustees are even promised personally the gift of salvation. All canonically ordained papal incumbents, by virtue of their Petrine or apostolic authority, at any rate, are deemed "sanctified." The apostolicity argument was ultimately also the basis for the self-identification with St Peter found often among the reformers. Gregory VII was even willing to argue that Peter's Roman representative was the literal incarnation of the apostle. As he was to note in one of his letters, *eius vicarius... qui nunc in carne vivit.*[69]

Suffice it to say, Roman papal claims reached their pinnacle with such arguments. Reformers were actually being redundant in transforming obedience to the pope into virtual dogma, or in declaring conciliar legislation invalid, just because it contradicted papal decrees.[70] Arguably, their twelfth century successors were conscious of the repetition, as their search for new formulas and titles seems to suggest. It was then for the first time in fact that the label "Vicar of Christ" (normally used of the emperor) was moved center stage as a replacement of sorts for the pope's inherited personal sanctity and mystical identification with Jesus' disciple.[71] By the end of the century, Innocent III was even ready to discard the old formula "Vicar of St Peter" altogether for the more comprehensive "Vicar of Christ." As he was to emphasize, "we are the successor of the prince of the apostles, but we are not his vicar nor the vicar of any man or apostle, but the vicar of Jesus Christ himself."[72] Parenthetically, in connection with this terminological evolution, it is interesting to note that the word *ecclesia* was also to undergo a transformation of sorts at the same period. By then the word had come to be identified almost exclusively with "churchman" or ecclesiastical government; it was quite common in fact to speak of ecclesiastical hierarchy or authority as the Church—to the exclusion of the laity. In other words, the meaning of the biblical term *ecclesia*, embracing as it has always done the entire body of the faithful, was obscured or forgotten. "Language like this is a sign of a very profound revolution in the way men thought about the Church. What is uppermost in their minds when they think of the Church is a juridical entity. One speaks of the 'body of the Church' as one does of any corporation. Looked at in terms of a juridical organization, the Church is seen essentially as a hierarchical, governmental structure."[73] It goes without saying that the clerical separatism enshrined in this definition of *ecclesia* is linked not only to a rising papalism but to a rising clericalism. Everywhere in the West by the twelfth century, in contrast with the more accessible monogamous clergy of Eastern Christendom, sacerdotal celibacy had become an enduring reality.

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[68] I. S. Robinson, "Periculosus homo: Pope Gregory VII and episcopal authority," *Viator* 9 (1978), 118-19.

[69] *MGH, Epistolae selectae* 2:576.

[70] On these points, see especially Y. Congar in *Sentire Ecclesiam,* 196f; J. J. Ryan, *Saint Peter Damiani and his Canonical Sources: A Preliminary Study in the Antecedents of the Gregorian* Reform (Toronto, 1956), 137f, 167f.

In all essential respects, the metamorphosis of the papacy into a highly centralized monarchy was to result in the transformation of the western episcopate as well. The excessive centralization of Latin Christendom under papal authority was indeed to leave very little room for an independent hierarchy. Papal intrusion in diocesan affairs (already evident under Leo IX) was to become commonplace by the end of the century. It is by no means a surprise that the subordination of the episcopate to Rome is also a principal subtext of the *Dictatus papae*. Actually virtually half of its chapters deal with the proper relationship between pope and bishop; this is always described in

[71] Cf. Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, 104-5.

[72] *PL* 214:292A. M. Maccarrone, *Vicarius Christi. Storia del titolo papale* (Rome, 1952).

[73] R. A. Marcus, "Papacy and the hierarchy," in *idem, From Augustine to Gregory the Great* (London, 1983), 36 (no. 17); and Y. Congar, "The historical development of authority in the Church. Points for Christian reflection," in J. M. Todd, ed., *Problems of Authority* (Baltimore and London, 1964), 140.

terms of dependence. Throughout the document, at any rate, the ancient apostolic office of bishop is presented as an auxiliary adjunct agency of the papacy.[74] Direct, even unlimited, supervision of every diocese by Rome is viewed as the norm. Virtually all traditional episcopal and metropolitan primatial rights are set aside in order to make room for *papatus*, the new rank or order superior to *episcopatus*. In the end, in fact, St Peter's successor on the papal throne assumes not only the functions and powers of the episcopacy within each diocese, but the responsibilities of the provincial synod as well. The power to translate, reinstate, and depose a bishop is, in fact, characterized as a papal prerogative (whereas of course until then it had belonged to the local synod). Inevitably, all papal legates are dignified with similar powers. As duly authorized papal agents, their right of intervention is virtually identical to that of the pope; they are given precedence over all local authority. Although they may themselves be actually in inferior orders, if necessary, they are empowered to depose and even excommunicate bishops.

Predictably, the pope's superior status vis-à-vis the episcopate was before long defined in even greater detail by western canonists. By the twelfth century Rome's interventionist-supervisory powers on the local diocesan level were routinely portrayed as expressions of the papal *plenitudo potestatis*.[75] St Peter's representative was apparently alone called to this fullness of jurisdictional power, whereas the bishop's authority was more confined within definite limits. As St Bernard was to insist, the *plenitudo potestatis* (a phrase first used in the fifth century by pope Leo I) was a unique papal privilege. "Therefore he who resists this power, resists the ordinance of God...[The apostolic see] can degrade some [bishops] and exalt others, as its judgment dictates... It can summon the most eminent churchmen from the ends of the earth and compel them to her presence not once or twice, but as often as it seems fit. Moreover it is quick to avenge every act of disobedience if anyone tries to resist."[76] Given the pronounced emphasis placed on the Roman primacy by the reformers of the eleventh century, it is not surprising to find that canonists were explicitly called upon to support it. How canon law became an instrument of papal absolutism will be described in a subsequent page. It will suffice at this point only to note that by the late eleventh

[74] Robinson, *Viator* 9 (1978), 103f; Meulenberg, *Der Primat der römischen Kirche*, 53-79.

[75] K. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1984), 43-74; R. L. Benson, "Plenitudo potestatis: Evolution of a formula from Gregory IV to Gratian," *Studia Gratiana* 14 (1967), 196-217.

[76] *Epistola 131*, in J. Leclercq *et al.*, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols. (Rome, 1957-77), 7:327; cf. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198*, 183.

century—thanks to Gregorian initiative—numerous new canonical manuals were available to the knowledgeable ecclesiastic. The fact that many of them began with a chapter entitled *de primatu romanae ecclesiae* was by no means unusual or uncommon. It had become by then almost standard practice.

Since the powers of the papal monarchy were deemed comprehensive in every way, they were obviously meant to include Orthodox Eastern Christendom. Actually the new papalism had as its goal the transformation of the pope's legitimate primacy of honor and authority within the ancient system of patriarchates into "a real power of jurisdiction, universal in scope and absolute in nature."[77] The intention, quite simply, was to elevate Rome over and above all the other patriarchates, to make the papal throne into something more than one apostolic throne among others. It has indeed often been stressed that the aim was to reduce authority in Christendom to one. No longer would the constitutional center of the Church be based on a multiplicity of individual sees, on conciliarity and collegiality, but on Rome alone—the *caput et cardo* of papal decrees and pronouncements. It is worth adding that this vision of the pope's constitutional standing in the Church was also known to the author of the familiar forgery, the *Donation of Constantine.* "And we ordain and decree that he [the Roman pontiff] shall have rule as well over the four principal sees, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, as also over the Churches of God in all the world. And the pontiff who for the time being shall preside over the most holy Roman Church shall be the highest and chief of all priests in the whole world, and according to his decision shall all matters be settled."[78] In its negotiations with Constantinople in 1054, Rome was to appeal *inter alia* to this forged donation as a prized "authority" for its claims.

Any synopsis of Rome's superior status in the Church universal (as conceived by the Gregorians) must also necessarily emphasize its relationship to the temporal power. Again, Pope Gregory's pontificate has a direct bearing on the matter. As it happens, the *Dictatus* contains numerous sentences on the subject. The most famous assertion undeniably concerns the pope's right to depose emperors. As we have seen, this tenet (that kingship is a removable office) was actually put into practice in 1076 during Lent, when Gregory, in addition to absolving the German aristocracy from their oaths, stripped Henry IV of his right to rule and then excommunicated and deposed him. Gregory justified his actions in a letter to Hermann of Metz by arguing that the spiritual power was essentially superior to the secular power, since it presumably alone performed a higher function in society. To support his thesis, the pope was actually even willing to suggest that Ambrose of Milan and Pope Gelasius of the early Middle Ages had said as much. But Gregory probably also relied on the *Adversus simoniacos*, in which Humbert of Silva Candida had argued against the sacred nature of kingship by maintaining that "just as the soul excels the body and commands it, so too the priestly dignity excels the royal."[79] Whatever the case, in their attempt to transform the Roman primacy into a genuine monarchy over the Church, the reformers of the eleventh century (and in particular, Gregory VII) eventually also laid claim to a jurisdictional authority superior to the secular power. Increasingly, emancipation of the Church and its clergy from the feudal net of the lay ruler—enshrined in the cry *libertas ecclesiae*—came to mean primarily clerical domination over the laity. In time, indeed, this reaction to imperial tutelage was to result in the "imperialization of the Church" itself, to borrow the label made famous by E. Kantorowicz.[80] By the twelfth century, as a recent specialist argues, the vocabulary of western canonical collections used to describe papal authority, "became virtually indistinguishable from that of imperial authority."[81] That the papal claims to the imperial purple were frequently also inspired by Constantine's forged donation goes without saying. In this connection, it bears repeating that the imperial formula "Vicar of Christ" became a papal monopoly under Innocent III.

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[77] J. Meyendorff, *The Orthodox Church* (London, 1962), 45.

[78] *MGH, Fontes iuris germanici antiqui* 10:82-3 (ed. H. Fuhrmann); translation in H. Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (London, 1963) 138; for an extensive critical bibliography on this famous text, see H. Fuhrmann, "Konstantinische Schenkung und abendländisches Kaisertum. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Constitutum Constantini," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 22 (1966), 63-178 (on the patriarchates, see esp. 109-110).

In the last analysis, needless to say, pope Gregory's theories and logic were seriously flawed and equivocal. And of course both his actions and arguments lacked historical precedent. Even his contemporaries were surprised at his radical reinterpretation of the historical facts as described in the sources. Neither Gelasius nor Ambrose had of course actually ever made the claims that Gregory repeatedly made on their behalf. In particular, they never implied by their actions or writings that a pope had the right to depose kings and emperors, or absolve subjects from their oaths, merely because priestly responsibility was supposedly greater.[82] And of course no pope had ever actually deposed an emperor. Even Theodosius was never deposed by St Ambrose. Ironically, historical precedent exists only for the opposite process (as the depositions of 1046 by Henry III illustrate). On the other hand, it seems certain that Gregory and the reformers in general were unmoved by such counter-arguments, however scrupulously argued. It was apparently much easier to regard their assertions and actions as a simple practical exercise of the papacy's Petrine power of binding and loosing—the so-called *potestas ligandi et solvendi* entrusted to St Peter and all his successors.[83] For their part, extending this power directly to the secular sphere was altogether legitimate.

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[79] *MGH, Libelli de lite* 1:225.

[80] *Laudes regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1958), 138; see especially Ullman, *The Growth of Papal Government*, 262 f.

[81] Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 3.

To summarize, the western concept of papal primacy over the Church *in toto orbe* had achieved an astonishing degree of theoretical practical development by 1100. The *Dictatus papae* was entered into Gregory's *Register* perhaps a mere twenty years after the death of Pope Leo IX. In terms "of ecclesiological doctrines in general and of the notion of authority in particular,"[84] the new juridical understanding of primacy as supremacy was, arguably, the most decisive chapter in the entire history of the Roman patriarchate. Sadly, the fact that it was also a threat to Church unity and Christian tradition was not appreciated by the Gregorian reformers. It is at any rate safe to assume that the ancient practice of conciliarity, in which the Church was conceived as *koinonia* regulated by episcopal collegiality or a synodal structure, was for them no longer important. For the high papalist, at any rate, the historical Church had always been ruled by the inspired judgment of the Roman pontiff and not by bishops or councils.[85] Scripture itself was on this point all too clear: as a result of his Petrine powers, the pope had direct authority to dispense and to modify both Christian tradition and institutions. As Peter's successor he could act unencumbered without the consent or approval of his brother bishops and the Church's councils.

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[82] See the important assessment of the evidence by R. Schieffer, "Von Mailand nach Canossa. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der christlichen Herrscherbusse von Theodosius der Grosse bis Heinrich IV.," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 28 (1972), 333-70.

[83] R. L. Benson, "The Gelasian doctrine: Uses and transformations," in G. Makdisi, ed., *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Age. Islam, Byzance, Occidente* (Paris, 1982), 13-44 (esp. 27-28).

[84] Congar, "The historical development of authority," 136.

[85] K. F. Morrison, "The Gregorian reform," in B. McGinn and J. Meyendorff, eds., *Christian Spirituality I: Origins to the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1985), 180. J. Spiteris' suggestion that the ancient concepts of collegiality and equality among the five patriarchates were actually a muffled defense of caesaropapism by the Eastern Church—only the emperor could represent Church unity—is odd at best. See the author's *La Critica Bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII* (Rome, 1979) and his article in C. Ryan, ed., *The Religious Role of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150-1300* (Toronto, 1989). For a recent review of this volume, see *Speculum* 66 (1989), 475-77 (A. Murray). See also pp. 152-67 below on the Roman primacy.

Remarkably, any suggestion that these claims were at best exaggerated was hidden from the reformers. Most of them were in actual fact content to accept the promotion of the Roman primacy as an authentic restoration of the past. The new legal authority in the Church advanced with such breath-taking speed did not, for their part, constitute a serious breach in Christian historical continuity and tradition. As a modern apologist explains, "tel sera précisément le but de la réforme grégorienne qui apparaîtra du même coup non pas comme une révolution, mais comme une restauration des usages anciens. La tradition sauvera l'Église."[86] Although this scholarly interpretation is unambiguously sincere, it is also strictly speaking unconvincing. Ecclesiologically, at any rate, the rapid transformation of the Western Church in the eleventh century was a revolutionary development. Fundamentally, the term reform is "a serious understatement, reflecting in part the desire of the papal party itself—and of later Roman Catholic historians—to play down the magnitude of the discontinuity between what had gone before and what came latter."[87] To an unusual degree, to put it otherwise, the idea that the Gregorians were rigorous traditionalists is a serious oversimplification. Its historical basis is slight. It is quite possible to argue, for instance, that the high papalist exegesis of Matthew 16:18 was ancient. On the other hand, it was by no means ever universal. St Augustine himself preferred a non-papalist reading. The "rock" for him was not Peter but Christ. Actually, it has even been suggested by one of the most learned scholars of the period that the *Dictatus* was itself composed because Rome could not justify its actions in the traditional law books. "The *Dictatus papae* can be understood simply as proof that it was impossible to defend Gregory VII's legal demands by means of received law: the canonists could not follow the pope and his 'guiding principles' with a compilation of papal rights."[88]

It is worth repeating again that the men responsible for this fundamental "discontinuity" were initially almost all members of the German episcopate. The aggressive self-confidence which inspired them, as we have seen, was rooted in the northern monastic reform movement. They were the heirs to Carolingian

[86] Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne*, 1:36.

[87] H. J. Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Foundation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 87, 99-107; Robinson, *JEH* 36 (1985), 444-46.

[88] H. Fuhrmann, "'Quod catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanae ecclesiae.' Randnotizen zum Dictatus papae," in K.-U. Jäschke and R. Wenskus, eds., *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1977), 286 (263-87). K. F. Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church 300-1140* (Princeton, 1969), 346, is above all impressed by the contempt of antiquity shown by the reformers, who only occasionally remembered to use the language of tradition for political reasons. Cf. also Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198*, 116-17; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 31, 108, 112.

theology and civilization. As "ultramontane" churchmen, they were often at the same time uninformed of the papacy's ancient Mediterranean orientation. This inexperience automatically meant ignorance of Eastern Christendom. To cite the late Francis Dvornik, such regrettable innocence explains their determination "to extend everywhere the direct right of intervention of the papacy—even in the East where the Churches had enjoyed a good deal of autonomy in running their internal affairs according to their own custom. In wishing to extend celibacy of the clergy which they were enforcing in the West, they forgot the practice of the East that priests were married. They also forgot that there were no churches under lay ownership in the East and that no reform was necessary in this matter. In preaching obedience to Rome and in enforcing observance of Roman customs they took no account whatever of the fact that the East had different customs and different rites."[89] Typically, their predecessors in the eighth century, despite the opposition of both Rome and Constantinople, had adopted a similar attitude towards the medieval Christian East. Like their Carolingian forerunners, certainly, the Gregorians were for the most part unaffected by ancient ecclesiology or by the Greek patristic tradition. In geopolitical terms, when they thought of the Church, they thought of Rome-centered Latin, Western, Christendom. As the *Dictatus papae* (c.26) neatly emphasized, whoever disagreed with the Roman Church was not to be regarded as a catholic—*quod catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanae ecclesiae*. Obedience to Rome, in the last analysis, was the ultimate test of orthodoxy.

Strictly speaking, a detailed summary of the schism of 1054 lies outside the chronological limits of this survey. Still, failure to mention it in the context of the papal reform movement would be indefensible. A true appreciation of the schism, broadly considered, has actually always been dependent on a precise knowledge of the Gregorian reform. It is surely not pure accident that this "extraordinary powerful movement from which, without exaggeration, may be dated the definite formation of Latin Christianity, was [also] the very moment of the final separation between the Eastern and Western Churches."[90] Indeed, as has been argued, reform ideology was meant to be comprehensive and, as such, Eastern Christendom was seldom omitted from papal designs. The tension that this was to generate in the Byzantine world will be discussed in its proper context. It is sufficient here only to note that Rome was denounced with cool certainty by Constantinople for assuming a monarchy which did not belong to its office (to cite the sober assessment of one Byzantine theologian). The Orthodox were by no means found "asleep at the switch" once the papal claims became known. In point of fact the reform intensified the already existing East-West rivalry and this in the end brought permanent schism. As for the more precise coup de théâtre of 1054, the blame has at times been place much too squarely upon Humbert's shoulders. Granted he was an important architect of the reform movement, and as one of its bolder players was certainly familiar with arm-twisting. Besides, the papal letters he had brought with him to the Byzantine capital were partly his own compositions. Still, in a very real sense, placing all responsibility for what occurred on his radicalism or combativeness is a mistake, precisely because his posture cannot be isolated. The unconditional obedience he demanded of Orthodox Christendom would have been insisted on by the papacy as well. Then again, it is unthinkable that his actions or letters would have been disowned by any of the reformers. (They were not in fact rejected until 1965.) To put it otherwise, the history of the Roman primacy and the ecclesiology his posture implied was Gregorian, not Humbertian.[91] If his intransigence and hostility were the result of his own temperament, the universal episcopacy and expansionist ecclesiology he tried to advance were not.

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[89] F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York, 1966), 129; J. Meyendorff, "Les causes directes du schisme," *Le Messager Orthodoxe* 7 (1959), 5: "Une nouvelle Europe chrétienne s'édifiait, une nouvelle conception du monde s'élaborait à Rome, conception qui, dans large mesure, ignorait l'Orient de l'époque, la tradition des pères grecs et la conception ancienne de l'Église. Les intérêts du Siège Romain lui-même se concentrent entièrement sur l'Occident." *Idem, The Orthodox Church*, 45. See also G. Tellenbach, "Die Bedeutung des Reformpapsttums für die Einigung des Abendlandes," *Studi Gregoriani* 2 (1947), 125-49.

[90] M. Bloch, *Feudal Society* (Chicago, 1970), 107. See also *The Church in the Age of Feudalism*, x (Kempf).

Although a great deal is known individually about the so-called schism of 1054 and the *Dictatus* of Gregory VII, the fact that the two are occasionally linked together is not common knowledge. Presumably many of the prepositions of the *Dictatus* were also written with the Eastern Church in mind. The argument has actually been made that the *Dictatus papae* was a draft of the preliminary conditions for union, which Rome wished to impose on Constantinople after 1054. Apparently some twenty years later, when the text was composed, the papal embassy to Constantinople was still a live issue for its author. Thus, it has been suggested that the emphasis on the pope's title "universal" was a reference to the Byzantine formula "ecumenical patriarch" used by the see of Constantinople since the sixth century. That the reformers disliked the Orthodox usage is well known. Humbert even saw it as a usurpation of a papal title and

[91] Cf. Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, 70-73.

was accordingly scandalized; not surprising, he also (mistakenly) thought that it had been created in the eleventh century by patriarch Michael Cerularius. Predictably, it has also been proposed that the assertions regarding Rome's right to convoke ecumenical councils and confirm their decisions (tasks traditionally undertaken by the Byzantine emperor) were aimed primarily at Byzantium. Then, too, the text's redefinition of Church-state relations (the papal right to depose emperors and wear the imperial insignia, *inter alia*) may have had as its target both the German and Byzantine sovereigns.[92] Admittedly the evidence for associating Humbert's embassy with the later *Dictatus* is not always convincing or conclusive. Western circumstances it would seem were the text's main concern. On the other hand, the suggestion that there is a connection and that the text may be a list of conditions for union is intriguing.

4. Yet another reformation: differentiation in monasticism

The far-reaching papal reformation of the eleventh century, briefly defined and outlined above, was to consolidate its gains in the course of the twelfth century. By the pontificate of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), the institutionalization and centralization of the high-medieval Church had attained a degree of sophistication and perfection unknown to the early reform pioneers. The skillful bureaucracy, flashy legal maturity and efficiency of a revitalized papacy were soon the envy of Europe's secular monarchies. To repeat, this development was essentially the elaboration and consolidation of the papacy's earlier accomplishments. If one reform had ended by the late eleventh century, however, another was about to begin: the twelfth century was also to witness an unprecedented diversification of the contemplative life—the rapid spread of new forms of monasticism. The spiritually charged atmosphere of this age is inconceivable without the Cistercians, Carthusians, and canons regular, to say nothing of the new military orders, and the strong eremitical impulse that distinguished so many religious. In a very real sense, the century is dominated by the new abbeys and their influential abbots. The ecclesiastical prestige and influence exercised by the Cistercian, Bernard of Clairvaux, was actually second to none. By 1150, in terms of sheer numbers and influence, the new religious almost certainly had eclipsed and in part displaced the old-fashioned Benedictines. That the arrival of so many new orders constitutes an authentic revolution in the twelfth century is beyond doubt. It is not an exaggeration to argue that the new monasticism actually reshaped if not refashioned altogether the spirituality of the West.

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[92] See J. Gauss, "Die Dictatus—Thesen Gregors VII. als Unionsforderungen," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung* 29 (1940), 1-115; *idem, Ost und West in der Kirchen-und Papstgeschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich, 1967), 41-68; R. Koebner, "Der Dictatus Papae," in *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Robert Holtzmann zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1933), 64-92; A. Michel, "Die folgenschweren Ideen des Kardinals Humbert und ihre Einfluss auf Gregor VII," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 65-92 (esp. 74-5). For the Byzantine title "ecumenical patriarch" see the entry with bibliography in *ODB* 1:675-6 (A. Papadakis).

By and large, the history of the post-Gregorian papacy would have been very different without the religious revival of the twelfth century. Its contribution to both the growing power of the papacy and the institutional Church is indisputable. Rome's demanding reform program was often sustained almost exclusively by the new orders. Their reliability and loyalty to the Roman see (to say nothing of the diversity of their skills, financial support, assistance in fighting heresy, and in preaching the new papalism and the crusade) were, quite simply, crucial.[93] And of course they were to be the nurseries for the papacy's assorted secretaries, advisers, and servants. Of the nineteen popes of the twelfth century more than half were in actual fact representatives of the new religious orders—former monks or canons. The situation was invariably identical in the papal curia and the college of cardinals, where recruits also often came from the new orders. The close, even special, relationship between the revitalized papacy and its new monastic agents has often been emphasized. No doubt the perfectly synchronous growth of papal power and the new monasticism may seem arbitrary, even superficial. It was not, however, altogether pure coincidence. The spiritual association and collaboration between them from the outset is well documented.

The dominant characteristic of the new asceticism did not entail the rise of new communities only or the spectacular increase of career choices. The new orders were also given well defined comprehensive constitutions, which clarified in great detail the machinery for the supervision of all daughter houses by the founding abbey. The new communal life differed markedly from the older Benedictine model. The change in fact was both sweeping and startling. After all, traditionally, in principle, the Rule of St Benedict envisaged every monastic house as a self-governing community under the direction of its own abbot. A monastic "order" or "empire" was never part of Benedict's vision. The inmates of these independent units were essentially laymen working the estates of the monastery. As such, the Benedictine model did not differ all that much from the primitive austerity and autonomy which had long obtained in eastern monasticism. Byzantine monastics could in fact be

[93] Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198*, 211, 213, 243.

described as "close cousins" of the western Black Monks of St Benedict.[94] Still, it is symptomatic of Latin monasticism that asceticism for its own sake was deemed insufficient and wanting. "While always adhering in principle to the ideal of flight from the world, western monasticism again and again made its influence felt in the secular world, raising its voice so as to affect the Church at large."[95] The striking harmonization achieved later by the mendicant orders between the active and the contemplative life is by no means the only expression of this western tendency. The first decisive departure from the Benedictine pattern (established as the norm by the ninth century in western Europe) was of course the Burgundian abbey of Cluny. Its international structure was described in an earlier page. All the same, the new orders were to move far beyond Cluny's empire and traditional monasticism. Both in terms of structure and spirituality, the new asceticism was at once more inclusive and complex.

The degree to which change in the religious atmosphere of the twelfth century was a response to contemporary "corrupt" Benedictinism is debatable. Historians, it is true, have often argued for the existence of a general decline among the Benedictines at the time and have even presupposed the unfolding of a genuine "crisis" of the common life.[96] This widespread dissatisfaction with the "decadence" of complacent Benedictines everywhere, it is said, was the cause of the rise of the new orders. Their conspicuous institutional prosperity, corporate wealth and extensive worldly involvement, reflected *inter alia* in their ostentatious clothing, horse riding, and overall self-indulgent life style, had apparently reached high tide by 1100. The theoretical poverty and primitive purity of cenobitism everywhere at any rate were at a low ebb. That this modern concept about Benedictine exhaustion has been sustained by the savage polemic of Bernard of Clairvaux (to cite the best known example from among the new monastics of the twelfth century) goes without saying. And yet, the truth of the matter is that the issue of "crisis," if understood exclusively as decline, is on the whole an exaggeration. The extant documentation does not justify such an interpretation.[97] Most external indicators actually imply the opposite. Put another way, the Benedictines were still a dynamic community in 1100 and to describe them as being in decline is misleading. Significantly, it is almost certain that they did not see their involvement in the life of the Church and in secular society as a betrayal of their vows but as a service to both. And yet it is also no less true that the new orders were seeking a more intense spiritual life; apparently neither the Gorzer nor Cluny tradition was able to satisfy this yearning. In the end monks were forced to turn elsewhere. Still, this dissatisfaction should not be routinely understood as a symptom of failure or atrophy of traditional received monasticism. "A new vision of religious perfection need not require the decadence of another; two or more may well flourish in the same era."[98]

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[94] D. Knowles, *Christian Monasticism* (New York, 1969), 127.

[95] C. Erdmann cited in Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 68.

[96] N. F. Cantor, "The crisis of western monasticism, 1050-1130," *American Historical Review* 66 (1960), 47-67; G. Constable, *Religious Life and Thought (11th-12th Centuries)* (London, 1979). On the rise of the new orders, see especially the valuable study by B. Bligny, *L'Église et les Ordres Religieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne aux XI^e et XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1960); C. N. L. Brooke, *The Monastic World 1000-1300* (London, 1974).

[97] J. V. Engen, "The 'crisis of cenobitism' reconsidered: Benedictine monasticism in the years 1050-1150," *Speculum* 61 (1986), 269-304.

Given this sense of dissatisfaction, the new revival in the end was an extension of the contemplative life, an elaboration of old forms and structures. Above all, the orders of the twelfth century wished to recapture the primitive purity and simplicity of the apostolic life by returning to the original model of all monasticism—the *ecclesia primitiva*. This idealized vision of the past invariably implied for the twelfth century a revival of the hermit ideal of the desert fathers. The early monastic giants of the fourth century, it was believed, had also modelled their austere and ascetic life on the *vita apostolica*.[99] Needless to say, routine references in the monastic records and documents of the age to the establishment of new "desert" communities at Cîteaux, La Grande Chartreuse or Prémontré, should probably not be viewed solely as a literary conceit (to say nothing of several earlier eremitical ventures at Vallambrosa, Camaldoli and Fonte Avellana). Significantly, the rigid Cistercian rejection of everything running counter to the letter of St Benedict's Rule—the ambition to observe the Rule faithfully, even literally, in its original purity without novelties or accretions—was also an expression of this same desire to return to the past and its primitive documents.

Without doubt the "new monastery" of Cîteaux or *Cistercium*—the founding community of a vast federation destined to be called the Cistercian order—was both the most important and the most popular among the new monastic associations. Its beginnings in 1098, in the Burgundian forest south of Dijon, were surprisingly modest; in fact the tiny band of founding fathers

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[98] *Ibid.*, 274.

[99] E. W. McDonnell, "The *Vita apostolica:* Diversity or dissent," *Church History* 24 (1955), 15-31; G. Constable, "Renewal and reform in religious life: Concepts and realities," in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 37-67 (esp. 53-6).

(some of them were actually dissenting Benedictines from the abbey of Molesme) almost failed to survive the initial hardships. All the same, by 1115 the group had managed to found four new daughter-houses; its drive to refashion the monastic world of the West was then set in motion. Remarkably, the rapid growth of the order was to surpass any corresponding movement in the entire history of monasticism. A century later the community was actually celebrating its great international success with 530 abbeys![100] Of course its expansion and fame are also inconceivable without the contributions of its most eminent father, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). Before long this eloquent abbot was to become the community's most persuasive propagandist; through his powerful moral prestige, Cîteaux-Clairvaux was soon transformed into Europe's spiritual center. By means of his personal saintliness, moreover, Bernard was to mould almost single-handedly the spirituality of his age. It is not without significance that he was to take an uncompromising stand against the rising tide of scholasticism among his contemporaries. His sustained criticism of Abelard, who had presumed to find reason for virtually every subject ("even of those things which are above reason," to borrow Bernard's phrase) is perhaps as well known as his denunciation of Cluny's mannered pieties and transgressions against the Rule.[101]

Ironically, although the Cistercians claimed that they were following St Benedict's Rule in all its original rigor, the fact remains that they were also offenders. Their greatest departure from the primitive Benedictine text, arguably, was their own constitution, enshrined in the organizational charter known as the *Carta Caritatis*. Unlike the ideal Benedictine community, the Cistercian order was in actual fact a federation of monasteries closely bound together by an annual general chapter of all the abbots meeting at Cîteaux. Although each community of the order was allowed to regulate its own affairs separately, ultimate sovereign authority was vested in the yearly chapter and not in the individual abbey or abbot. Abbatial autonomy was in fact deliberately limited by the constitution in the interest of the solemn annual gathering at Cîteaux; the latter was alone invested with full executive, legislative, and judicial power.[102]

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[100] R.A. Donkin, "The growth and distribution of the Cistercian order in medieval Europe," *Studia Monastica* 9 (1967), 275-86; L. J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, OH, 1977).

[101] D. Knowles, "Cistercians and Cluniacs: The controversy between St Bernard and Peter the Venerable," in *idem, The Historians and Character and other Essays* (Cambridge, 1964); J. Leclerq, *S. Bernard et l'esprit cistercien* (Paris, 1975). For Bernard's role in the growth of the order, see A. H. Bredero, *Bernhard von Clairvaux im Widerstreit der Historie* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 47-53.

[102] C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism* (London, 1985), 156-60; Knowles, *Christian Monasticism*, 71-82.

Even Cîteaux's superior (in sharp contrast to the monarchical rule enjoyed by Cluny's abbot) was never viewed as anything other than the first among equals. Significantly, this balance between centralized control and local autonomy achieved by the Cistercians was much admired by contemporaries and, as a consequence, was often imitated by the other religious orders. All the same, the organization was alien to authentic Benedictinism. This change, moreover, was not the only Cistercian novelty. The order was also an innovator in its use of *conversi*—its peasant lay brothers. For the order's highly organized farms and estates this unpaid work force was to prove crucial. Although they were actually bound by vows of obedience and chastity, the lay brethren of the order were really the solution to the labor shortage on Cistercian granges. The direct exploitation of the land by the order, to say nothing of its reputation for colonization and evangelization, would have been impossible without its illiterate peasantry—its second-class lay brothers.

As noted earlier the monastic explosion of the twelfth century also encouraged the solitary vocation and the renewal of eremitism. Rarely, however, did this also mean expansion or large numbers. Thus, unlike the Cistercian order, the semi-eremitic community of La Grande Chartreuse near Grenoble, established by Bruno of Cologne in 1084, was necessarily always small and isolated. True, the Carthusians did eventually expand slightly and by 1200 actually possessed numerous houses. All the same, the growth was modest: each community was quite small. Significantly, this order, the most famous of all the eremitical families, worshipped communally. On the other hand, each monk had his individual cell and lived as a hermit. The rule of enclosure was always rigid: it was in his private cell that each solitary worked and prayed, slept and ate. In sum, the order was able to provide for the eremitic vocation within the framework of an attenuated cenobitism. Its great achievement was the "domestication" of the life of the desert.[103] But if eremitism in the Western Church was never destined to become widely extended, the canonical or communal form of life almost certainly was. The regular canons—western clergy following their own rule or canon (*regula*)—were actually to become almost as diffuse as the Cistercians. Remarkably, their impact on the Church as a whole was to be almost as decisive as that of the Cistercians.

The progress of this canonical movement was doubtlessly linked to the restoration of the *vita apostolica* mentioned above. And yet its roots are also obviously traceable to the papal reformation. The Gregorians, as we have

[103] *Ibid.*, 66.

seen, attempted to monachise the secular clergy by imposing celibacy on all clerical ranks. The canonical movement arguably could be viewed as an attempt to combine the monastic life (regular) with the priestly office (secular). In fact, gradually, the papal reformers were successful in convincing many in the priesthood to live the common life by sharing the same dormitory and refectory of their parish. Like all monks, in other words, priests were also urged to take the apostolic community as their model and thus to live *communiter,* in the manner of the primitive Church.[104] Eventually, many groups adopted the so-called Rule of St Augustine; by submitting to its discipline and control, they became distinct from those clergy living singly with no common life (secular canons). On the other hand, it is also true that there was always considerable variation among the order of Augustinian canons. Because their Rule was often sufficiently imprecise, diversity flourished. To repeat, the impact of these regular canons on the twelfth century was considerable. Their contribution was especially decisive and crucial to the expanding society of the twelfth century.[105] Indeed, in a social sense, the order actually foreshadowed developments in the thirteenth century and, in particular, the transition from monks to mendicants represented by the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The later friars were in fact to abandon altogether the seclusion and enclosure of the monastery for an aggressive ministry to lay people, involving active evangelism in the urban environment of the new towns. As it happens, the founder of the Dominican friars was himself initially a Spanish regular canon.

Possibly the most unusual evidence of monastic renewal in the twelfth century was the institution of the monk-knight. As a manifestation of the monastic vocation, the international military orders of the Temple (1139) and the Hospital (1113) were certainly unconventional by contemporary standards. An order of knights which is at the same time also a self-governing community of fully professed monks, bound by vows of personal poverty, chastity, and obedience, is at any rate a contradiction in terms. Professionally or vocationally the two notions are opposite extremes. On the other hand, obviously, the phenomenon of the soldier-monk must be judged by twelfth century standards. A standing militia of fighting monks was not only a product of the crusading ethos of the age, but an expression of expanding and aggressive Latin Christendom, willing to endorse the profession of warfare as a Christian ideal. The institutionalization of crusade by the papacy will be described in a later chapter. It is necessary to note at this point only that the sacralization of the status of knighthood preceded the successful storming of Jerusalem in 1099 by the first crusading army. This transformation of the professional soldier into a Christian knight fighting in the service of the Church was decisive for both the rise of holy war and the military orders.[106] The rapidly changing ethic of warfare in the West made possible the twelfth century military orders.

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[104] C. Dereine, "Vie commune, règle de S. Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XI^{e} siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 41 (1946), 365-406; C. N. L. Brooke, "Monk and canon: Some patterns in the religious life of the twelfth century," *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985), 109-30; G. Denzler, "Die Kanonikerbewegung und die gregorianische Reform im 11. Jahrhundert," *Studi Gregoriani* 9 (1972), 223-37.

[105] B. Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation* (London, 1983), 51-4; Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, 241.

Actually, these new communities of warrior-monks were primarily initially charitable associations called into existence by the needs of pilgrims and the ailing in the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem. Increasingly, however, the same groups assumed a more military character as the chronic shortage of manpower in the new Latin world of Outremer became more serious. Before long they were in fact contributing both materially and militarily to the defense of the kingdom. Although they were soon given a specific rule, which prescribed a life that was both monastic and cenobitic, their main purpose was the protection of Jerusalem from Muslim attack. As St Bernard was to stress in his propaganda piece, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, "the knight of Christ need fear no sin in killing the foe, he is a minister of God for the punishment of the wicked. In the death of a pagan a Christian is glorified, because Christ is glorified."[107] Typically, support for the new western attitude towards warfare and of the profession of arms, expressed in both the crusade and the military orders, was not confined to the world of Outremer. The orders of chivalry established at the end of the twelfth century in the Iberian peninsula and elsewhere were doubtless influenced by the communities of the Temple and Hospital in the Holy Land.

Historically both orders of mendicant friars had their origin in the thirteenth century, the classic age of scholastic theology. It is useful all the same to mention them in this section on twelfth century monasticism. As leading representatives of the so-called apostolic poverty movement they, too, after all, were a radical departure from monastic tradition. In order to survive, moreover, they had to rely on the support and assistance of the papacy. Actually, the careers of their charismatic founders, Sts Dominic and Francis, were inconceivable without papal encouragement; that their disciples became

[106] C. Morris, "Equestris ordo: Chivalry as a vocation in the twelfth century," *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978), 87-96; Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198*, 322-66.

[107] *De laude novae militiae, Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 3:217.

staunch champions of the papacy is not surprising.[108] No doubt, a major clue to the uncommonly close cooperation between friars and popes lies in the fact that both were concerned about the new social problems created by the urban revolution of the twelfth century. The fact that the friars understood their mission to be evangelical and pastoral and, above all, urban in nature, had an obvious appeal for the papacy; after all too many town-dwelling laity were becoming increasingly anti-clerical and even heretical. To be short, before long, the friars were being employed by the papacy as its response to the problems created by an affluent and mobile European population; the friars' keen grasp of urban sociology and heresy was not lost on the papacy.[109] Certainly it is not fortuitous that St Dominic's volunteers (established as an order in 1216) initially focused their energies on converting the heretical Albigensians of southern France. Actually, in time, the Dominicans would be transformed into the papacy's leading inquisitors, the *Domini canes* or watchdogs of Latin Christendom. Significantly, the order eventually conceived its mission as being world-wide. Its expansion outside Europe, into Palestine, Central Asia and even China, soon followed.

On the whole, St Francis' disciples were to pursue a similar route. In the first place, they too were to conceive of their mission as extending beyond the borders of Christian Europe (as Francis' own unsuccessful attempt to convert the sultan of Egypt illustrates). Actually, in contrast with more traditional monasticism, the international composition of the order, to say nothing of its freedom of movement, was to become one of its more salient features. It was not, as such, unusual that members of the order in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were given a prominent part to play in the union negotiations between Byzantium and Rome. They were often the papacy's preferred emissaries and representatives. Well known, too, is the fact that the founder of the order, St Francis of Assisi (the son of an affluent cloth merchant) was himself a product of the urban revolution before his conversion. In fact, recruits for both orders of mendicant friars came primarily from the new urban centers and not from the rural countryside. Happily, the luminous simplicity of Francis' personality, to say nothing of his magnetism and sanctity, did not fail to impress Pope Innocent III. (Overall, the pope's affection and admiration for Francis' poverty movement was to be decisive in the prehistory of the order.) In the event, the pope moved quickly to recognize the saint's small band of followers as an order, seeing in them the solution to the urgent urban problems confronting the Latin Church at the time.[110]

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[108] K. Elm, "Franziskus und Dominikus," *Saeculum* 23 (1972), 127-47.

[109] J. le Goff, "Ordres mendiants et urbanisation," *Annales* 25 (1970), 924-46; R. B. Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars* (London, 1975).

In connection with their apostolate to the lay urban society of the West, it is notable that both the Franciscans and the Dominicans eventually also turned to the cultivation of scholarship by entering the scholastic world of the European universities. Almost from the outset, both became convinced that higher theological training was essential to their preaching mission in the cities. (The official name of the Dominicans, it is worth adding, is the Order of Preachers.) The new learning at any rate was to be put at the service of their mission. Remarkably, by the end of the thirteenth century the most original and creative scholars in Europe, including Aquinas and Bonaventure, were members of the new mendicant orders; in fact, well before 1300 the friars had become the leading practitioners of scholasticism. It goes without saying that the great success of the friars was at the same time a victory for the Western Church. Although Rome was at first apprehensive about the new religious orders and actually eventually even legislated against their proliferation at the Lateran council of 1215, its championship of the friars in the end proved to be sensible and wise. The same of course must be said of Rome's earlier patronage and encouragement of the twelfth century orders. The "shock troops" of the papacy were in fact none other than the new monastics. Without these agents of both papalism and reform the vision of the pope as *summus pontifex* within Western Christendom is at any rate difficult to imagine. In terms of loyalty and reliability, these orders proved invaluable to the papacy.

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[110] J. M. Powell, "The papacy and the early Franciscans," *Franciscan Studies* 36 (1976), 248-62; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 450.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST CRUSADES: ECCLESIASTICAL CONSEQUENCES

Latin Christendom's unprovoked offensive against medieval Islam, commonly called the crusades, was launched formally first at the synod of Clermont in 1095. As the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 was to illustrate, it was to prove a resounding success, but only initially. Other expeditions were to follow periodically and although they, too, were organized by the papacy, they were never as successful. Outremer—the West's new colonial outpost in the Levant—actually finally came to its humiliating conclusion with the Muslim counter-crusade and the loss of Acre in 1291. (Jerusalem, which had fallen earlier, was to remain under Muslim rule until the invasion of Palestine by field marshal Allenby in 1917.) To an unusual degree, as it turned out, for nearly two centuries East-West relations were determined by the crusades. They were to form the permanent backdrop to most of the period covered by this volume. Oddly enough, nonetheless, this has not always been deemed important by Church historians. As a rule, scholars have preferred to treat the crusade as a peripheral postscript to ecclesiastical history. On the other hand, interpreting the movement as an expression of European expansionism and imperialism is almost compulsory. Time and again, its social, demographic and economic aspects are given priority, while its ecclesiastical standing is pushed to the background. That this broad "medieval phenomenon"[1] also spearheaded the aggressive expansion of Latin Christendom in the East and was, as such, in a sense an extension or sequel of the Gregorian papal reformation is rarely acknowledged.

There is of course a great deal to be said in favor of this approach preferred by contemporary scholarship. As the case of the fourth crusade illustrates (to say nothing of the other campaigns) the papacy often did lose control of the movement; to argue that it was always subject to strict papal supervision at any rate would be unhistorical. Then, too, the socio-economic character of the expeditions is important and it is altogether proper and crucial for historians to address such matters. To describe the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem as the first example of western colonialism is by no means irrelevant or improper. European expansion into Palestine does prefigure all later colonial movements. And yet, it is also true that Rome's vigorous patronage and sponsorship of crusading is undeniable. Holy war, invariably financed by papally authorized funding, was to remain an ongoing papal institution down to the end of the Middle Ages. As such, it should not be treated only marginally as if standing on the edge of Church history. Besides, a causal relationship between Christian disunity and the crusade can be made, proving that its impact on Christian history was by no means trivial. Actually, a wealth of supporting documentary evidence reveals that schism in the Church was not yet interpreted by contemporaries as irreparable or conclusive until sometime after the launching of the movement by pope Urban II. In the end, the rise of Christian militarism and its more mindless excesses were to alter the course of Church history in a crucial way.

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[1] D. Knowles and D. Obolensky, *The Middle Ages*, vol. 2, *The Christian Centuries* (New York, 1968), 214.

1. Religious reconciliation before 1095

As already observed in an earlier page, the reciprocal recriminations and excommunications of 1054 do not actually deserve the importance they were once accorded by so many scholars. The episode of 1054 at any rate was not the origin or the cause of the schism. On the contrary, confining the permanent separation of the two Churches to a single incident or precise date is not possible. Were this otherwise, contemporary writers in the eleventh century would have treated the anathemas of 1054 in a different way instead of virtually ignoring them. Indeed, there is evidence that the incident was not viewed as final or irrevocable. In the first place, it was never deemed as the end of either ecclesiastical or diplomatic negotiation; nor did either side assume that the opposition was heretical. In the event, conciliatory overtures and peacemaking missions continued, as did actually the *communio in sacris* of pilgrims coming from the West to Jerusalem by way of Constantinople. Further, we know that the Latin rite churches in the capital (closed in 1054 under patriarch Cerularius) were again soon reopened, while monastic contacts between Cluny, Monte Casino, and Byzantium were friendly. Then, too, after the 1050's many theologians and churchmen, some with well-deserved scholarly reputations, such as Peter of Antioch, showed considerable tolerance and restraint in their writings and dealings with the Latins (even if they disapproved of the *Filioque*). Characteristically, they also refused to acknowledge the existing diversity in usage and custom as doctrinally crucial or as evidence that a "formal schism" was somehow in place. For their part, liturgical and canonical uniformity or conformity was unnecessary. To paraphrase the testimony of Peter of Antioch, it was immaterial whether Latin bishops shaved their beards or wore episcopal rings; such details were ultimately petty secondary issues, but not matters of fundamental principle.[2]

Although the finality of schism was nowhere taken as an obvious fact in 1054—in either East or West—in Byzantium the tactless behavior of the papal ambassadors was not quickly forgotten. Some bitterness and surprise probably lingered in the Byzantine capital for some time. Besides, the papal envoys had failed to reactivate the anti-Norman alliance with Byzantium while in Constantinople. This fact was to add to the general feeling of irritation. The Byzantine court had reason to be apprehensive. Eventually the failure to reach a political and military anti-Norman accord in 1054 led the papacy into the arms of the Normans. Doubtless, the alliance of 1059 between Rome and the Norman leader Robert Guiscard was, in part, motivated by the realization that Guiscard's military assistance was essential if the papal election decree (also issued in the same year) was to be enforced; as the papacy's new vassals, the Normans did indeed promise to come to the aid of the college of cardinals in all future disputes involving the election and consecration of a new pontiff.[3] That Rome was in need of a useful and effective ally, especially in its subsequent struggle with the German emperor, is evident. But the settlement was undeniably also welcomed by the papacy for other equally practical reasons. In the first place, Guiscard's oath of vassalage was deemed crucial since he agreed to hold his occupied Byzantine territories (including lands still to be conquered by him from the empire) as a fief of the Roman Church or the pope.[4] Actually the newly enfeoffed Guiscard was to describe himself in the agreement of 1059 as "by the grace of God and St Peter duke of Apulia and Calabria and by their help future duke of Sicily." To be sure, the Normans were to resume their conquest of Muslim

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[2] G. Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate 451-1204* (London, 1962), 157: "If such views were common, it is hardly likely that the canonical grievances against the Latins, or even the question of azymes, were the main obstacles to the progress of negotiations." See also S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1963), 67-77; and B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1924), 41-50.

[3] J. Déer, *Das Papsttum und die süditalienischen Normanenstaaten* (Göttingen, 1969), 15; U.-R. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988), 79-84; and F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), 1:115f.

[4] Déer, *Das Papsttum*, 18.

Sicily and the rest of Byzantine Italy almost immediately. Placing the churches of these territories under the control of their new papal suzerain was only a matter of time. On the other hand, the arrangement was a great boon for Norman expansion. The papal sanction and blessing permitting the Normans (as feudal vassals of the Roman Church) to stay in Italy was doubtless essential. The conquerors after all were eager to consolidate their position on the Italian peninsula, and the papal pledge, acknowledging and legitimizing their status, in the end, was to prove decisive.

Understandably, this complete reversal of papal policy by 1059 was deemed by the Byzantine authorities as a deliberate provocation. The grotesque accusations enshrined in the Roman anathemas of 1054 probably seemed mild by comparison. By and large, the Byzantine government was soon proven right. By 1071 at any rate the Normans with papal support had completed the conquest of southern Italy. Soon after the fall of the Byzantine capital of Bari they were to blockade Dyrrachium as well. Their plan was to penetrate deep into Balkan imperial territory; Dyrrachium was to be their gateway to Constantinople. That these Norman ventures both resemble and anticipate the first crusade is obvious. Invariably, the growing Norman menace was also disturbing for the patriarchate, since it was rapidly and increasingly undermining the Byzantine rite in Calabria and Apulia, where a sizable Orthodox population was still to be found. Actually, the newly enfeoffed Normans had promised to enforce Latin religious supremacy in their territories. This Norman latinization often meant the stripping of Orthodox monasteries and churches of their wealth for the benefit of Latin establishments and, of course, the appointment of Latin bishops everywhere. As it happened, the Gregorian papacy had already begun introducing its reforms in the region by imposing western ecclesiastical custom on the Orthodox population in the reign of Cerularius.[5] Significantly, cardinal Humbert had been appointed archbishop of Sicily in 1050, before the island had actually been conquered by the Normans. It was conceivably this threat to Byzantine ecclesiastical authority that explains Cerularius' counter-measures for Latin rite establishments in Constantinople shortly before 1054, to say nothing of his hostile treatment of cardinal Humbert. To repeat, southern Italy had been under Byzantine ecclesiastical jurisdiction since the eighth century and the patriarchate was not willing to relinquish its claims to the region.

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[5] P. Herde, "Das Papstuum und die griechische Kirche in Süditalien von 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 26 (1970), 1-46; L.-R. Ménager, "La 'byzantinisation' religieuse de l'Italie méridionale et la politique monastique des Normands d'Italie," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 53 (1958), 747-74; 54 (1959), 1-40; G. Cavallo, *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan, 1982).

Arguably, the papal-Norman collaboration of 1059 would not have been such a nuisance for Byzantium had its eastern borders not been threatened at the same time. Indeed, the dramatic decline of the empire had begun even before the accession of Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118). By then both the confidence and security felt by the Byzantine world at the dawn of the century had reached low tide.[6] Specifically, by the arrival of Comnenian rule most of Asia Minor had been lost to the Seljuks. The successful settlement of the central Anatolian plateau (not to mention the thrust deep into Armenia and Georgia) by the Seljuk Turks after the battle of Manzikert (1071) was never really undone, even under the competent and determined leadership of the new dynasty. It was then certainly that the long and painful process of turkification and islamization of the heartland of Orthodox Byzantium commenced. Doubtless this near-collapse of the empire's defense system and international standing, was encouraged by the internal social and political instability after the death of Basil II.

To an unusual degree, the insecure and unstable situation faced by Orthodox Eastern Christendom during the long central Middle Ages contrasts sharply with the inner consolidation experienced by the Christian West at the same time. In many parts of Europe certainly, long before the 1050s, order and recovery, as we have said earlier, were demonstrably already on the way. The long period of stability that followed was caused arguably by the absence of any attacks from the outside. In broad terms, both western military predominance and dynamism after the late tenth century were in a very real sense the result of this immunity from aggression. That this enviable exemption from foreign invasion has been responsible for western European society's more stable social and cultural evolution down to the present is almost certain. "It is surely not unreasonable," to quote one of the great medievalists of this century, "to think that this extraordinary immunity, of which we have shared the privilege with scarcely any people but the Japanese, was one of the fundamental factors of European civilization, in the deepest sense, in the exact sense of the word."[7] The contrast with Eastern Christendom, which has only known dislocation, is striking. As a matter of fact, external aggression was to modify the geography of the Orthodox world repeatedly and often profoundly in the period covered by this volume, as the destiny of such spiritual centers as Kiev and Constantinople persuasively testify (to say nothing of Asiatic Christianity and its fate at the same time). Quite simply, the historical evolution of the East in comparison with the West has been very different. The Arabic, Mongol, Seljuk and Ottoman intruders after all were seldom content with mere temporary invasion of the Christian East; that these external aggressors also often preferred to settle permanently on its soil is well known. Sadly, even the crusades were to prove a disaster. Their long-term strategic consequences are really linked more with the Byzantine state than with the Turks or the Arabs; they were at any rate rarely a serious military threat to Islam and its territory *per se*. Of course, in the end, this general dislocation experienced by the East (in contrast to the consolidation enjoyed by the West) was also to disrupt the course of the natural evolution of the Eastern Church in the most profound way.[8] The destruction caused by periodic invasion, in the long term, was a major reason for Orthodox Christendom's centuries-old isolation from Europe.

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[6] P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^{e} siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 251; and the studies in *TM* 6 (1976), dedicated to research on the eleventh century. Also the detailed and important monograph by A. P. Kazhdan and A. W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985); cf. the review of A.E. Laiou, *Speculum* 91 (1986), 649. For a rapid review of the century, see A. Bryer, "The first encounter with the West," P. Whitting, ed., *Byzantium: An Introduction* (New York, 1971), 83-110.

Given the desperate situation caused by the Seljuk incursion into eastern Anatolia, it is not difficult to see why the government of Constantinople was eager to reach some accord with the West by the end of the century. After Manzikert, at any rate, the state was almost on the verge of collapse. In the event, western material aid and neutrality was becoming crucial. Characteristically, all of Byzantium's diplomatic and ecclesiastical negotiations with Latin Christendom after Manzikert down to the final dissolution of the state in the fifteenth century would be determined by urgent pleas for assistance.[9] The general physical and ideological threat posed by the rising Turkish tide was to make this approach unavoidable. It was in this period, too, and for the same reason, that the Byzantine emperors began to use the issue of religious union as bait to procure the needed military aid and support from the papacy. What were to become characteristic items in all subsequent pourparlers with the West and the papacy had their genesis in the late eleventh century.

Appropriately enough, the earliest negotiations with the West, involving

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[7] M. Bloch, *Feudal Society* (Chicago, 1970), 65.

[8] J. Meyendorff, *The Orthodox Church* (London, 1962), 103.

[9] D. M. Nicol, "Byzantium and the papacy in the eleventh century," *JEH* 13 (1962), 1-20; J. Gauss, *Ost und West in der Kirchen-und Papstgeschichte des 11 Jahrhunderts* (Zurich, 1967).

Michael VII Ducas (1071-78) and pope Gregory VII, were held shortly after Manzikert. The need to restrain the Norman adventurers was foremost in the emperor's mind.[10] Evidently, some arrangement with Robert Guiscard was necessary, it was thought, if the Turkish advance in the East was to be addressed at all properly. As it happened, Guiscard was persuaded to agree to a marriage alliance involving his daughter, Helen, and the emperor's own son and heir, Constantine. Implied in the terms of this contract was the emperor's recognition of Guiscard's Byzantine conquests. Persuading the pope to support the settlement was apparently not difficult. The prospect of ecclesiastical rapprochement and the establishment in the East of the new papalism was, possibly, inducement enough. Besides, Gregory at the time was planning a papal crusade to the East (he was actually hoping to lead the campaign personally) and realized that Byzantine participation or cooperation would be necessary.[11] Even so, in the end, none of these arrangements or plans materialized. The palace-coup that dethroned Michael in 1078 and the repudiation of the Norman treaty by his successor, Nicephorus III Botaneiates, made it impossible. Nor did Guiscard's rage at the turn of events, to say nothing of the papacy's own disappointment, help matters. Actually, pope Gregory, after excommunicating the new Byzantine emperor, proceeded to give his blessing to the Norman war preparations aimed at Dyrrachium. When Alexius Comnenus ascended the throne a few years later, moreover, he was promptly excommunicated as well. It was no doubt because of these tactical moves on the part of the papacy that Gregory's memory was still being attacked in the following century by Byzantine authors. Anna Comnena's particularly cutting recollection of the pope, significantly, centers on the fact that he had supported the Normans.[12]

Whether pope Gregory's hopes for mending ecclesiastical relations with Constantinople would have been more successful than cardinal Humbert's earlier efforts is of course unknown. On the other hand, the possibility of immediate success was unlikely. The honorary pride of place which the Byzantines were willing to grant to the Roman Church was by then at any rate no longer really in accord with the papacy's own primatial claims.

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[10] A. Tuilier, "Michel VII et le pape Grégoire VII: Byzance et la réforme grégorienne," *XV^e Congrès international des Études Byzantines* (Athens, 1980), 350-64.

[11] H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'crusading' plans of 1074," in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem, 1982), 27-40; G. Hoffman, "Papst Gregor VII. und der christliche Osten," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 169-81 (esp. 169-73).

[12] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* I, 12, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1937), 1:47f.

Gregory's own categorical statements in *Dictatus papae* left no doubt on the matter.[13] Then, too, there is the inflexible character of the pope to consider. And yet reconciliation was not altogether unthinkable. As the synod of 1089, held under patriarch Nicholas III (1084-1111) effectively demonstrates, both sides were willing to give it a try. To be sure, both Guiscard and Gregory were by then dead, and the new pope, Urban II, was far more amenable, even friendly. He was in fact eager to re-establish relations with Constantinople as his tactful lifting of pope Gregory's censures illustrate. But the Roman pontiff was apparently also anxious to have his name placed on the liturgical diptychs. The fact that he was not commemorated in the eucharist at Constantinople baffled him, and he wrote to Alexius for an explanation. The synod of 1089 was the direct result of this papal complaint.[14] Significantly, after a search in the patriarchal archives, according to the synod's proceedings, no one was able to discover the appropriate documentation regarding the deletion of the papal name from the diptychs. It was in fact somewhat odd since the removal would have been preceded by a formal sanction and thus recorded. "For it was neither legal nor canonical to delete the pope's name from among the list of the most holy patriarchs in the diptychs before a canonical condemnation."[15] Predictably, given the lack of any documentary evidence, the synod promptly concluded that the omission had been done improperly. On the other hand, the synod was also fully aware of the existing tension between Rome and Constantinople. Besides, there was another fact to consider, namely, Urban's own blatant failure to notify the ecumenical patriarchate of his election to the Roman throne. The customary systatic letter containing both the official notification of his election and his profession of faith had not at any rate been sent to the Church of Constantinople. In the event, it was decided by the synod to ask the pope for the traditional letter. If this was found to be orthodox, Urban was to be admitted to communion immediately. Actually his name was to be added to the diptychs temporarily until such time as a council (to be attended personally by the pope or his legates) could be held to resolve the differences between the two patriarchates.

That the proceedings of 1089 are of considerable interest on both historical and ecclesiastical grounds is undeniable. In the first place, according to the synod's seemingly disarmingly simple resolution, the restoration of canonical relations was neither impossible nor insurmountable. It was in any case implied that full communion was a virtual guarantee provided the procedure spelled out in the synodal decisions was followed. No less important is the understanding of 1054 implied by the texts. Their confirmation of what has already been said about the significance of 1054 is obvious. That event evidently was not regarded as the cause of schism. The fact that the assembly of 1089 had failed to find any synodal judgement concerning a formal break in relations between the two Churches clearly points in this direction. Some thirty-five years after 1054, to put it otherwise, patriarchal officials were inclined to view cardinal Humbert's visit to Constantinople only as a passing incident and not as a sign of a solemn schism. Its impact on Church unity was deemed to be minimal. In this connection, the suggestion that the suppression of the papal name in the diptychs was uncanonical, is likewise revealing. In effect the implication is that the actual anathemas pronounced by the Byzantine Church against the three papal legates in 1054 did not also automatically include or embrace the Church of Rome and its bishop. But if these conclusions are revealing, even riveting, the subsequent non-response of the Roman see to the synod is no less so. Briefly, although a papal reply has not survived, it is unlikely that one was ever sent to the synod. By then, probably, the papacy had already abandoned the practice of the systatic letter with its profession of faith. Such a statement, arguably, would have been construed as a sign that the Roman pontiff was willing to defer to the judgement (and possible censure) of his brother bishops in the East. That the new-style papacy would have refused to accept such an implication is almost certain. Doubtless one could also argue that the pope did not want to jeopardize his negotiations with Alexius and, hence, chose to ignore the request of the patriarchate; indeed, his letter would have had to include the controversial *Filioque*.[16] Whatever the case, the papacy failed to fulfil its side of the bargain. As a result the insertion of pope Urban's name in the liturgical diptychs and the proposed council never took place.

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[13] Cf. F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York, 1966), 137.

[14] Texts in W. Holtzmann, "Die unionsverhandlungen zwischen Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahr 1089," *BZ* 28 (1928), 38-67; *Regestes*, no. 953; Dölger, *Regesten* nos. 1146, 1156. Cf. B. Leib, "Les patriarches de Byzance et la politique religieuse d'Alexis Comnène (1081-1118)," *Recherches de science religieuse* 40 (1951-52), 214-18; and Gauss, *Ost und West*, 71-100. See also "Diptychs," *ODB* 1:637-8 (R. F. Taft).

[15] Holtzmann, "Die Unionsverhandlungen," 61.

Still, the spirit of detente and cooperation established by the emperor Alexius and pope Urban was maintained. Besides, the empire was still in need of military aid and the pope was willing to listen and to offer assistance. In this sense, the first crusade launched before long from Clermont by the pope,

[16] Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 62.

may not have been a total surprise to the Byzantine government. On the other hand, in terms of the kind of assistance actually received, it was not quite what Alexius had in mind. Although by 1090 the emperor had secured and restored the Balkan frontier by defeating the Normans (with Venetian naval aid) the situation in the East was still critical. Despite the fact that the Turks at the time were divided and the tide was in the empire's favor, the loss of most of Anatolia (a main source of taxation, military manpower, and food production) was emerging as a disaster of the first order. In addition, Jerusalem had fallen to the Turks at the same time, and this posed a threat to the increasingly heavy pilgrimage traffic coming from Europe. The routes to the Holy City in any event had become unsafe, a fact about which the West was soon made aware by returning pilgrims. To be sure, for the Byzantines the recovery of Jerusalem was never the issue. (After all, the city had been in Muslim hands since the seventh century.) The permanent restoration of Byzantine authority in Anatolia was the pressing problem. What was needed, above all, was the reconquest of the heartland of the empire and not the liberation of Palestine. Alexius was apparently convinced that a drive of this sort into Asia Minor was feasible and achievable with a small detachment of inexpensive foreign mercenaries. His repeated appeals to the West were, as such, always couched as requests for a limited number of knights (as opposed to an independent or unmanageable army). When count Robert of Flanders stopped in Constantinople on his way home from Jerusalem, the appeal was the same.[17] Such was equally the case in March 1095, when Byzantine imperial plenipotentiaries made their petition at the papal synod of Piacenza—months before the proclamation of the first crusade by the pope.[18] In this sense, to repeat, the loosely organized and undisciplined crusading army that eventually arrived in the Byzantine capital two years later was not quite what the emperor had desired or requested.

2. The growing spirit of Christian militarism

It is generally agreed that Urban's preaching of the first crusade at Clermont, on 27 November 1095, was in all essential respects an unprecedented event. The popular emotional response for divinely-ordained warfare generated by the papal sermon (the fact evidently startled western chroniclers) was of course part of the novelty. Actually, the enthusiastic acceptance of the papal enterprise by the professional warrior-class of Europe was before long even to exceed Urban's own more modest aims. And yet, historically, the importance of 1095 also lies in the fact that it is a key to the movement's continued existence as a specifically ongoing papal concern. Indeed, later crusading propaganda was to draw part of its inspiration and ideology from this initial campaign.[19] A conscious effort at any rate was often made by subsequent preachers of the crusade to recover the euphoria generated by the general exodus of 1095; building on and exploiting the themes first enunciated by pope Urban was deemed essential.[20] On the other hand, the event was itself the convergence of previous antecedents and developments within Latin Christendom. Without this prior development the formation of the crusade idea and its departure from Christian tradition cannot be fully explained or appreciated. Historians have long understood the practical bearing some of these antecedents had on Urban's own plan in 1095 and its subsequent development.

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[17] *Alexiad*, VII, 6, Leib 2:105.

[18] Cf. D.C. Munro, "Did the emperor Alexius I ask for aid at the council of Piacenza?" *American Historical Review* 27 (1922), 731-33; R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Munich, 1981), 54f.

The hesitancy and misgivings of the early Church regarding the use of arms, though well-documented, is perhaps not as well known. Whatever the case, the idea that warfare could be morally defensible or even meritorious was viewed by most early churchmen as a theological contradiction. Although they were not always consistent in their condemnation of military service or participation in war, it was generally agreed that both were to be avoided. Conceivably, the association of the pagan cult with the army, to say nothing of bloodshed itself, were major arguments in favor of such attitudes and convictions. Besides, it was assumed that as a religion of love and peace, Christianity could not approve or encourage aggression. Killing, quite simply, was morally neither justifiable nor allowable. In short, the concept sponsored later by the Western Church of a spiritually meritorious war waged for religious ends would have met with incomprehension in pre-Nicene Christianity. The notion would have been deemed impossible, even inadmissible. Of course as the Church began to merge closer with the state in the course of the fourth century, its scruples about the legitimacy of all armed conflict began to be modified. The military function of the state and the profession of soldier were acknowledged before long to be necessary. No doubt, war was still considered inherently evil or sinful. As St Augustine was to emphasize, it was at once a reprehensible and unlawful means for settling

[19] P.J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, 1991).

[20] See E.O. Blake, "The formation of the 'crusade idea'," *JEH* 21 (1970), 11-31 (esp. 28-29); G. Constable, "The second crusade as seen by contemporaries," *Traditio* 9 (1953), 213-79.

disputes between states. Even so, aggression was permissible in at least one case, namely, when one party had deliberately injured another. In such a "just war" (***bellum justum***), the righteous victim was allowed, in self-defense, to avenge the wrong perpetrated by the other. Significantly, as a result of his own personal struggle with the sectarian Donatists, St Augustine was also willing to argue that war could be waged against heretics by God's command.[21] In such a case the Church could actually even invoke the assistance of the state. The aim of this physical coersion was to suppress error or to force sectarians to abandon their heresy. To summarize, in the early patristic period the use of force gradually came to be viewed as permissible. However, it was legitimate only within bounds, under certain limited circumstances. It is worth adding that it was never deemed acceptable as an instrument against unbelievers. Compelling someone into baptism was indefensible or unconscionable.

The theoretical justification of just war or even holy war outlined above—expressed for the first time by Augustine—was to have a lasting influence on the ethic of warfare in Western Christendom. Although war was still deplored as an evil, in the long run St Augustine's ideas were to encourage both the rise and the growth of Christian militarism. Later papal reformers, insofar as they viewed their opposition to feudal power as a struggle against heretics and schismatics, or even excommunicates, were to find in these ideas a number of useful weapons.[22] To be sure, by then, other views had also developed. The belief that the Church had the power to authorize violence against heretics was in fact expanded to include pagans, as pope Gregory I's encouragement of such activity for the purpose of evangelization in the sixth century illustrates. This principle of forcible conversion may have inspired Charlemagne's later campaigns against the pagan Saxons. Then, too, in the ninth century several popes undertook the defense of Rome; in doing so they presumably also promised forgiveness to those who died fighting the Muslims. Pledges of salvation were probably given by popes Leo IV and John VIII to potential warrior-martyrs. Significantly, by this time clerical participation in warfare, both against the Muslims and the Northmen, was not deemed unusual, even if it was in violation of canonical discipline.[23]

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[21] F.H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975), 16-26; C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsdankens* (Stuttgart, 1935); references to this basic study will be from the English translation, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, 1977), 9-10; see also P. Brown, "St Augustine's attitude to religious coercion," *Journal of Roman Studies* 54 (1964), 107-16.

[22] Cf. Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London, 1981), 4-5.

[23] Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 11: "Augustine and Gregory thus gave holy war a

The various ways in which the Church attempted to use or exploit the martial potential of Europe's feudal aristocracy during the course of the eleventh century is likewise instructive. Its decisions on this matter were destined to affect the propriety of warfare in a fundamental way. By the late 900s of course the mentality of violence and brutality characteristic of the new feudal class had become a source of genuine concern to the Church in Europe. With the retreat of most central authority, the indiscriminate incidence of private war had become all too frequent. Even defenseless clergymen, it seems, were not exempt from the reign of lawlessness and turmoil. Actually, the inability of the state to protect the Church explains, at least in part, the general militarization of most episcopal households at this time. Before their election to the papal throne some of the early reforming popes actually had experience—during their tenure as German bishops—in commanding their own armed forces. To be sure, churchmen attempted to address the problem of violence in other ways as well, as the proclamation of the Peace of God illustrates. This late tenth century church-inspired local peace movement, however, was not very effective, even with the addition of the Truce of God, forbidding all armed conflict at certain times and days.[24] Still, the Church was not willing to abandon hope. War in the service of the poor and unarmed clergy or, better still, in defense of the Church and the Christian faith, was the next solution. If the brutal energy of the western knight could not be restrained, then at least it could be channeled into more beneficial causes such as war against the infidel. This re-evaluation of the military profession was to prove decisive. By declaring knighthood a vocation and the knight's calling as God-pleasing, some of the problems caused by endemic violence were resolved straightway. The development of a Christian knighthood, for whom ecclesiastically sanctioned war on behalf of the Church became a religious duty, was an essential preliminary to the later crusading movement.

Given the above evolution of ideas, it is not surprising that military operations launched in the course of the eleventh century against Islam (in both Sicily and Spain) have been described by modern historians as proto-crusades. It is even possible that volunteers in pope Urban's expedition of 1095 were veterans of these earlier campaigns, when knighthood had been, as it were, first sacralized. It should be emphasized that this general attempt to

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dual intellectual basis: war against heretics within, to preserve the purity of the Church; missionary wars without, to extend the faith." See also Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, 28; J.F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Cornell, 1975), 197.

[24] H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and Truce of God in the eleventh century," *Past and Present* 46 (1970), 42-67.

engage and, in some ways, to assimilate Europe's lay warrior-class into the life of the Church was encouraged by the reformed papacy. Quite simply, the Gregorians "were the very men who stood for the idea of holy war and sought to put it into practice."[25] It is likely that the deep sense of commitment to the restoration of the Church and of Christian society, demonstrated by the early reformers, helped to convince clerical circles of such ideas. That the use of the Normans as defenders of the papal interest, to say nothing of Gregory VII's crusade-like plans to lead an army against the Turks in the East, should be viewed in this light, goes without saying. Then again, Gregory's intention to recruit a *militia Sancti Petri* to wage war against the enemies of the Roman Church points in the same direction, as does the papal policy of infeudation in general. Understandably, Gregory VII has been described by some modern critics as the most warlike pope ever to occupy the *cathedra Petri*.[26]

Fundamentally, most of the necessary preparations for the preaching of the first crusade had been made by 1095. The landscape was by then clearly plowed. The radical transformation in the West of the war ethic, the struggle against Islam on Latin home territory, together with the formation of a Christian knightly class, were all important to the origin of the crusade. On the other hand, the movement was born in 1095 and not before, with pope Urban's innovative call for crusade. His own novel contribution or his suggestion that ideological warfare and religious pilgrimage together join forces, was, in the final analysis, both unprecedented and crucial to the crusading idea. Suffice it to say, the tradition of visiting certain holy shrines for devotional reasons is well documented. Popular pilgrimage centers such as Jerusalem, Rome, Compostela, or Monte Gargano (in Apulia) were by then well known, even famous.[27] Doubtless, the fact that the practice was also often associated with the remission of the penalties imposed in confession (pilgrimage, in other words, was occasionally prescribed in the place of penance) contributed to its general popularity. Even the dangers associated with such penitential journeys (they invariably covered great distances) were,

[25] Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 143; according to H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The genesis of the crusades: The springs of the holy war," in T.P. Murphy, ed., *The Holy War* (Columbus, OH, 1976), 27, the age of Gregory VII and Urban II "saw the reversal of a thousand years of Christian tradition, when the Gregorian papacy accepted warfare without reservation as a meritorious activity, and the profession of arms as a Christian vocation so long as it was directed toward the extirpation of what is alien to Christianity both inside and outside Christian society."

[26] Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 177.

[27] Cf. H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford, 1972), 15: "It would never have occurred to anyone to march out to conquer the Holy Land if men had not made pilgrimages there for century after century."

it seems, seldom viewed as a disadvantage. It is worth adding, in this connection, that pilgrims could not carry arms on the way to the shrine. Warfare and religious travel, conceived as a meritorious act or as a penance, were deemed contradictory. It is of course on this very point that pope Urban made headlines in 1095. In his famous sermon the pope actually managed to remove most of the incompatibility between war and pilgrimage. Briefly, the crusader was conceived by the pope, as a pilgrim, except for a slight but decisive difference: unlike all his predecessors, he would be permitted to carry weapons. To put it differently, the expedition announced by the Roman pontiff was viewed primarily as an *armed pilgrimage* for the liberation of Christendom's holiest site. This was, it seems, the implication of the indulgence mentioned in the papal sermon. More specifically, the same spiritual rewards proffered until then by the Church to the unarmed pilgrim were also extended to the armed knight on crusade. Although the exact meaning of pope Urban's indulgence is controversial, it was probably understood simply as an absolution or cancellation of the penance already imposed by the Church in confession.

As we should expect, Urban's sudden militarization of penitential pilgrimage quickly proved attractive to the European knight. It was deemed before long a good deal (as the pope's successful call illustrates). As the chronicler Guibert of Nogent was to note, Europe's warrior aristocracy was suddenly able to find a new way to salvation; it was no longer necessary for the professional knight at any rate to go into a monastery as in former times, or to become an unarmed pilgrim in order to obtain God's grace. Henceforth, a soldier could in fact gain eternal life, without abandoning the world, through holy warfare itself—"in his accustomed manner and dress, and by his accustomed way of life."[28] The indulgence offered by the pope, as we have implied, was to play a decisive role in convincing feudal Europe to go on crusade. The spiritual rewards were too good to resist. Time and again, to put it broadly, the indulgence was to be the key to the whole enterprise, the great spiritual inducement in joining the crusade. It is necessary to add nonetheless that its *popular* interpretation was also important. For, in fact, subsequent preachers encouraged audiences or potential volunteers for the crusade to think of the indulgence in terms of a full remission of the penalties they could expect for their sins either in this life or in the world to come.[29] Crusading propaganda, to put it otherwise, was to transform Urban's indulgence (originally restricted to the commutation of an imposed penance) into an irresistible spiritual bargain.

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[28] *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1841-95), 4:124.

[29] Mayer, *The Crusades*, 25-37, where it is demonstrated that the full indulgence of crusading

Arguably, the popular transformation of the indulgence was perhaps not as important in the long run as the changing of the goal of the crusade itself, made before long by elated crusaders. This goal was almost certainly different from the one established initially by the pope. As we have seen, from the outset, Urban was eager to do all he could to resolve the Turkish problem facing the empire. Providing military assistance to Alexius (he no doubt reasoned) would also improve relations with the Church of Constantinople and, perhaps, remove the *de facto* ecclesiastical tension. These considerations in the end explain the sympathetic welcome extended to the Byzantine embassy at Piacenza by the pope in 1095. That these envoys from Constantinople were the emperor's own military recruiting agents, as it were, is virtually certain. Arguably, it was at this time, and as a consequence of this embassy, that the idea of a crusade to assist Eastern Christendom was embraced by the pope. Of course, it was not until eight months later at the synod of Clermont that the papal plan actually became reality, when it was made the goal of the first crusade as well. The pope's sermon (of which four versions survive) and his post-Clermont correspondence both support this interpretation. As one version of his speech puts it, quite simply, the pope had declared as his war aim the relief of the "Churches of God in the eastern regions"—*ecclesias Dei in Orientis partibus.* Plausibly initially, at any rate, Jerusalem was not the practical mission or target of the expedition, except perhaps as a long-range devotional goal. "If Jerusalem came into the picture, it did so secondarily and not necessarily as a military objective."[30] And yet, remarkably enough, Urban's intended goal before long was disregarded and, perhaps, even transformed almost beyond recognition. Months after Clermont, feudal Europe in point of fact was to make the conquest of Jerusalem and the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre instead its primary target. Popular pressure regarding the matter was apparently so persuasive that the pope himself was forced to abandon his own objective.[31]

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propaganda was "manufactured" by preachers, not by pope Urban. See also I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), 341-9.

[30] H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II's preaching of the first crusade," *History* 45 (1970), 178. For a reconstruction of the pope's sermon, see D.C. Munro, "The speech of pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095," *The American Historical Review* 11 (1906), 231-42; and S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (New York, 1951-54), 1:106-8.

[31] Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 306-54 and 355-71 (Appendix. Byzantium and Jerusalem: The motive and the objective of the first crusade). See, however, the recent criticism of this influential interpretation by Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II's preaching of the first crusade," 177-88; and L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, 6-7. Both scholars argue that

To be sure, a somewhat ingenious reconstruction of the origins of the crusade, in which emperor Alexius is instead credited with suggesting Jerusalem as the final goal of the war, does exist. Despite substantial western evidence to the contrary, this theory insists that it was Alexius who first conceived of the idea of liberating the Holy Sepulchre from the Muslims. This imperial plan, in which Jerusalem was apparently the target, was then submitted to the pope for consideration; this, however, was intended only as a subterfuge for the emperor's real plan, which had as its focus a counter-offensive in Asia Minor.[32] Jerusalem, in sum, was deliberately used as a "pretext" in order to win the much needed sympathy and assistance of the West for Byzantium's plight. Although this reconstruction is resourceful and even attractive, it is in the end also doubtful. As it happens, the thesis is based entirely on the unsupported evidence provided by the late thirteenth century Byzantine author, Theodore Scutariotes. Besides, ultimately, it is difficult to conceive of the emperor as the actual instigator or even author of what was essentially a Latin movement. Militarily and politically, such a venture would have been viewed by Alexius as a highly dangerous and disruptive development for the empire. His subsequent well-known precautionary attitude towards the crusade, to say nothing of his general tactful handling of its leadership, is eloquent evidence in support of such a viewpoint. To say it once more, foreign auxiliary troops is what the emperor had requested of the West; a large volunteer army would have been viewed by his government as a genuine menace.[33]

In this connection, it bears repeating that modern historiography has consistently stressed the fact that the crusade was fundamentally in general an expression of *western* economic expansion and maturation. By the end of the eleventh century, it is emphasized, Europe's need to extend its economic and demographic frontiers had become urgent. Even Urban was to note these facts

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there was no major change in Urban's plan and that Jerusalem was, in fact, the original goal; it was by means of this goal that the pope hoped to assist the Eastern Church. Professor Cowdrey, nevertheless, concludes (p.188) that "it may well never be possible to disprove a theory such as Erdmann's."

[32] P. Charanis, "Byzantium, the West, and the origin of the first crusade," *B*, 19 (1949), 17-36; *idem*, "Aims of the medieval crusades and how they were viewed by Byzantium," *Church History* 21 (1952), 123-34. See also J. Shepard, "Aspects of Byzantine attitudes and policy towards the West in the tenth and eleventh centuries," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13 (1988), 67-118 (esp. 111-18).

[33] See especially the criticism of Charanis by G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1968), 362; and P. Lemerle, "Byzance et la croisade," *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, 3 (Florence, 1955), 595-620 (esp. 600-601).

in his sermon. His unambiguous references to the pressures created by a rapidly growing surplus population and a changing economy are justifiably deemed revealing by modern scholarship, even if they are concerned largely with Capetian France rather than Europe in general.[34] Then again, it is important to stress the fact that it was the Byzantine world and not Islam which suffered most from the crusade. The movement was actually confined geographically to the Syrian coast (as opposed to the vast surrounding sea of Islam). Its strategic objective, as such, was limited. In the long run, it was never really more than a local peripheral "nuisance" to the Arabs; to argue that it was ever a serious military threat to their world (even when the Christian conquests of Sicily and the Iberian peninsula are included) would probably be both inaccurate and misleading.[35] Indeed, as 1204 eloquently illustrates, the ultimate victim was the Byzantine state and not Islam. For all of these reasons, to insist that Alexius in 1095 was more than a supplicant for western aid would be a misreading of the evidence.

Before Alexius' responsibility for the crusade is dismissed altogether, some observations about crusading ideology as it impinged on Byzantine thought should also be made. Characteristically, the crusade was above all a product of western religious inspiration and feeling, "une explosion de sentimentalité religieuse" for which the papacy was in part to blame.[36] As such, the movement had no immediate moorings in Byzantine culture, society, or in Orthodox popular piety, spirituality, and mentality. In a very real sense, the Latin devotion to holy war, nourished in the West, always remained an alien phenomenon for Byzantine Christians.[37] Ideological warfare, quite simply, was for them an unknown. Even in *Digenes Acritas*, the familiar romance extolling the heroism of Byzantium's military aristocracy, the theme is virtually absent. Admittedly, an element of holy war is detectable in the empire's show-down with Sassanian Persia under Heraclius and, of course, in the long-standing struggle with the Arabs beginning in the seventh century. Both of these confrontations had the sanction and support of the Byzantine Church. And yet, the difference between Byzantium's desperate defensive stand against its external enemies and the western crusading movement is considerable. The Byzantine struggle actually had very little to do with either the exultation or canonization of holy war. On the contrary, the very existence of the state was at stake. Besides, Byzantine military expeditions were always under the authority of the emperor, who was alone responsible for the defense of the empire and the faith. They were never certainly formally authorized by the Eastern Church or the patriarch (as was the case with the crusades, which were of course officially and exclusively always underwritten by the pope).[38]

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[34] See the version of Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, 3:720: "This land which you inhabit, shut in on all sides by the seas and surrounded by the mountain peaks, is too narrow for your large population; nor does it abound in wealth; and it furnishes scarcely food enough for its cultivators. Hence it is that you murder one another, that you wage war, and that frequently you perish by mutual wounds." Trans. in J.A. Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary Survey* (Milwaukee, 1962), 19.

[35] J. Johns, "Christianity and Islam," in J. McManners, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity* (Oxford, 1990), 172, 174; cf. N. Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe* (London, 1979), 120-21.

[36] Lemerele, "Byzance et la croisade," 615.

[37] For what follows, see especially H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), 78-80; D.M. Nicol, "The crusades and the unity of Christendom," in V.P. Goss, ed., *The Meeting of Two Worlds* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986), 170-72; "Peace and war," *ODB*, 3:1611 (E. McGeer); and Lemerle's searching study, "Byzance et la croisade," 395-620.

The fact that warfare in the Christian East was never transformed into a permanent sacred enterprise or institution, unlike the western crusade, is doubtless important. It emphasizes that the attitude of the two Churches towards war was not exactly identical. Orthodox thinking on the profession of soldier did not always correspond to the western posture. During the Middle Ages the Byzantine Church evidently continued to observe or, at least, support the patristic contention that any soldier guilty of bloodshed on the battlefield could not receive the eucharist for three years. This conviction was doubtless a fundamental consideration in its attitude toward the veneration of soldiers as saints. In particular, unlike certain ninth century popes cited earlier, the Byzantine hierarchy declined to rank soldiers fallen on the field of battle as martyrs. When emperor Nicephorus Phocas asked the Church to declare those men in his regiment who had died fighting the Arabs as Christian martyrs, the official response was unambiguously negative. The incident is indeed compelling confirmation that the notion of holy war for Eastern Orthodox Christendom was always an unknown.[39] The rejection of the imperial request was equally implicitly a denial of the later popular "soteriological" dimension of the Latin indulgence and the *remissio peccatorum* promised to the crusading knights.

Byzantine Christianity's conservative approach to warfare did not deal predictably only with the armed soldier. The clerical ranks were also required

[38] Cf. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 361-62: "There was nothing new in a war with the infidel, but to the Byzantine this was the outcome of hard political necessity, and they regarded the liberation of the Holy Land, which had in any case once been Byzantine territory, as the duty of their state, and not an obligation on Christendom in general."

[39] *Regestes*, no.790.

to avoid involvement with bloodshed. Typically, priests who took up arms against the Arabs (and thus often shed blood) were either deposed or excommunicated by their episcopal superiors. The same canonical ban also applied to monastics; the inmates of monasteries were in fact forbidden to fight or to carry weapons. During the late Byzantine period any monastic responsible for organizing peasant militias against the Turks was normally summoned before an ecclesiastical court to answer for his actions.[40] The Byzantine Church, plainly put, refused to sanction the shedding of blood especially by its clergy. The opposite was often the case in the West, as the existence of armed clergy among the crusaders clearly illustrates. Anna Comnena was appalled at this phenomenon and her revulsion was doubtless typical and genuine. The reasoning of western canonists regarding this question would have been totally foreign to the famous author, and to most Byzantine canonists.[41]

3. *Ecclesiastical colonialism*

On the whole, pope Urban's determination to assist the East militarily in 1095 was a sound decision. Such assistance would have served the cause of ecclesiastical peace well, to say nothing of its practical usefulness to Alexius and his government in their struggle against the Seljuks in Asia Minor. It is very likely that this was the pope's initial intention. Unfortunately, in the end the papal plan was never followed through as designed. The pope soon discovered that the forces he had unleashed could not be controlled or contained. In effect, before long he was to lose both the initiative and direction of his own project. We have already stressed how popular pressure probably contrived to make Jerusalem the immediate goal of the campaign—and of all subsequent crusades for that matter—in direct opposition to the pope's own proposal. Worse yet, his pious plans for ecclesiastical unity were (as we will see) deliberately altered or, more accurately, ruined as a practical possibility by the crusade's own war chiefs shortly after their arrival in the East. Then again, the Byzantine outlook was itself bound to complicate matters. As we have emphasized in the previous section, for the empire the concept of holy war—ideologically and psychologically—was unknown. Incomprehension was so general that "at no time was a common front between Greeks and Latins possible, on the religious plane, against the Muslims."[42] To put it otherwise, in the end, schism and antagonism were the true harvest of the crusades, and not the ecclesiastical peace and collaboration envisioned initially by Urban II.

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[40] Cf. George Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecem*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1835), 2:596.

[41] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, X,8, Leib,2:218. For the western canonical literature, cf. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, 86f.

[42] Lemerle, "Byzance et la croisade," 616.

Open collision on the whole was avoided at first, but only with difficulty and not for very long. Initially, Byzantine authorities were sufficiently careful to steer clear of any serious confrontation with the crusading vanguard as it journeyed south through the Balkans toward Constantinople. However, mutual distrust and dislike was to poison the atmosphere from the outset. Time and again the crusade seemed to the Byzantines like a disorderly crowd of invaders and intruders. Its looting and pillaging of the Balkan countryside became before long all too frequent, despite the warnings of the imperial military escort, to say nothing of the hostile reaction of the helpless peasantry. In addition, dealing with the leadership itself was to prove just as difficult. The arrival of the main leaders in the Byzantine capital in 1097 was to challenge Alexius' statesmanship in a variety of ways. The emperor, it is true, was well prepared for the demanding task and, in the end, actually succeeded in extracting a pledge of fealty from the crusaders. Even the Norman prince, Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, was prevailed upon to take the same oath. Still more important were the promises the Byzantine emperor was able to obtain from his visitors; their solemn pledge to restore all conquered cities and territories to the empire (provided these had been in its possession before the Seljuk invasion) was also a substantial concession. Actually, the arrangement even encompassed the ancient city of Antioch and its patriarchate: both had been part of the empire as recently as 1084. While Alexius' skillful diplomacy is evident in these negotiations, the part played by bishop Adhemar of Le Puy was perhaps still more crucial.[43] As pope Urban's personal representative on the crusade, Adhemar was doubtless able to remind his countrymen that their undertaking also had as its purpose the unity of the Churches; anything short of that target would have been deemed as a conscious violation of their goal and their vows by the papal legate.

And yet, the pledges and promises extracted from the western warlords were by no means guarantees of a peaceful future. In the first place, not all of the crusaders were comfortable with the conciliatory policy of cooperation openly favored by Rome and its envoy. Given their independent feudal attitude and mentality the arrangement could last only as long as the bishop of Le Puy remained at the head of the crusade. The fact that some were politically hostile towards Byzantium could not be kept secret. As it happened, Bohemond was already contriving ways to renounce his allegiance to the emperor and even to revive his father's plans for the conquest of the empire. As Anna Comnena apprehensively acknowledges at one point, Guiscard's son was in reality nothing more than a bogus pilgrim on crusade (in sharp contrast with the far more pious and sincere rank and file of the Latin army). That he was waiting for the right opportunity to reveal his true aim was apparently all too evident to the Byzantine emperor. By and large, the worst suspicions of Anna Comnena and her father, Alexius, were soon confirmed, months after the conquest of Antioch by the crusading army (3 June 1098).

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[43] Hamilton, *Latin*, 7, who notes that the course taken by Adhemar would not have been possible without previous papal approval.

Except for a period of fourteen years, during which the Muslims had governed the city (1084-98), Antioch had been under Byzantine rule since the reign of Nicephorus Phocas (969). As a result, when the Syrian capital was liberated by the crusaders the city was found to be in the main an Orthodox stronghold. Until the coming of the crusaders this was, by and large, true of northern Syria as well. To be more specific, the population of the region especially in the towns (in contrast with the rural countryside which was often Jacobite) was largely Orthodox. No less important was the fact that the city's lawful Orthodox patriarch, John IV the Oxite, was actually still in residence.[44] Given the religious and political arrangements with Byzantium to which the crusaders were bound, it was at once assumed that Antioch would revert to the empire and that the canonical rights of its Orthodox bishop would be formally recognized. The establishment of Byzantine political and ecclesiastical sovereignty, to be brief, was taken for granted. A separate ecclesiastical authority for the Latin rite was never considered; patriarch John IV was to be confirmed as the city's only legitimate or canonical primate. As it happened, this procedure had been implemented already in Asia Minor, in those cities conquered earlier by the crusaders before their arrival in Syria; because those towns had previously been part of the patriarchate and empire of Constantinople, the establishment of Latin bishoprics and Latin fiefs was never seen as an alternate option. This sensible and indeed equitable solution to a potentially dangerous canonical problem explains why no one was surprised at Adhemar's prompt recognition of John's status at the fall of the Syrian capital. The legate's scrupulous acknowledgement of Antioch's resident Orthodox bishop was expected. The same could be said of Adhemar's equally swift endorsement of patriarch Symeon II of Jerusalem, who at the time was actually living in nearby Cyprus as an exile. Symeon, like his colleague at Antioch, was also equally convinced that the Latins would formally recognize his canonical status, after the city of Jerusalem had been captured. It is notable that he tried to assist the crusaders in various ways and this was evidently appreciated. It is highly unlikely he would have been so accommodating had he ever thought that he would be rejected as Jerusalem's lawful primate.

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[44] Cf. P. Gautier, "Jean V l'Oxite patriarche d'Antioche. Notice biographique," *REB* 22 (1964), 128-57; V. Grumel, "Les patriarches grec d'Antioche du nom de Jean (XIe et XIIe siècles)," *EO* 32 (1933), 295-96; "John IV (V) Oxeites," *ODB* 2:1049 (A. Kazhdan). For the population question, see J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonization in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), 52.

And yet, from the beginning all was not well. Bohemond was determined to transform Antioch, whose capture he had in effect masterminded, into a Norman principality.[45] The fact that Alexius was in Asia Minor but had failed to take prompt possession of the city or assist in its capture was to prove an advantage for the Norman. Actually he lost no time but proceeded almost immediately to declare himself Antioch's independent sovereign. The emperor's subsequent protests were simply ignored; all reminders that Bohemond's actions were a violation of the oath he had sworn to uphold in Constantinople were predictably denied. In more general terms, the promises of the Latin leadership were soon reduced to insignificance, less than a year after they have been made to the empire; opportunism and greed in time become far more urgent than the fulfillment of solemn treaty obligations and pledges. Bohemond was as such not alone. He was probably imitating the pattern established earlier by his equally land-hungry colleague, Baldwin of Boulogne. The principality of Edessa which this warlord had set up for himself in the middle of the Euphrates valley, months before the fall of Antioch, was nevertheless included in the treaty with emperor Alexius. Like Anatolia and Antioch, the region was supposed to revert to the Byzantine state.

But if the faithful observation of obligations and oaths was increasingly viewed as irrelevant by some of the crusaders, so was apparently the unity and welfare of Christendom as a whole. Western anti-Byzantine attitudes at any rate were already becoming confused with anti-Orthodox feelings. As noted earlier, without the continued support of Adhemar of Le Puy, the ecclesiastical goals of the crusade established by pope Urban were bound to collapse. In fact, eventually, that is what transpired, months after the sudden death of Adhemar (1 August 1098). The death of the papal legate, quite simply, became the perfect opportunity (for which some of the crusaders had perhaps pined), for either dismissing or ignoring the pro-Byzantine policy imposed on them by the pope. After 1098, at any rate, there was no longer anyone among the Latins willing to counsel and enforce the strategy of accommodation and cooperation with the Eastern Church and the empire championed earlier by Adhemar. In the event, the harmonious relationship with Byzantium, to which the Latins had agreed until then, was allowed to lapse. Despite its highly debatable canonical nature, ecclesiastical colonialism instead became the new alternative for the crusaders. That is to say, the expulsion of Orthodox bishops from their sees and the substitution of a Latin hierarchy everywhere (even in areas where the population was mainly Orthodox) evolved as the preferred option. This became in effect Bohemond's strategy in his new principality immediately after Adhemar's death. In addition to the formation of a Latin patriarchate for the ancient Orthodox see of Antioch, the Norman prince very likely purposely took the opportunity to emphasize East-West disciplinary differences, hoping perhaps to justify his questionable strategy. Significant, too, is the fact that Latin bishops before long were installed outside the city as well, within the territory of the patriarchate.[46] These appointments, it seems, were justified by the fact that the region in question was without an Orthodox population. Evidently, the precedent for the latinization of Syria, and, subsequently, also of Palestine, had been set in motion, even before the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099.

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[45] See the detailed narrative in Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1:236-62.

Of course, Bohemond's ecclesiological vision differed radically from Adhemar's. And yet, he was by no means without supporters. Other warlords were eager to adopt the same narrowly Latin perspective. Nowhere is their viewpoint revealed more openly than in one of their earliest extant letters to pope Urban. Although the document was written to notify the pope of the death of his legate, the crusaders were also eager to inform him of their detailed scheme for the latinization of northern Syria.

> What, therefore, seems more proper in all the world than that you, who are the father and head of the Christian religion, should come to the original and chief city where the Christian name was used, and bring to a conclusion on your own behalf the war which is yours? For we have beaten the Turks and the heathen, but we do not know how to defeat the heretics, the Greeks and the Armenians and Syrian

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[46] Cf. Hamilton, *Latin*, 10-11. It is possible that one such candidate was consecrated by John himself. If so, it would indicate that the Latins had entered into sacramental communion with the Orthodox of Antioch. Moreover, it would further prove that the crusaders had acknowledged John's canonical authority. See also G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente* (Verona, 1981), 1:29f.

> Jacobites. We therefore continually entreat you, our dearest father, that you, our father and ruler, will come to the city which is yours, and that you, who are the vicar of St Peter, will sit on his throne and then you will find in us obedient sons, acting rightly in all things, and you will be able to root out and destroy all heresies, of whatever kind they are, by your authority and our strength.[47]

One of the more notable features of this remarkable letter is its lack of any reference to John IV, the legitimate resident patriarch of Antioch. His existence is ignored altogether. (Evidently, had he been mentioned in the document the strange suggestion that the pope should personally journey to Antioch in order to install himself as the city's bishop could not have been made.) Although the coverup is itself suggestive, the ecclesiology of the text is no less so; the omission of any mention of John's presence in the city pales by comparison with what is said or implied by the undersigned about the Church and its mission. Evidently, all eastern-rite Christians were deemed heretical and schismatic; the Orthodox, the Jacobites, and the Armenians, explicitly mentioned by the crusaders, were not considered members of the Church catholic. As far as they were concerned, on the contrary, Christendom was synonymous exclusively with their own version of Latin, Western, Christianity. On the other hand, the pope's own immediate duty and indeed obligation was to root out and destroy—*eradices et destruas*—the indigenous groups they had identified. Only then would Urban's "own war" be brought to its fitting conclusion. Needless to say, this image of the Church and of holy war was in all essential respects never shared by pope Urban.[48] The letter's strong religious prejudice was sanctioned solely by its senders. And yet, valid as this distinction undoubtedly is, in the end, it was unimportant. Time and again, the determining factor in crusading policy was to be the sentiments expressed in the letter.

Although the idea of abandoning Adhemar's policy was embraced by the crusaders probably only after their letter was dispatched to the pope (11 September 1098), it was not until the following September, on the arrival of a new papal legate, that its total dismantling began. The new envoy from Rome, Daimbert, was already well-disposed towards the crusaders. As a native of the city of Pisa (then at war with the empire) the legate was already anti-Byzantine in outlook and politics. He had no hesitation whatsoever, at any rate, in adopting Bohemond's radical anti-Orthodox strategy. His approval of Bernard of Valence as Latin patriarch of Antioch, not to mention his formal investiture of Bohemond (as if Antioch was a papal fief) followed closely his arrival in the Syrian capital. The fact that the ancient see was at the time still technically actually in full communion with Rome (with is own lawful patriarch still in residence, to repeat) to say nothing of Byzantium's legitimate political claims on the city, apparently did not trouble Daimbert. Inevitably, under these circumstances, John IV could not long survive and was forced to retire by 1100 to Constantinople, from where he eventually was to abdicate. His position, evidently, had by then become untenable. That he was driven from his see into exile goes without saying. Nor was his abdication voluntary. Technically, his resignation occurred not before but after the enthronement of his Latin rival, Bernard of Valence.

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[47] H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck, 1901), 164; quoted in Hamilton, *Latin*, 9.

[48] Cf. *Ibid.*, 159, 369.

As we should expect, stemming the tide of latinization after these developments was to prove difficult at best. Actually, before long, the establishment of Latin religious authority was to become the goal everywhere in Syria. All legitimate Orthodox bishops were at any rate gradually either driven out or replaced by Latin candidates. As a consequence, the intruding immigrants soon began to think of themselves as the exclusive heirs of the Orthodox Church in the region. Western translations of existing Orthodox episcopal and patriarchal lists during the period reflect this conviction; as does no doubt the fact that all Orthodox monasteries and lower clergy were forced to recognize the intruders as their canonical superiors—as sole representatives of the expelled Orthodox line. On the other hand, diversity in liturgy was permitted in practice. No one was required to relinquish his own rite. It was a pattern that was to remain in force in Antioch throughout the twelfth century. Indeed, with the exception of two brief Orthodox restorations (in 1165 and 1206) the duplicate Latin line of patriarchs was to prevail down to the end of the Frankish state in Syria.

By and large the arrangement established in the patriarchate of Jerusalem immediately after the fall of the Holy City to the crusaders (15 July 1099) followed the Antioch pattern. Whether the crusaders at the time were actually aware that the lawful incumbent, patriarch Symeon of Jerusalem, was dead, is not certain. Probably the news that he died in Cyprus, days before the fall of the Holy City, had not reached them. Whatever the case, the previous recognition of his title by Adhemar was not taken into consideration. The patriarchal office was simply deemed vacant. The decision was then taken (apparently without contacting or consulting the Orthodox clergy, the principle Christian minority in the city) to elect a Latin priest, Arnulf of Chocques, as patriarch of Jerusalem. All the same, Arnulf did not long survive, but was soon removed or, perhaps, deposed, for misconduct by the Pisan Daimbert. The ambitious legate was then himself chosen to the vacant post. Once again, Orthodox bishops were dealt with in the same arbitrary manner as their colleagues in Syria. Openly, once more, parity was precluded.[49] As a result, formal obedience to the Latin episcopate was demanded from all Orthodox monasteries and parochial clergy. In time, moreover, Daimbert was to appoint and consecrate several Latin hierarchs for such canonically Antiochene cities as Edessa and Tarsus. (John IV was actually still in Antioch when these territorial violations of his see occurred.) Daimbert presumably also felt that the Orthodox authorities could not be left in charge of the Holy Sepulchre; the fact that they had been the cathedral's administrators long before 1099 was beside the point. In the event, the Orthodox clergy and all other eastern-rite groups, who had until then also used the ancient church, were driven out. Christianity's central shrine was to be preserved apparently solely for the Frankish clergy and the Latin rite.[50] Not surprising, many of the city's other major sanctuaries were to suffer a similar fate, as did of course the extensive property of the Orthodox patriarchate. Virtually all of the patriarchate's real estate was annexed by the Latins.

For good measure, before long the Latin conquerors were also to provide a legal perspective to the strained ecclesiastical settlement they had chosen to impose on the native population of both Syria and Palestine. In due course both Christians and Muslims would in fact be treated in the legal Frankish codes as an inferior element within Frankish society. A socially cohesive Kingdom of Jerusalem was never the aim. On the contrary, from the outset Outremer was to remain a colonial society based on a rigid "apartheid" structure. A system of intolerance was built into the Latin law codes, embracing not only Muslims and Jews but also most eastern-rite Christians, including Orthodox. Typically, there is virtually no evidence of any functioning mosques in crusader territory and, of course, Jews and Muslims were normally not permitted entry into the Holy City. Modern apologists for the crusade notwithstanding, the fact remains that the indigenous population of Syria and Palestine was rejected by the Christian settlers from the West. Latin policy was not meant as an ecumenical gesture. "Never was a *Natio Christiana*

[49] On the colorful Arnulf and Daimbert, see J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Amsterdam, 1979), 99-101.

[50] For the subsequent modification of this ruling, see Hamilton, *Latin*, 170.

envisaged but on Latin terms. Obviously, one was never created...The crusaders might have started as a movement of colonialization, but it ended in colonialism."[51] In sharp contrast with the socio-religious system of the Islamic world, which tolerated all non-Muslims as "protected" subjects (*dhimmis*) by assuring them freedom of worship, person, and even property, the crusaders never really aspired to anything other than their own preferred route of social polarization and enforced apartheid for all non-Franks.[52]

The prolonged struggle between the Roman Church and the sees of Antioch and Jerusalem, which followed the developments just described, did not include Alexandria—the other great see in the pentarchy of patriarchates. Because Egypt was never conquered by the crusaders, the once powerful Church of Sts Athanasius and Cyril was able to escape the expulsions and dispossession of its hierarchs by Latin bishops during the Frankish occupation. Besides, as a result of Muslim Egypt's hostility to Latin rule, links between the Franks of Palestine and the patriarchate of Alexandria were necessarily kept to a minimum. On the other hand, relations with the papacy itself during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries were apparently cordial. Some evidence even exists for the twelfth century of *communio in sacris* between the patriarchate and Latin prisoners and merchants. There is also information on the presence of a delegate of the Church of Alexandria at the Lateran council of 1215. Obviously, the existing hostility between Rome and the other eastern patriarchates was not characteristic of Alexandria and Rome for most of this period. Even so, all relations between the two Churches were probably severved by the early thirteenth century. In 1310 Rome was to appoint a titular Latin patriarch for Alexandria as well. By then their friendship had apparently soured. The papacy at any rate was no longer willing to acknowledge Alexandria's legitimate patriarchal line. Overall, direct documentary evidence for the history of the patriarchate throughout the crusading period (in contrast with the other eastern sees) is at best often vague or uncertain.[53]

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[51] J. Prawer, "The roots of medieval colonialism," in Goss, *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, 29, 36; *idem*, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. For a more positive assessment of the papacy's "spiritual achievement" in the East, see Hamilton, *Latin*, 369; and Richard, *The Latin Kingdom*, 99-110.

[52] Johns, "Christianity and Islam," 185. Cf. H.E. Mayer, "Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *History* 63 (1978), 175-92.

[53] For a brief survey see, Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 99-100, 139-40. There is no general scholarly treatment of the eastern patriarchates during the crusading period. Although Hamilton's *Latin* is invaluable, its focus is necessarily on the Latin ecclesiastical presence in the East. Nor does it deal with Alexandria.

Such was in brief the religious policy devised and enforced in the new Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem by 1100. Although its implementation in Syria and Palestine was initially swift and sudden, it was not until after a century had passed that the policy was extended to embrace Christian Byzantium as well. With the fourth crusade (1204) the Church of Constantinople was in turn compelled to endure what had been the fate of the other Orthodox patriarchates after the fall of Jerusalem in 1099. Granted latinization by the thirteenth century was far more extreme and dramatic and, for good measure, as we shall see, greater theological and liturgical conformity was required of the Byzantines by the Latins. Still, the policy was the same. To repeat, the tactics of the first crusaders were not identical with those initially proposed or preferred by the Church of Rome. One of pope Urban's major objectives in mobilizing feudal Europe in 1095 was the liberation of the eastern Churches. Substituting a western hierarchy for these sees or latinizing them in the process, was decidedly not his aim. And yet in the end this was what the "saviors" of Eastern Christendom, the crusaders, were to do in essence. Actually, Urban did not long survive to reverse their tactics. When he died, 29 July 1099, he had not yet heard that Jerusalem had been captured.

4. Mounting East-West resentment

On the whole, the new Roman pontiff who succeeded Urban in 1099, Pascal II, was not bound by the previous eastern policy of his predecessor and his goals for Outremer. Pascal's approach was to ignore the striking improvement in relations with Constantinople achieved by Urban. Bohemond's intentionally false propaganda against Byzantium actually convinced him before long that the Byzantines were unreliable and schismatic. As a result, a tougher, more aggressive diplomatic approach was adopted. Exporting the papal revolution to Byzantium was to become a major goal for most of Urban's successors. Typically, the Roman Church soon began to view the consecration of its patriarchs in the East as a solid foundation on which to anchor both its ecclesiology and diplomacy. "If the Latins could keep their hold on Antioch and transfer it into a tradition, they might change the conception of a patriarchate in the East. Alexandria and Constantinople might gradually be assimilated to Antioch and Jerusalem, not in liturgy and ritual, but in the manner of their subordination to the pope."[54] Conceivably, as individual patriarchal boundaries declined in importance, it was reasonably argued, the eastern idea of patriarchate would itself lapse into oblivion.

[54] Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate 451-1204*, 166.

Pascal was to turn especially to the *Donation of Constantine* to support this Roman universalism. The eighth century document (along with the Petrine texts of Scripture, of course) had presumably given Rome rule over all patriarchates. His letter to emperor Alexius I, dated 1112, demanding the submission of the Church of Constantinople, "as it had been established by the religious prince Constantine and confirmed by the consent of the holy councils," is an explicit allusion to the forged donation.[55]

Overall, nevertheless, the reversal of pope Urban's policy was not in the end a historical watershed. Pascal after all was only expressing what papal reformers had maintained all the while. On the other hand, the results of the new approach were unambiguously negative. Theological dialogue in the twelfth century became increasingly ineffectual and more contentious. Both sides were in fact affected. When the eminent canonist, Theodore Balsamon, in the late twelfth century, advised the patriarch of Alexandria to refrain from giving communion to all Latin captives (unless they first abjured their "doctrines and customs") he was not yet voicing a universal conviction.[56] For all that, his attitude was by then also shared by other churchmen and was not atypical or unusual. Of course, in the end, the papal posture was bound to displease the empire as well. As we have emphasized earlier, what transpired in Syria was particularly discomfiting to the Byzantine emperor and his government. It is by no means a surprise that twelfth century Comnenian diplomacy, involving the crusader states, revolved almost exclusively around the recovery of Antioch and the restoration of the patriarchate. Constantinople, quite simply, never acquiesced to the loss of the Syrian capital and the dispossession of its legitimate Orthodox patriarch. Candidates for this see continued to be elected in the Byzantine capital after the expulsion of John IV in 1100. (The above-mentioned Balsamon was himself elevated to the office—as Theodore IV—sometime before 1189). For the Byzantines, these patriarchs were alone deemed to be Antioch's rightful primates, even if they were forced to live permanently in exile. Actually, with the exception of the two Orthodox restorations mentioned previously, all the claimants invariably resided in Constantinople (usually at the monastery of the *Hodegon*) or, for part of the thirteenth century, at the court of Nicaea.[57]

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[55] *PL* 163:389A; cited in Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate*, 165.

[56] *PG* 138:968B (letter to Mark, patriarch of Alexandria). Cf. below, 329.

[57] For their names and dates, see the convenient list in Hamilton, *Latin*, 374. For their residence in Constantinople, see Gautier, "Jean V L'Oxite, patriarche d'Antioche," 155; and "Antioch, patriarchate," *ODB*, 1:116-17 (A. Papadakis); Ch. Papadopoulos, "The Church of Antioch during Seljuk and Frankish rule in Syria," *Theologia* 16 (1938), 97-117; 193-207 (in Greek).

In all essential respects, the attitude of the Byzantine Church to the ecclesiastical settlement imposed on Jerusalem by the Latins matched its inflexible approach to Antioch. The authority of the Latin intruders, beginning with the appointment of Arnulf of Chocques, was at any rate never formally recognized. It is true, the city of Jerusalem was never covered by the crusader oaths of 1097, since Palestine had not been part of the empire in the recent past. Even so, as in the case of Antioch, the sudden substitution of Latin patriarchs everywhere was unacceptable. As a result, a succession of Orthodox patriarchs appointed in Constantinople quickly followed.[58] Although the evidence is sometimes elusive, the names of these incumbents appear frequently in contemporary sources and in synodal proceedings at Constantinople, where they lived in exile. It was not until after 1187, when Jerusalem was reconquered by Saladin and the Latin patriarch had to move to Acre, that the Orthodox claimant took up residence in the city. This did not, of course, solve the question of apostolic succession: both the Latin and Orthodox candidates continued to claim for themselves the true line. Although the Orthodox patriarch was forced to quit his residence during the brief Frankish occupation of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century (1229-44), he probably continued to reside in Palestine. In any event, he was to return to his see in 1244.

Needless to say, the argument that Byzantine Christendom found western ecclesiastical colonialism in the Levant intolerable is not extravagant or misleading. Roman attempts to bring both Antioch and Jerusalem within the post-Gregorian papal orbit went against every ecclesiological principle known to the Byzantines since antiquity. To conceive of the Church as a centralized body controlled by a pivotal papal power was unacceptable ecclesiology, even if Rome had been granted first place by conciliar decision. The Byzantines were in fact convinced that it was the common faith of all Christian Churches, their fellowship and respect for each other, and their inherent collegiality, that bound them together, and not the universal episcopacy advanced by Roman apologists. Given this understanding of ecclesial structure and unity, the papally sponsored changes introduced in the crusader states were unacceptable to the Orthodox. After all, once the Church of Jerusalem was latinized, western Christians actually became convinced that this Church alone was the true *orientalis ecclesia*, as if the Orthodox Eastern patriarchates had never

[58] Cf. G. Every, "Syrian Christians in Jerusalem, 1183-1283," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 7 (1947), 46-54; for a complete list of names beginning with Symeon (1099) and ending with Thaddaeus (ca. 1296) see Hamilton, *Latin*, 374.

existed. "The Latin hierarchy in Syria and Palestine became in western eyes, quintessentially the Eastern Church."[59] If examined from this perspective, the subsequent consummation of the schism in the thirteenth century was not altogether unpredictable. Christian division was by then already a reality for some churchmen. In fact, for certain sees, division had began as early as 1100 with the duplication of bishoprics introduced by the Latins. After that date, for example, there is no doubt that Rome refused to admit that "there was such a person as the Greek patriarch of Antioch."[60]

The mounting theological tension caused by western colonialism in the East had of course its political side as well. Once again, the Norman contribution proved crucial. Bohemond's successful attempt to discredit the emperor Alexius (and eastern Christianity by extension) was never really overcome either by Comnenian diplomacy or the goodwill of many Latins. Remarkably, by 1104 the Norman prince had been able to turn most western public opinion against the empire by placing responsibility for all the mishaps and defeats suffered by the crusading army on Constantinople's doorstep. Before long, the presumably unscrupulous Byzantines were being blamed for virtually every Latin failure and blunder. The belief in Byzantine treason and treachery took root very early. Inevitably, these charges, repeated with unflagging zeal in the western sources, were to increase as crusading invincibility itself waned.[61] The defensive war which the Franks were actually forced to wage after 1099, with its humiliating defeats and attendant strain, was soon transformed into useful grist for the western mill of antipathy against Byzantium. The "bloodthirsty anti-Greek fulminations"[62] of someone like St Bernard (responsible for preaching the second crusade after Edessa was lost in 1144) probably have no other explanation; they were the direct legacy of nearly fifty years of passionate mistrust and false rumors. By then, for most western Christians the Byzantines had become just as threatening as the Muslims.

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[59] H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Gregorian papacy, Byzantium, and the first crusade," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13 (1988), 168 (145-69).

[60] Hamilton, *Latin*, 322.

[61] R.H. Schmandt, "Public opinion, the schism, and the fourth crusade," *Diakonia* 3 (1968), 284-99. Although western military superiority declined after 1099, recent scholarship suggests that there was no corresponding opposition to the crusading principle within western society. Enthusiasm for it did not decrease and it was rarely attacked or criticized. Further, very few westerners considered it an obstacle or an ill-conceived instrument for Muslim conversion. See E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford, 1985).

[62] S. Runciman, "Byzantium and the crusades," in Goss, *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, 20. On the Cistercian contribution to the second crusade, see E. Willems, "Citeaux et la seconde croisade," *Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique* 49 (1954), 116-51.

Resentment was of course mutual. Byzantine goodwill was in fact soon replaced by popular dislike and suspicion of the first crusaders. The Franks, in particular, were immediately judged as incurably greedy; it was not so much their piety, as their avarice, lawlessness, and their lack of discipline, that were best remembered. Predictably, this impression was confirmed repeatedly in both the second (1146-48) and the third crusade (1189-92). And yet, the rude and often insolent attitude of the Latins was doubtless insignificant when compared with their aggressive designs. The more sophisticated Byzantine government at any rate was before long to realize (as the evidence implies) that the western expeditions to Jerusalem were a potential threat to the empire; a full-scale crusade against Byzantium was itself not unthinkable. Anna Comnena in particular was convinced that some of the leaders of the Latin expedition actually had no desire to worship at the Holy Sepulchre. "The ulterior purpose of their journey, they hoped, was to seize the capital itself, looking upon its capture as a natural consequence of the expedition."[63] Scheming Latins like Bohemond and his kind, she was to stress, were not moved by the same piety or devotion that possessed the core of the western army. That these fears probably actually reflect the opinion of court circles at the time goes without saying. That they also usually determined Byzantine diplomatic maneuvering during the twelfth century is equally clear.

Although such Byzantine apprehensions are occasionally viewed as a simplification of crusading motives or as an exaggeration of the authors, the fact remains that they were not manufactured. The evidence is both authentic and convincing. For example, the campaign of 1105 was by no means a bogus crusade, even if it was unsuccessful. That it was aimed at the Byzantines and not at the Muslims—with papal approval and blessing—is virtually certain. What is more, the number of individuals who actually wished to deflect the crusade to Constantinople during the twelfth century grew at a steady pace. A list of this sort necessarily must include such prominent figures as Peter the Venerable, Louis VII, St Bernard of Clairvaux and his cousin Godfrey of Langres, Frederick Barbarossa, and Roger of Sicily, among others. As a matter of fact an assault on the Byzantine capital was suggested during every single crusading campaign prior to 1204.[64] (In this respect, the reputation of pope Innocent III as *de facto* founder of the crusade against Byzantium should be qualified.) At the same time, it is necessary to emphasize that Byzantine fear was also invariably linked to the growth of Italian commerce. The empire was of course conscious of the fact that it was a potentially lucrative region to foreigners. As it happens, the penetration of its waters by Italian merchants was the single most important economic development of the age. Exploitation was near total. By 1200 the Black Sea and the Straits were no longer under Byzantine control. As a consequence, Italians were soon boasting that they could starve the Byzantine capital if they so desired with their commercial grip and control of the sea lanes.[65] On the whole, the arrogance and self-confidence of these western merchants (to say nothing of their privileged tax-exempt status and increase in numbers) did little to allay Byzantine apprehension in the twelfth century. Inevitably, the well-known spontaneous riot of 1182 in Constantinople had as its object the western profiteer. Its popular anti-Latin character, expressed in the mob's resentment of western merchants, was ominous for the future, for both the Church and the empire and, of course, for Church unity.[66]

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[63] *Alexiad*, X,5, Leib 2:209; E.R.A. Sewter (trans.), *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (Baltimore, 1969) 311. For the growth of ill-feeling and popular resentment, see Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 124-44.

[64] See the discussion by W.M. Daly, "Christian fraternity, the crusades, and the security of Constantinople, 1097-1204: The precarious survival of an ideal," *Medieval Studies* 22 (1960), 43-91.

That the Byzantine dislike of the westerner was rooted frequently in non-theological factors is evident from the preceding. The same must be said of western distrust and antipathy. Characteristically, Byzantium's diplomatic contacts and relations with the Muslims, for example, were invariably viewed by the Latins as disloyalty, even treachery. No less subversive for them, perhaps, was Byzantium's ongoing hostile attitude towards the Frankish princes of Antioch. That these and other similarly independent Byzantine attitudes to twelfth century politics were a source of Latin irritation and intolerance is indisputable. Yet all in all, these non-theological considerations should not be allowed to obscure the fact that from the outset religious bigotry also contributed to the Latin posture. Our earlier brief analysis of the letter of 1098, sent to the pope by the crusaders, showed that this was in fact the case. Religious prejudice was not missing in the Latin attitude from the first, as it has been claimed on occasion.[67] To be sure, increasingly, the bigotry became more pronounced, as Odo of Deuil's mid-century account of the second crusade illustrates. This writer (much like pope Urban's earlier corespondents) thought of the Byzantines as heretics. And yet, Odo is also far more hostile then the early crusaders. Orthodox eucharistic practice, and the rejection by the Byzantines of the *Filioque* and Latin baptism, were apparently the basis for his verdict. His synopsis of the tension caused by these differences becomes historically more compelling as he adds that "it was for these reasons that the Greeks had incurred the hatred of our men, for their error had become known even among the lay people. Because of this they were judged not to be Christians, and the Franks considered killing them a matter of no importance and hence could with the more difficulty be restrained from pillaging and plundering."[68] Sadly enough, the author of these observations was himself a clergyman and a chaplain (of Louis VII) who later became abbot of St Denis. Still more regrettable, however, is the fact that such observations came to be viewed as gospel truth by the end of the century. They had become so popular by then that the diversionary assault of 1204 on Constantinople, when it did finally come, was accepted with little hesitation. The fatal attack was rationalized by everyone involved by the belief that the Byzantines were already heretics. For the fourth crusade apparently the schism had been in existence for some time.

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[65] D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge, 1988), 188; Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, 235.

[66] Cf. H.-G. Beck in H. Jedin and J. Dolan, eds., *Handbook of Church History* (New York, 1970), 4:135: "The incipient economic 'sell out' to the Italian maritime cities, forced by the needs of foreign policy, could not but nourish the animosity felt in many circles for all that was western, and it is here that the reason is to be sought why Byzantine resistance was especially stiff in the spheres of theology and Church unity."

[67] Schmandt, "Public opinion, the schism, and the fourth crusade," 290.

Enough has perhaps been said about the course of the crusade in the twelfth century to justify an evaluation of the movement as a whole. To be sure, the literature on this question is vast and wide-ranging and cannot be invoked or indeed summarized at this point.[69] On the other hand, a few brief concluding remarks about the crusade's enduring results are justified. To begin with, the romantic myth of holy war advocated by an older generation of historians is in general on the wane. It has been displaced in particular by a more dispassionate and, indeed, critical historiography. This is especially true of those questions dealing with the crusade's impact on the rest of Europe. It is in fact generally assumed today that the movement did not actually facilitate either cross-cultural fertilization or economic exchange, at

[68] Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, trans. V.G. Berry (New York, 1948), 57. Cf. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 128. For a detailed treatment of the second crusade see V.G. Berry in K.M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols. (Madison, 1969-89), 1:463-512 (with bibliography).

[69] H.E. Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hanover, 1965); *idem*, "Literaturbericht über die Geschichte der Kreuzzüge," *Historische Zeitschrift* 3 (1969), 641-736; J.A. Brundage, "Recent crusade historiography: Some observations and suggestions," *Catholic Historical Review* 49 (1964), 493-507.

least not in any radical way. Positive results of this kind, it appears, occurred chiefly independently of the crusades. Demographic vitality, internal sociocultural dynamism and growth, were to play a far greater role in shattering Europe's isolation than did overseas expansion into Palestine at the same time. In sum, as an international military and colonial enterprise, the movement should be judged for the most part as an extravagant failure with few beneficial results. As one cautious scholar observed recently, war has seldom been the most constructive or satisfactory agent of penetration. "In the short run the military cost of the crusades may have exceeded the economic and intellectual returns, and in the long run, greater returns might have been acquired through peace."[70]

As the preceding sections of this chapter have implied, the religious returns of Outremer were perhaps just as costly and, no doubt, just as questionable. The suggestion has been made, specifically, that the endemic anti-Semitism of the post-Gregorian age was a direct result of the crusade. There are at any rate very few incidents in the early Middle Ages to parallel the deplorable treatment of European Jewry after 1095. The most recent scholarship, indeed, notes that the new violence was "inspired primarily by the ideas and ideals" basic to the spirit of the crusade.[71] And of course there is evidence that the violence was initiated early in the spring of 1098, with the attack on the Rhenish Jewish settlements by the first crusade. Before long, most European Jewry was reduced to a sitting target; in contrast to the Muslims, so the logic ran, Jews were more visible as well as more accessible. But the theology of violence behind the crusades was also counterproductive in other ways. The longed-for destruction or conversion of Islam in particular, frequently emphasized in crusading propaganda, never materialized.[72] (The Frankish colony in the East, as we have said, was never really a military threat to Islam.) On the contrary, Muslim strength and hostility were to witness a certain revival because of the religious fanaticism expressed by westerners. Warfare in Outremer after 1099, as a result, was actually largely defensive. Despite the arrival of more settlers and new military orders, to say nothing of numerous successive expeditions, the frontiers of the Frankish state were actually seldom secure. The argument that western overseas expansion slowed down Turkish penetration has little basis in fact.

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[70] R.S. Lopez, in N.F. Cantor, *Perspectives on the European Past: Conversations with Historians* (New York, 1971), 215; and the author's *The Birth of Europe* (New York, 1967), 249-55. For a recent evaluation of crusading accomplishments, see Mayer, *The Crusades*, 275-86.

[71] R. Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987), 64.

[72] Cf. Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*; B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984).

From the high ground of the Church historian, the most pernicious result of the crusades was its negative impact on Church unity. In the end, the crusade must be linked to schism. This is by no means an excessive assessment, if it is recalled that before 1095, in both East and West, Christians still believed in a single undivided Christendom, whereas afterwards very few did so. Clergymen in the eleventh century at any rate were unaware that 1054 had introduced any permanent breach in the ongoing rivalry of the Churches. As we have seen, the synod of 1089 did not cite 1054 in order to explain the deletion of the papal name from the diptychs. Nor did the pope himself mention it in his own complaint. Instead, he spoke openly of the need for harmony and refused to concentrate either on dogmatic differences or canonical problems.[73] The policy of collaboration followed by the papal representative during the first crusade was inspired by similar sentiments. Then again, liturgical and disciplinary differences were not yet deemed permanent barriers to unity. Typically, moderate-minded clergymen on both sides urged their more extreme colleagues not to distort or misrepresent their opponents' faith. Standardization in both liturgy and discipline apparently was regarded as unnecessary or at best secondary. To be short, the disruption of Christendom in 1095 was not yet reality.

As the twelfth century wound down, nevertheless, the ongoing competition, even tension, was replaced increasingly by hostility and misunderstanding. The blame for this progressive deterioration in East-West relations must be placed on the doorstep of the crusade, even if it was often shared by Norman military aggression and Venetian economic imperialism. Indeed, by the end of the century holy war had become (to borrow the verdict of one critic) little more than "a long act of intolerance in the name of God, which is the sin against the Holy Spirit."[74] Anna Comnena's earlier view of the crusaders as pillaging hoodlums and illiterate barbarians had by then evolved into a general conviction. And yet, for Eastern Christendom these developments were not the only sign that things were going badly. Western expansionist ecclesiology, involving some thirty sees with Latin incumbents, stretched in an arc from southern Asia Minor to Jerusalem, was to antagonize both the Church and the empire. The precarious balance of Christian unity was beginning to tilt ominously in the direction of schism. Of course, in the end, this development was also sustained by papal centralism. It was at this time (as we shall see in a subsequent chapter) that Byzantium also became

[73] H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche in byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen, 1980), 149.
[74] Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3:480.

fully conscious of the juridical universal Roman primacy of the Gregorians and their successors. In more general terms, to summarize, by the end of the twelfth century the ideas that East and West together formed a single community of fellow Christians was fast disintegrating.[75] The fraternal ecclesiastical rivalry between Rome and Constantinople was at any rate beginning to look more like a struggle between two mutually exclusive Churches. Ecclesiological dichotomy had by then replaced legitimate primacy in the Church catholic. The consummation of the schism in its practical or juridical sense was only a question of time.

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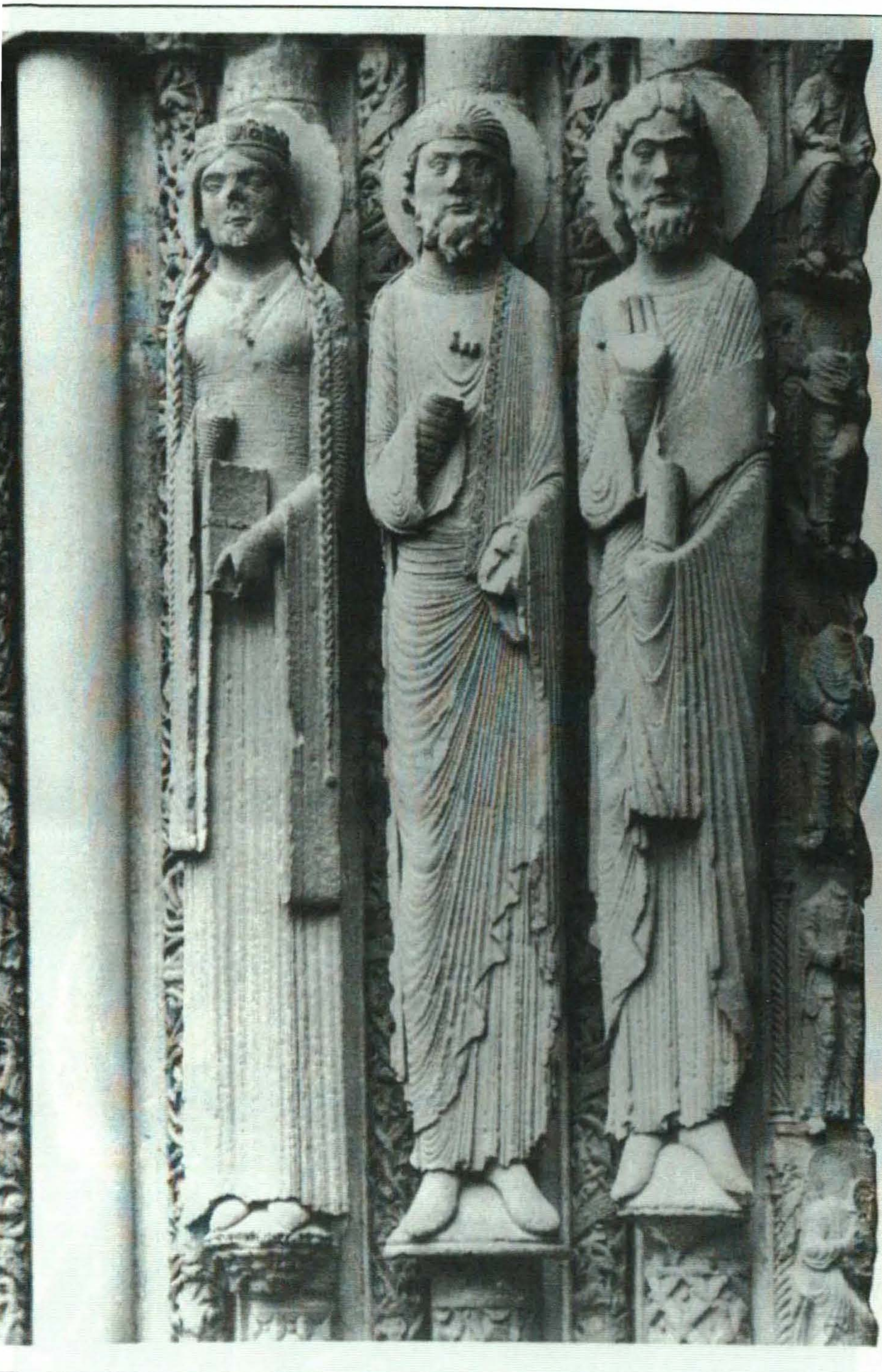
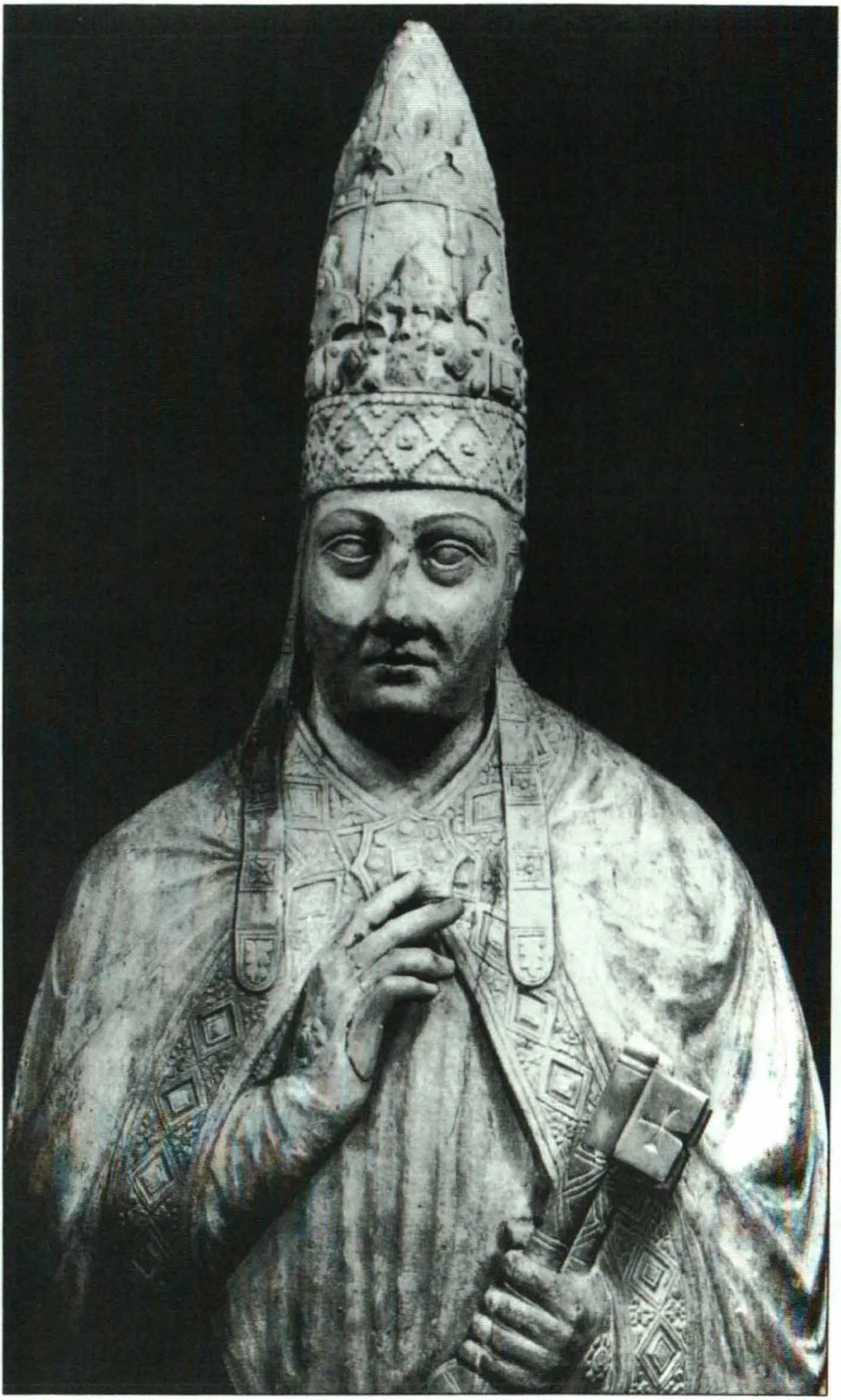
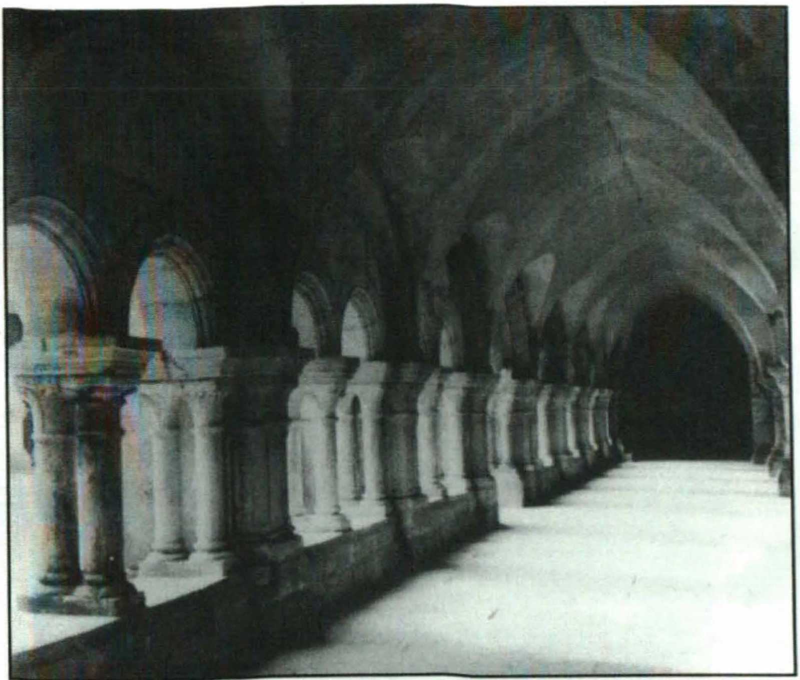
[75] Cf. the remarks by G. Florovsky, "The Eastern Orthodox Church and the ecumenical movement," *Theology Today* 7 (1950), 68-79.



1. Columnar statues of central portal, Chartres cathedral west facade, *c* 1145-50. (Courtesy: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



2. Pope Boniface VIII, statue made during his pontificate (1294-1303) by Arnolfo di Cambio. (Courtesy: Alinari)



. Cloister of the Cistercian abbey of Fontenay, a daughter house of Clairvaux, Burgundy, 12th century. (Courtesy: Zodiaque, Rapho Guillumette/Photo Researchers)

miens cathedral of Notre Dame,
h gothic interior with simple
ault type vaulting begun *c* 1220.
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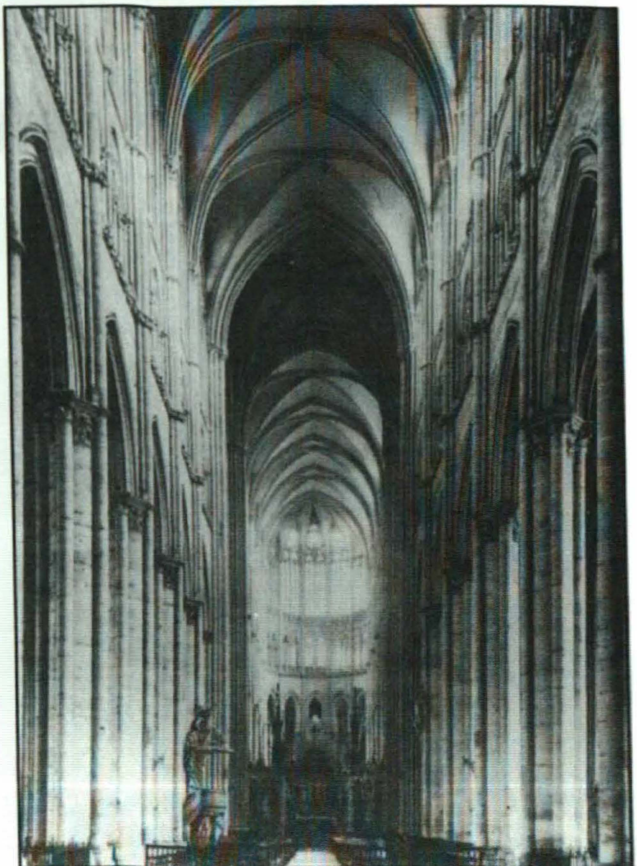
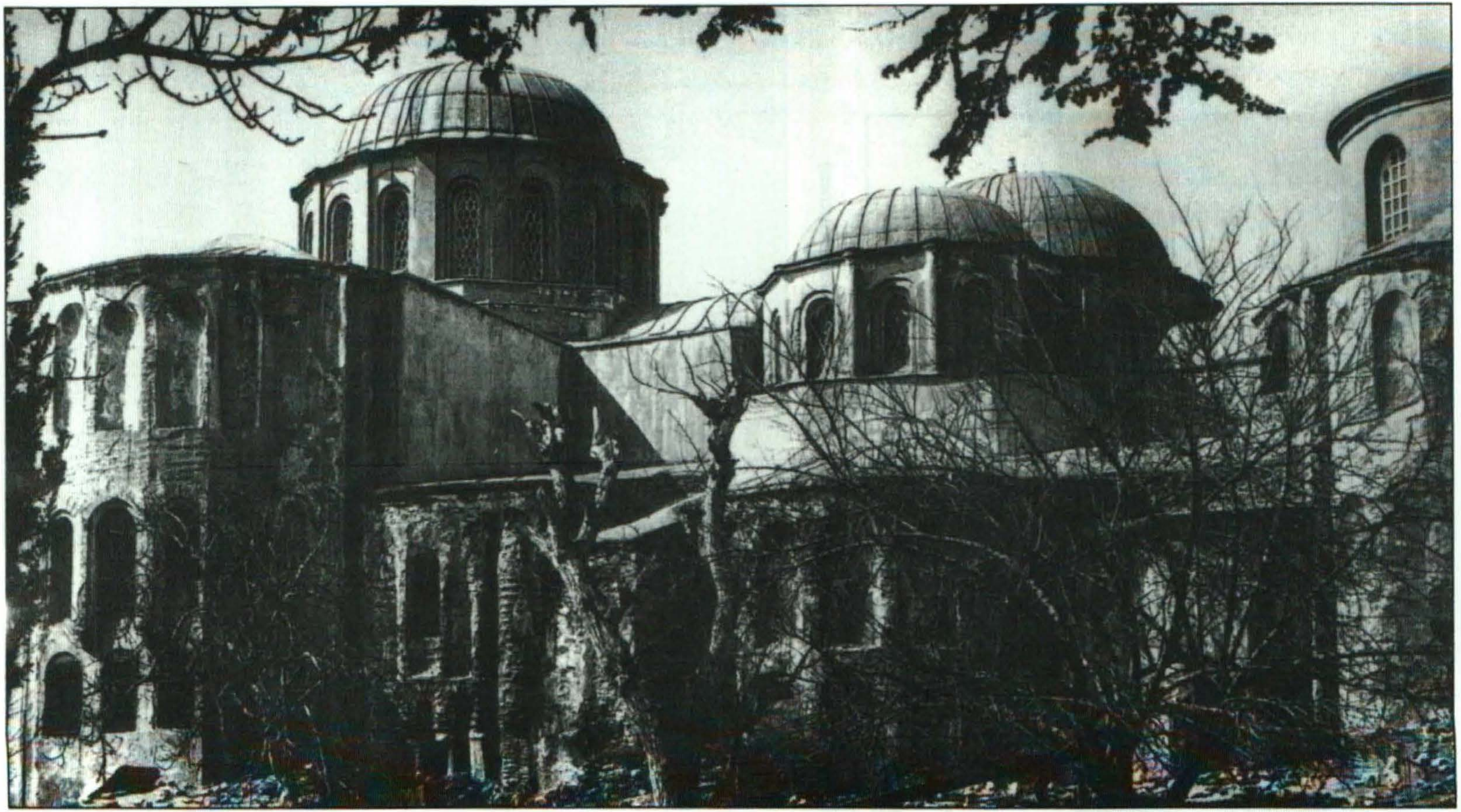
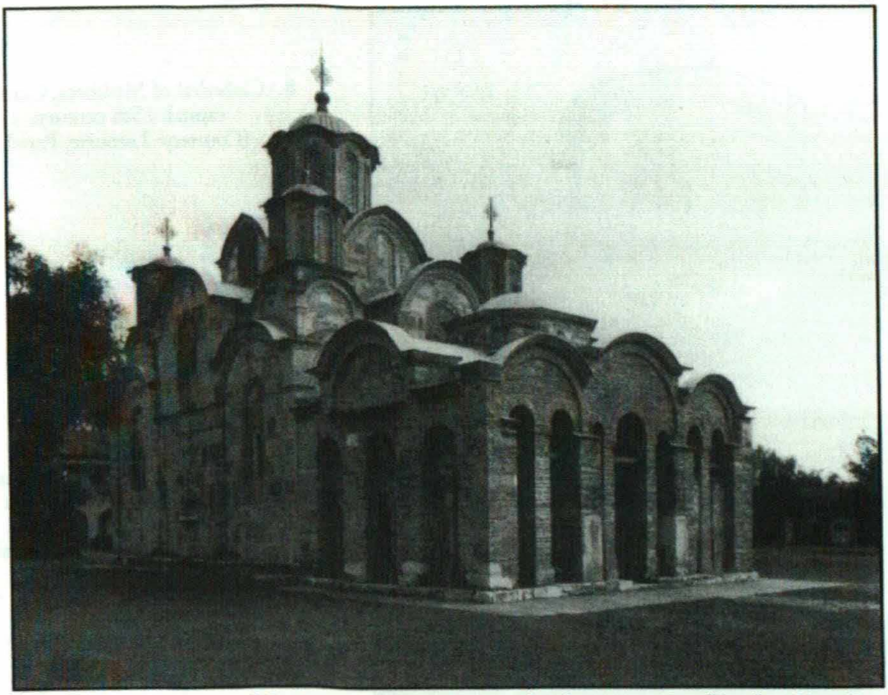
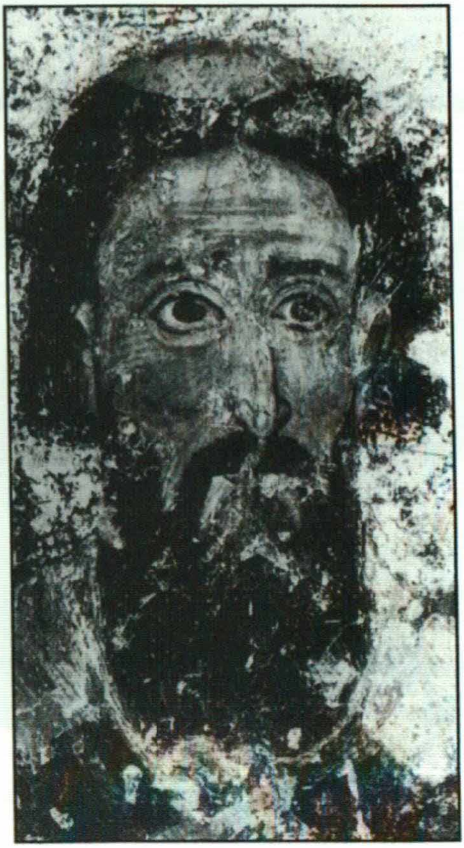




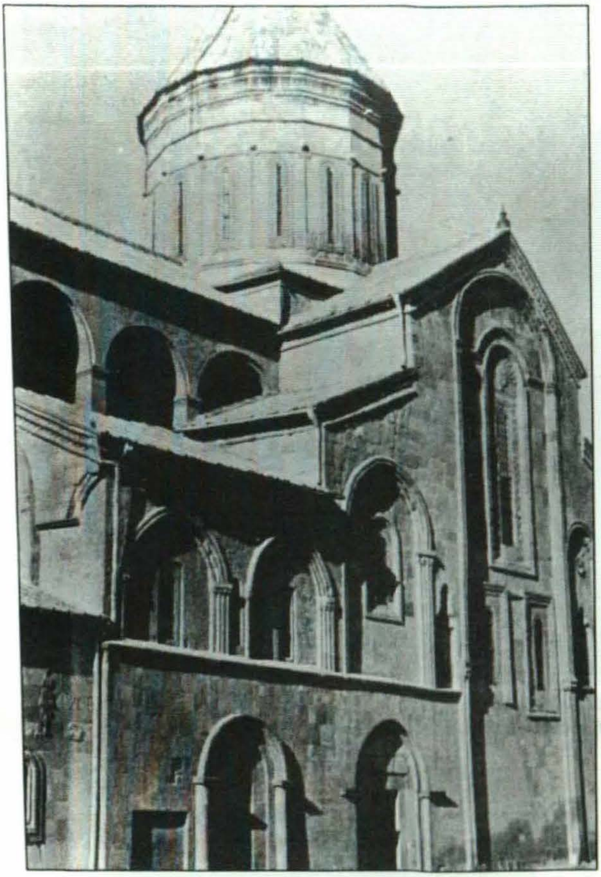
5. Monastery of the Pantocrator (Zeyrek Kilise Camii) founded by John II Comnenus, 12th century; complex included a hospital and a home for destitute elderly men.
(Courtesy: German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul)



6. Serbian monastery of Gračaniça, begun *c* 1311 under the patronage of Stephen Uroš II Milutin. (Courtesy: Bruno Balestrini, Electa Editrice, Milan)



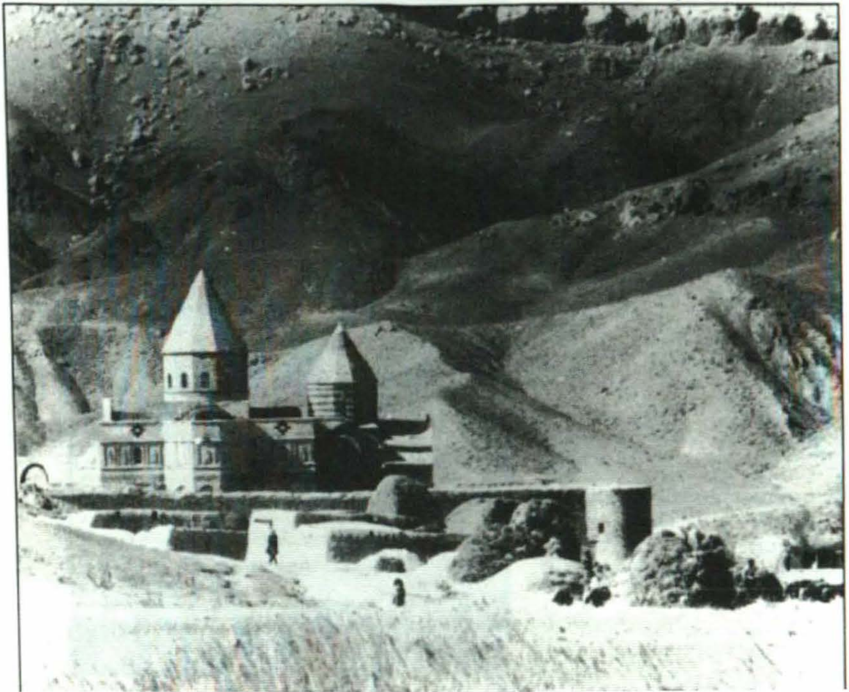
7. St Sava, narthex, monastery church of Mileševa, *c* 1220.
(Courtesy: Institute for the Protection of Monuments, Belgrade)

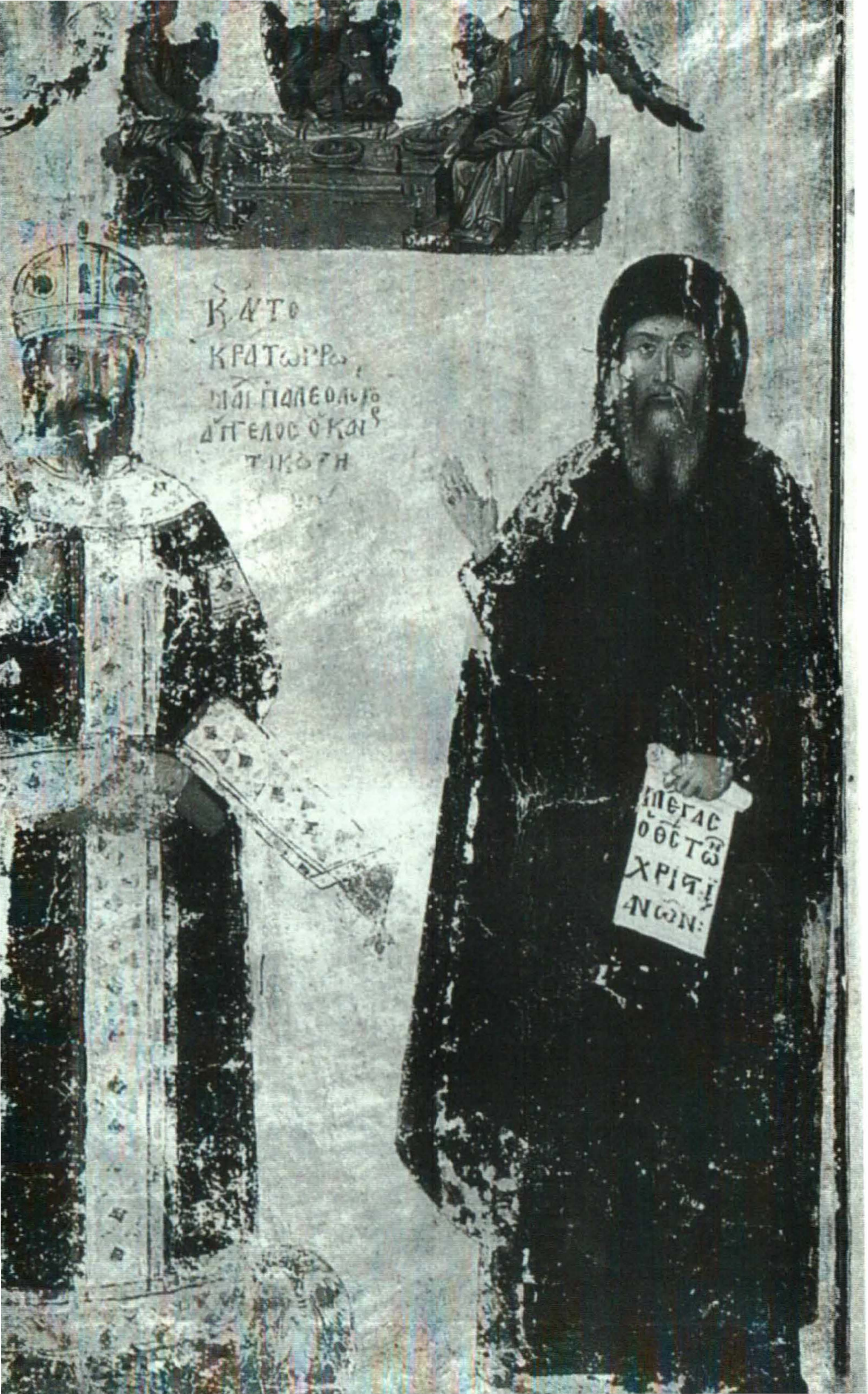


8. Cathedral of Mtskheta, Georgian
capital, 15th century.
(Courtesy: Larousse, Paris)

10. Opposite: John VI Cantacuzenus (13
as emperor and monk, miniature in man
Paris.gr.1242, fol. 123v.
(Courtesy: Bibliothèque Nationale, Pa

9. St Thaddeus, 1329, Persian Azerbaijan (Karakilise). (Courtesy: Praeger Publishers)

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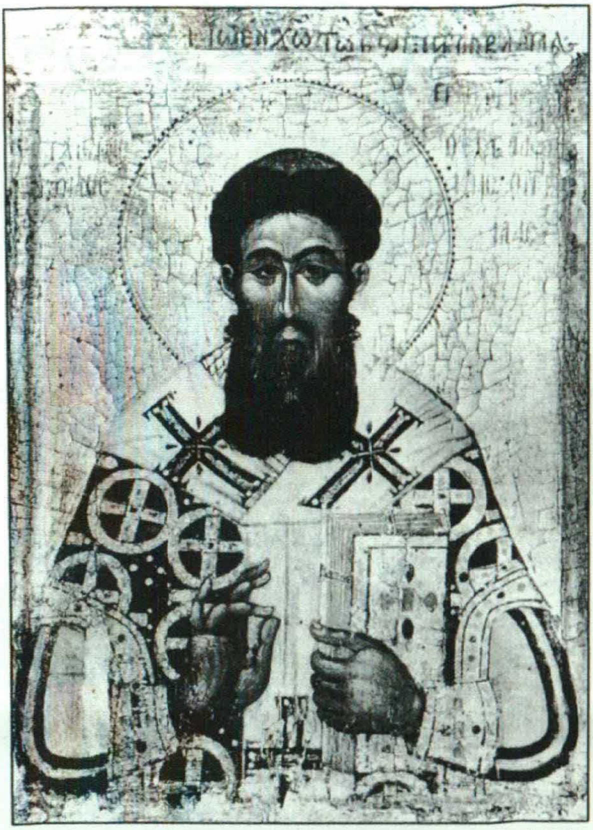

11. St Gregory Palamas, portrait painted a few years after his death (1359). (Courtesy: State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow)

12. Seal of patriarch Gregory I
Cyprus (1283-89). Legend:
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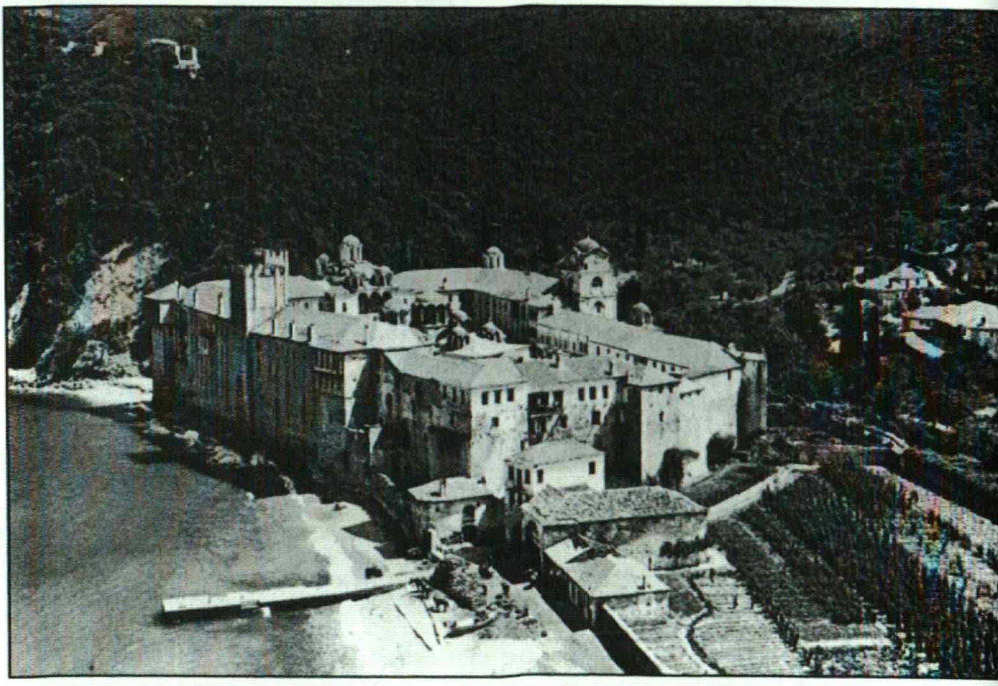
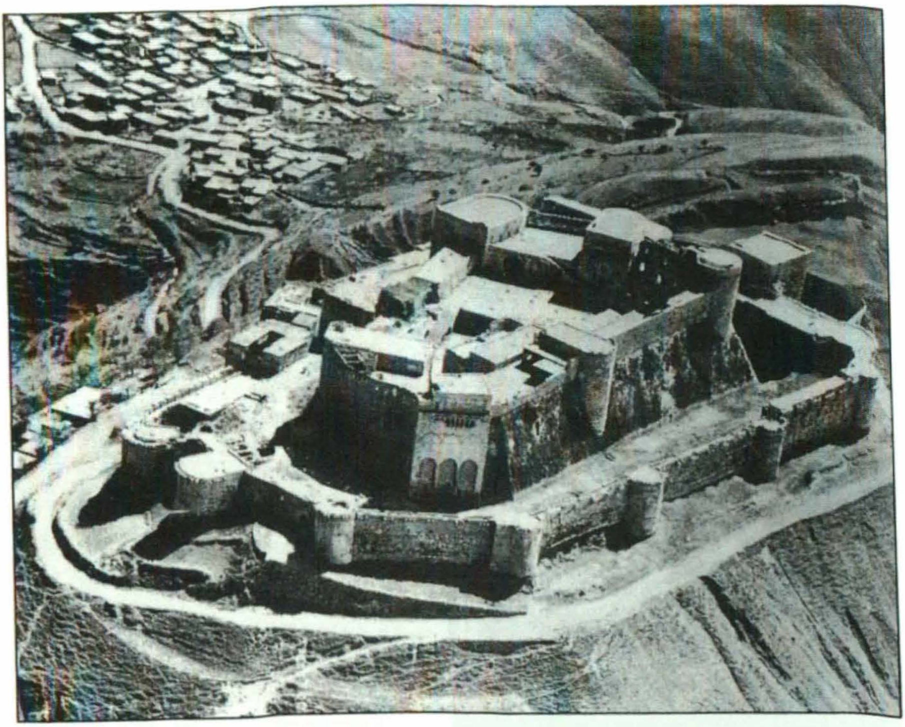
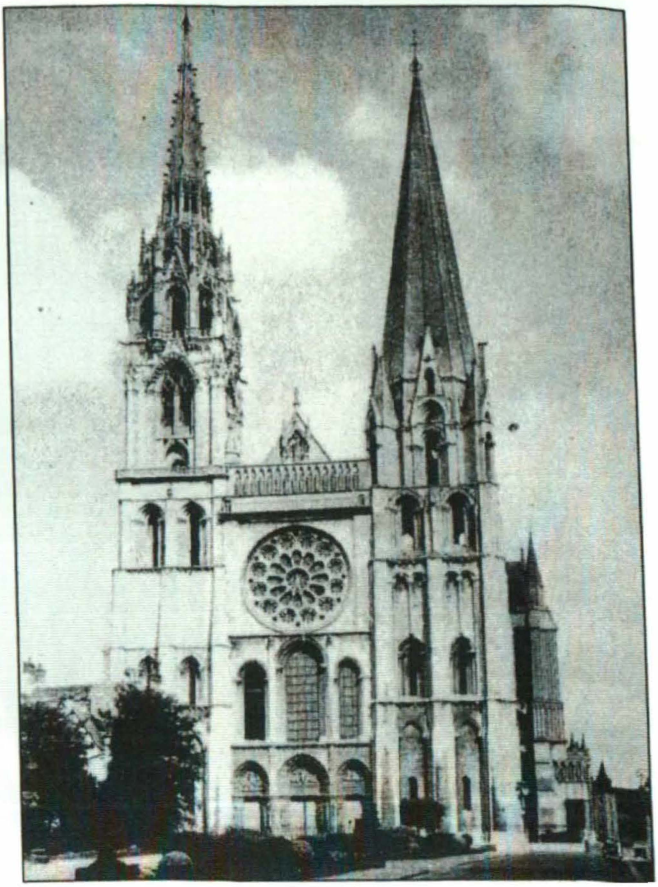


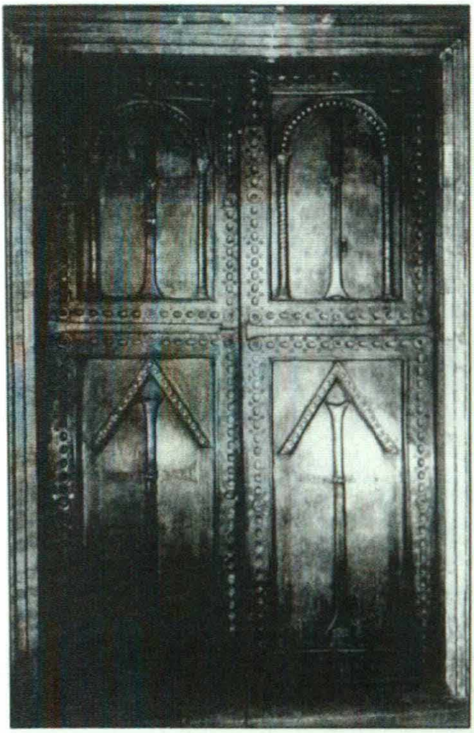
13. Monastery of Esphigmenou, 10th century, Mount Athos; Gregory Palamas was its abbot in 1335-36. (Courtesy: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, Thessalonica)



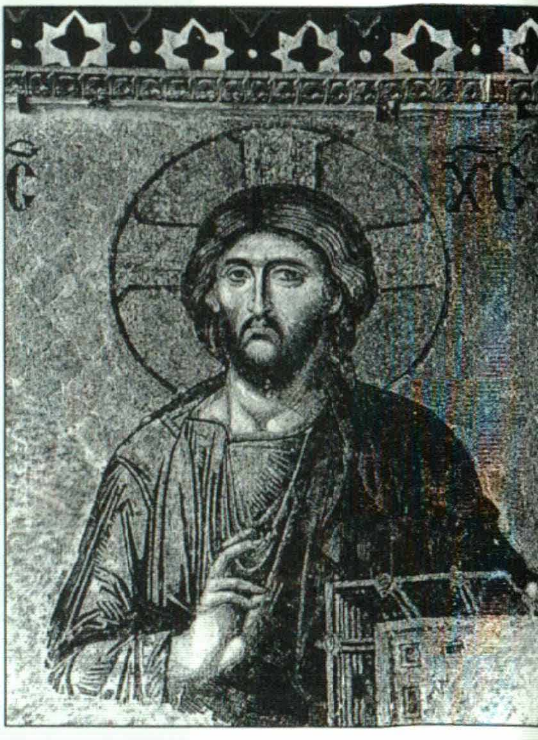
erial view of Krak des Chevaliers,
hon, 12th century, built by Latin
ilitary order of the Hospital.
(Courtesy: Aerofilms, Ltd.)



Chartres cathedral, the west front,
12th century.
Courtesy: Jean Roubier, Paris)

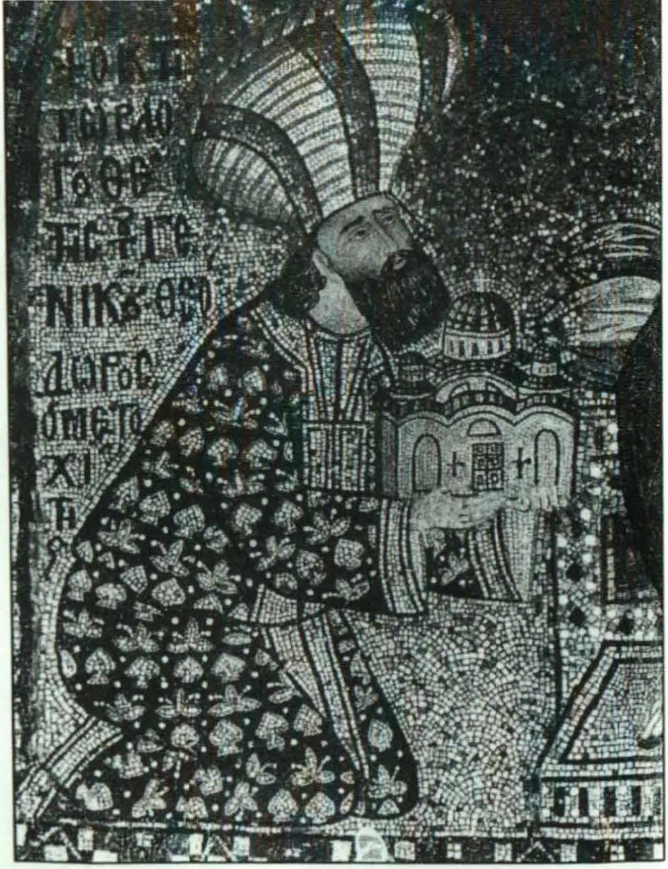


16. Central door, narthex of Hagia Sophia; door crosses were deliberately partially removed with the conversion of the cathedral into a mosque, 1453. (Courtesy: Dumbarton Oaks)



17. Mosaic detail of Deesis, south gallery, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, 13th century. (Courtesy: Ara Guler, Newsweek Book Division)

nd logothete Theodore Metochites
or, monastery church of Christ in
(Cariye Camii), Constantinople,
c 1316-21.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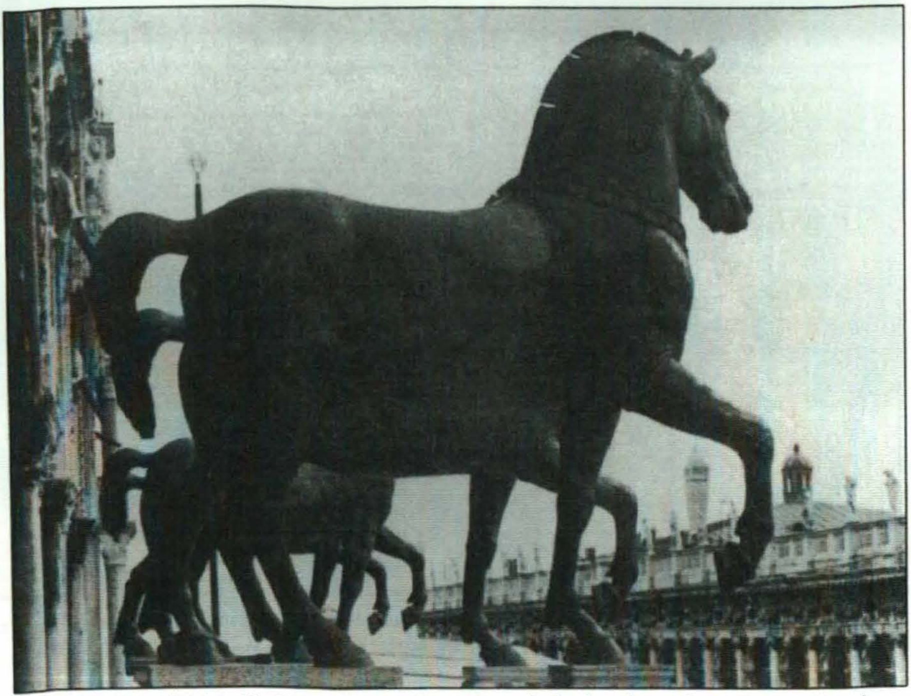
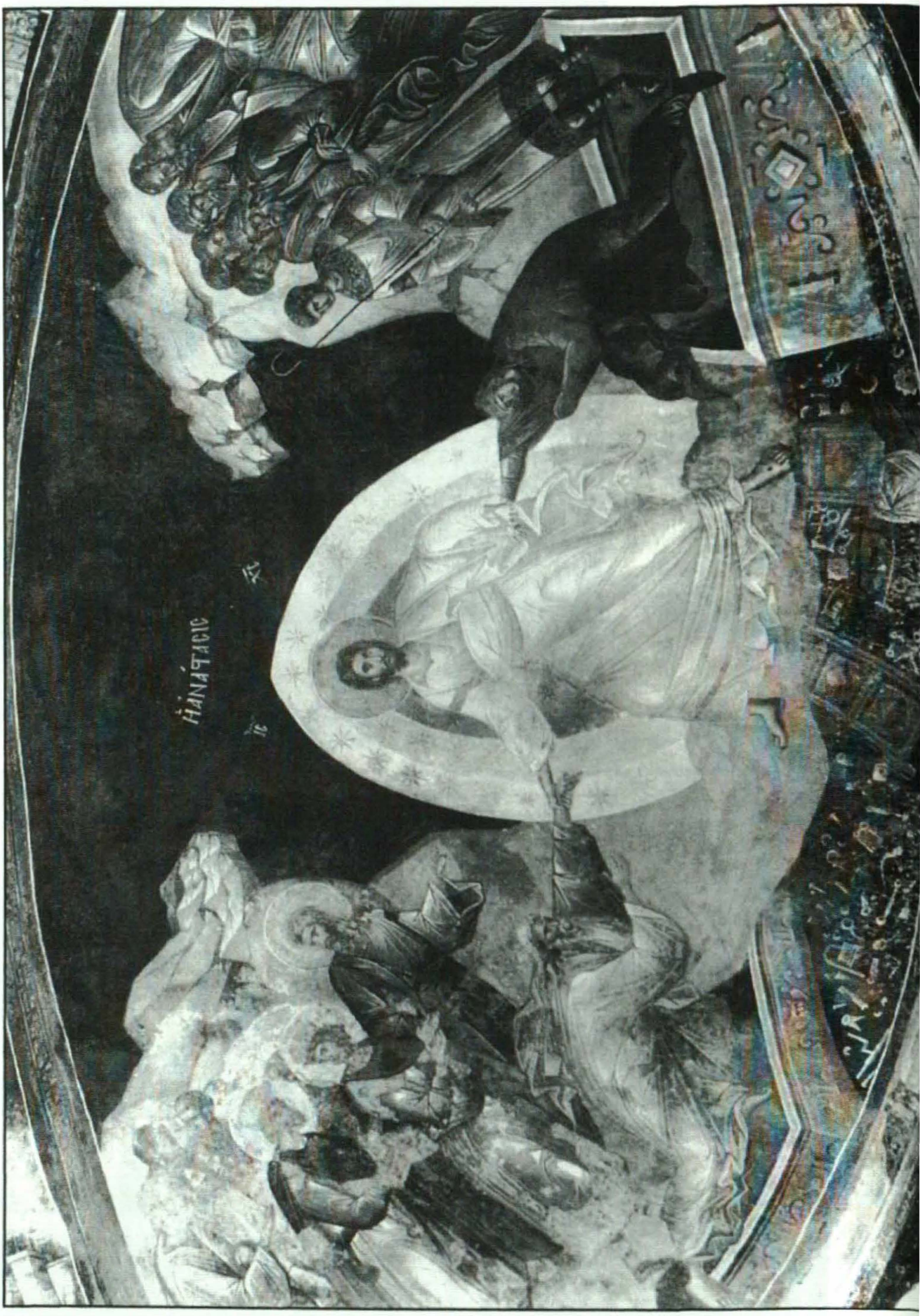
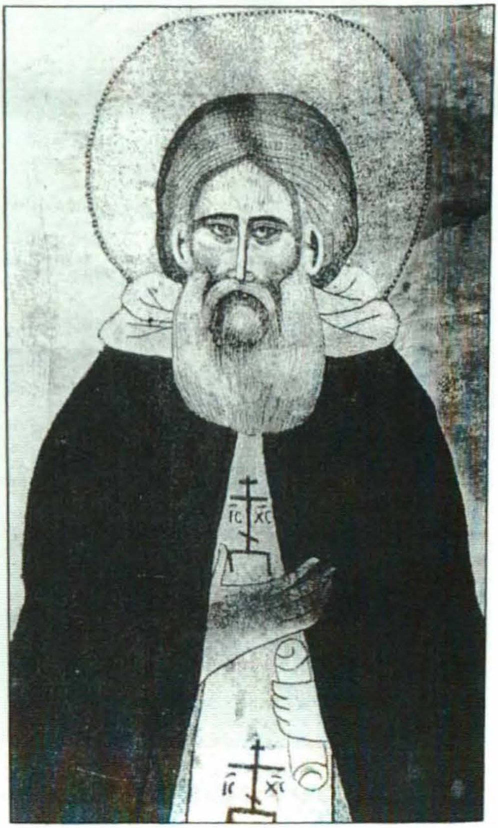


19. Basilica of St Mark's, Venice, bronze horses brought back as booty from Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, 1204. (Courtesy: Alinari)

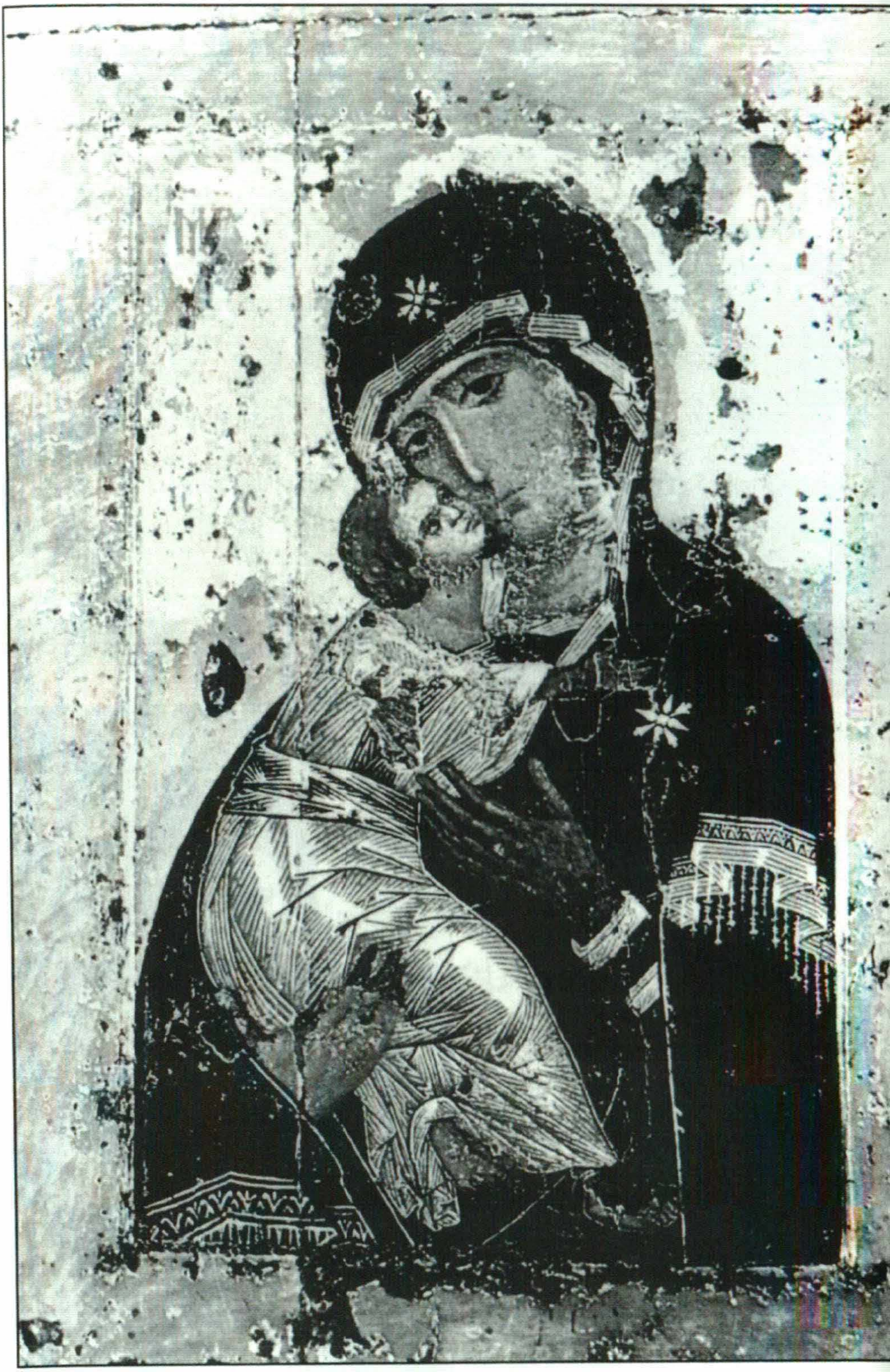


20. The resurrection of Christ or harrowing of hell, wall-painting in the monastery church of Christ in Chora (Cariye Camii), Constantinople, *c* 1316-21. (Courtesy: British Library)

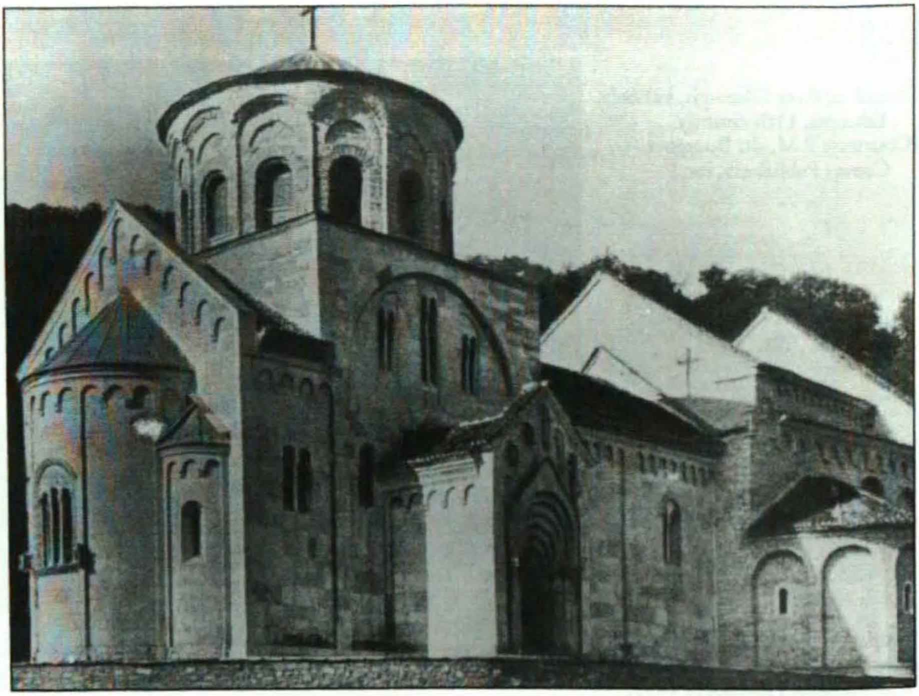
21. Cathedral of St Demetrius, late 12th century, palace church of Prince Vsevolod III. (Courtesy: Andreas Volwahsen)



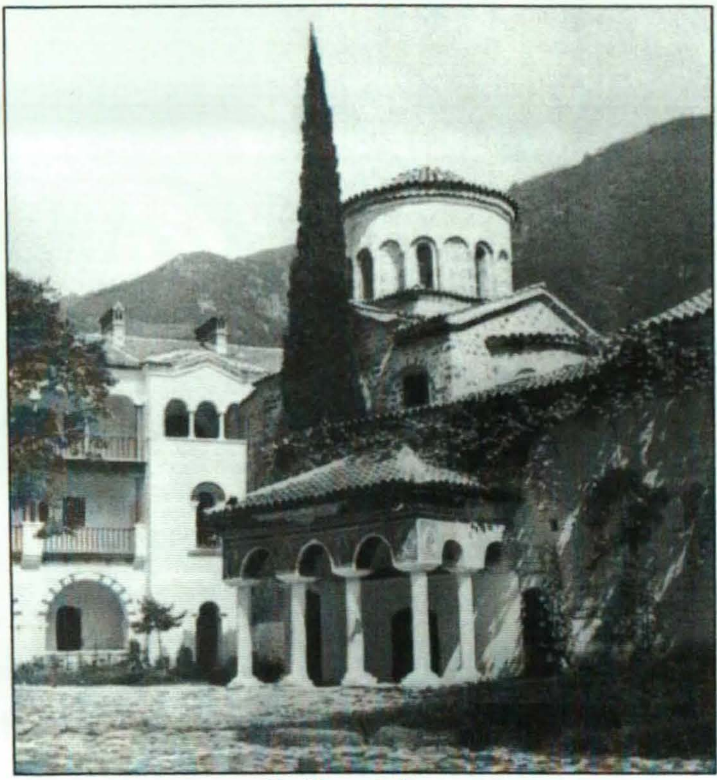
22. St Sergius, shrine covering embroidered *c* 1422, a few decades after saint's death. (Courtesy: Holy Trinity Monastery, Zagorsk)



23. The Vladimir Mother of God, Russia's most venerated icon, 12th century Byzantine.
(Courtesy: Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow)

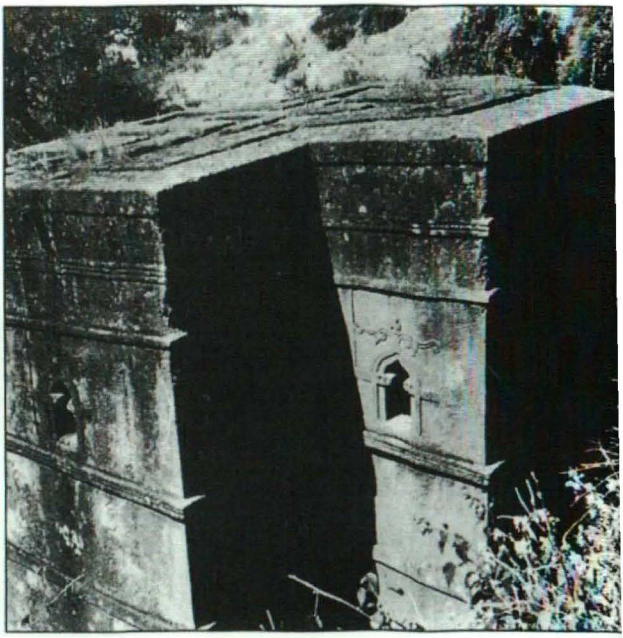


24. Monastery of Studeniça, south central Serbia, founded by Stephen Nemanja, 1183. (Courtesy: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

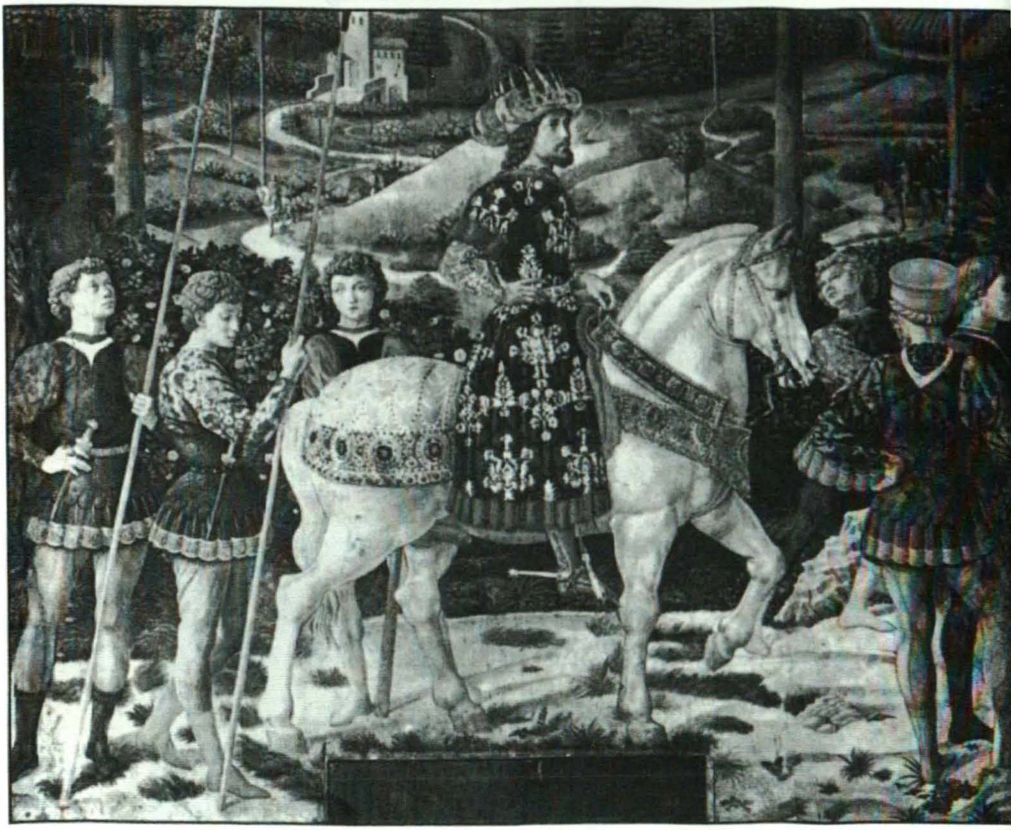


25. Monastery of Bachkovo, Bulgaria, originally a Georgian foundation, *c* 1083. (Courtesy: J. Blankoff)

26. Church of Bieta Gheorgis, Lalibela,
Ethiopia, 11th century.
(Courtesy: P. M. du Bourguet,
Crown Publishers, Inc.)



27. Emperor John VIII Palaeologus,
painting by Benozzo Gozzoli,
Palazzo Riccardi, Florence, *c* 1459.
(Courtesy: Mauro Pucciarelli)



CHAPTER III

NATIVE EASTERN CHURCHES

Two hundred years of crusading history did not of course affect only Eastern Orthodox Christendom. The immigrant Latin population of the crusades, after all, had established itself in the very cradle of Christianity. Numerous native eastern Churches had existed in this region for centuries. At one time in actual fact much of Islamic territory had been Christian. If the Arabs and Turks were pagans and infidels (to borrow the argument used by the Latins themselves) they were also usurpers of lands that had originally lawfully belonged to Christendom. The European conquest of Jerusalem, quite simply, was ultimately a recovery of lost Christian property. At the dawn of the first crusade, the separate non-Chalcedonian population of Syria and Palestine consisted mainly of Armenians, Syrian Jacobites, Lebanese Maronites, and some scattered groups of Nestorians. The sizable indigenous community of Christian Copts in Egypt, and the far-flung Nestorian Church of Persia and Central Asia, were of course to be found outside the confines of the Frankish kingdom. It goes almost without saying that the political subjugation of this vast territory by the Arabs earlier had enfeebled if not exhausted the courage and confidence of these separate confessions. The pain of history is all too evident in the grim reality of their fate after the 600s.

It is true, an exceptional capacity for religious accommodation characterized Islamic society from the outset. As "protected" subjects or *dhimmis*, Christians as well as Jews were explicitly tolerated within Islam. Nonetheless, despite this privilege of protection, non-Muslims were also viewed as second-class citizens. Inequality before the law, mob fanaticism, all sorts of psychological pressures, humiliations and indignities, was their frequent historical fate. Moreover, sporadic unofficial persecution and of course conversion were by no means unknown. The entente between Christians and Muslims, as such, remained always precarious. The formal privilege of protection continued to be overshadowed by their religious differences and attendant distrust—this never really ceased.[1] The view that the two communities "lived for centuries in complete harmony irrespective of religious differences," is at any rate not altogether accurate.[2] The labels "peaceful coexistence" and "spirit of fellowship"[3] occasionally cheerfully used by historians to describe the Christian-Muslim social environment must be qualified, even if the position of eastern-rite Christians did deteriorate markedly only after the crusades, when Islam apparently also became "more militant, less tolerant, and more self-centered."[4] From the outset, tolerated minority status both encouraged and imposed a ghetto frame of mind.

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[1] J.M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Mongols (Il-Khanat de Perse, XIIe-XIVe s.)* (*CSCO*, Subsidia vol. 44; Louvain, 1975), 102, is a necessary critical reassessment.

1. Some demographic considerations

Overall, conversion to Islam before the eleventh century was slow, even gradual, and must have taken centuries, even in areas where defection and islamization are well documented. True, how far the fitful process of conversion had advanced in most regions of the Near East is controversial and may never be known. On the other hand, it is safe to assume, as in Egypt for example, that some two centuries after the arrival of the Arabs the conversion cycle had not yet passed the half way point. And Jerusalem was still probably largely Christian as late as the tenth century. Equally, Christians had densely settled some areas of Syria and Palestine and even formed a numerical majority at the dawn of the eleventh century. Indeed, arguably, the Christian minorities in their totality within Syria-Palestine may have actually constituted the majority of the population; the region in any case began to assume its current dominant Sunnite Muslim character only after the departure of the crusaders in the thirteenth century.[5] In the event, when the crusaders arrived the Christian element was often in the majority in some towns (as for example at Antioch and Edessa) and possibly even comprised a majority of the local population in the countryside as well.[6] In southern Syria and

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[2] A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, 1970) 275 (note 2).

[3] A.S. Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity* (London, 1968), 194.

[4] P.K. Hitti, "The impact of the crusades on Moslem lands," in K.M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols. (Madison, 1969-89), 5:33-58 (here p.49).

[5] See especially P.K. Hitti, "The impact of the crusades on Eastern Christianity," in S.A. Hanna, ed., *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of A.S. Atiya* (Leiden, 1972), 211-17. For the literature, see the brief but essential study by C. Detlef and G. Müller, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Nationalkirchen* (Göttingen, 1981), which also covers all the major "national" Churches; and S. H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. I: *Beginning to 1500* (New York, 1992), 388f.

[6] G. Dagron, "Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient byzantin à la fin du Xe et au XIe siècles: L'immigration syrienne," *TM* 6 (1976), 177-216; J. Prawer, "Social classes in the crusader states: The minorities," Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, 5:59-115; M. Gervers, ed., *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1990).

Palestine, doubtless, the proportion of Christians in the total population was not as high. The majority were Muslim—Shiite and Sunnite. However, even here the size of some Christian groups was considerable. This was perhaps true in the case of the Orthodox population in Jerusalem itself, where it was apparently the majority. Confirmation for this comes from various sources, including the literary production of the period, some of which still survives in the library of the Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem; its manuscript collection which also embraces the libraries of some monasteries (including St Sabbas and some Georgian foundations) contains many works from the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.[7] Of course numerical accuracy is also not possible in this southern region, particularly since Latin sources often confuse native Arabic-speaking Christians, the so-called "Syrians" (who were actually Orthodox and used Syriac as their liturgical language) with Jacobite monophysites.

It is worth adding that Byzantium's eastward expansion in the tenth century under the Macedonians inevitably brought the Orthodox Church into renewed contact with many non-Orthodox communities after centuries of separation. This Byzantine advance into Mesopotamia, Syria, and Armenia, also involved in the end the forced transportation and migration of some of these heterodox groups. These ethnic changes were to prove unwise, since they also resulted in frontier depopulation. Curiously, although the Byzantines initially adopted a policy of religious toleration in this conquered territory, eventually a more rigid strategy was preferred. The results were predictably unfortunate. As it happens, suspicion and hatred of the Orthodox Church is a basic subtext of the narratives of the great monophysite writers of the period. The permanent polemic waged against the Chalcedonian faith by the historian Michael the Syrian (†1199), the famous Jacobite patriarch, and Bar Hebraeus (†1286), the polymath Syriac scholar of the thirteenth century, is well enough known. Understandably, when the Frankish settlers arrived, the native non-Chalcedonian communities were more interested in freedom of worship and the absence of persecution. For them the liberation of Jerusalem with its holy shrines—the obvious concern of the Latin conquerors—did not matter as much. Religious freedom was far more important.

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[7] See K.W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem* (Washington, 1953); for the large number of monasteries which survived the Muslim conquest of the seventh century, cf. O. Meinardus, "Wall paintings in the monastic churches of Judaea," *Oriens Christanus* 50 (1966), 46-55. See also the judicious synopsis of J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), 224-25.

That these different indigenous groups managed in the end to achieve religious autonomy during the Latin domination was perhaps inevitable. Given the precarious position of the Frankish state, Latin ecclesiastics were anxious to avoid any theological controversy with these subject communities which might weaken the kingdom. The Jacobite Michael the Syrian emphasizes that the Franks avoided questions of faith altogether and in this way circumvented all difficulties. Besides, Armenians, Nestorians, Maronites, and Jacobites, were deemed heretical and therefore could not be brought within Western Christendom's ecclesiastical orbit. Latin bishops, quite simply, could not be thrust upon their Churches. As a consequence, all of these groups were treated very differently from the existing Chalcedonian Orthodox population to whom religious autonomy as we have seen was denied. Interference in their internal affairs and administration was at any rate avoided.[8] Bishops for Armenian Christians were thus appointed by the Armenian catholicus, while those for the Jacobites were chosen by the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch. Maronites, too, had their own bishops and patriarch. That these Churches were grateful for this generous treatment is understandable, particularly since former Byzantine governors had been less than tolerant of their beliefs both within and without the empire.

Still, Frankish lenience or forbearance should not be inflated. To say it once more, a typical "colonial situation" obtained in the Frankish kingdom. The native Christian with his customary Muslim dress and his beard (to say nothing of the fact that he was usually also Arabic-speaking) was never really approved or appreciated by the Latins: he was in fact routinely distrusted by the crusaders, often because of his supposed pro-Muslim sentiments. As a result, the indigenous Christian population in the Frankish territories avoided involvement with the crusaders. The two groups never really became friends or allies. (Before long, for good measure, western suspicions were to embrace orientalized Franks as well; accusing them of "going native" and contributing to the fall of the Latin kingdom was not unusual, as the bitter indictment of the western archbishop of Acre, James of Vitry, indicates.)[9] Needless to say, Muslims became equally suspicious of this same Christian population after the crusaders returned to Europe. Eastern-rite Churches, indeed, became the natural target of Muslim fanaticism and anti-Christian

[8] See the survey by Hamilton, *Latin*, 188-211, 332-60.

[9] Cf. especially H. Dajani-Shakeel, "Natives and Franks in Palestine: Perceptions and interactions," in Gervers, *Conversion and Continuity*, 180-81; Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 218.

persecution with the collapse of the Latin presence in Syria-Palestine. That the position of these communities in Islamic society declined dramatically after the crusades is for many historians a commonplace. It has even been suggested that dissident non-Chalcedonian Christians after the fall of Acre (1291) were often weakened to the point of impotence by both conversion and decimation. No doubt, Muslims could still remember with displeasure how the Latins had earlier been welcomed with enthusiasm by some indigenous Christian groups. Quite simply, "the enterprise, which had its inception in the urge to defend Christendom, came near to destroying Christendom's eastern wing."[10] If in the eleventh century this separated Christian wing was often a majority in some territories, in the aftermath of the crusade it was to decline to a negligible and peripheral minority.

2. *Jacobites, Armenians, Maronites and Nestorians*

Although this was to be the case with some communities after the crusades, the decline of the Jacobite Church of Syria probably began even earlier as a result of its own spiritual and political exhaustion and, indeed, isolation, from mainstream Christianity. Long before the eleventh century, at any rate, the community had adopted Arabic as its language even while it continued to use Syriac as its sole liturgical language. (In the early Middle Ages, significantly, it was through Syriac versions of Greek literature that the Arabs had acquired their knowledge of Greek science and philosophy.) Within the Frankish state the group's great concentration was doubtless in the north, especially in the region between Antioch and Edessa, which in the period before the eleventh century had been its initial base. But the Jacobite population was also dispersed and could be found both in the countryside and in most of the crusader cities as well. It even had a community in Latin-occupied Cyprus; in the thirteenth century it was apparently large enough to warrant its own bishop. And yet despite this dispersion, most Jacobites actually lived in Muslim territory, to the east of the Latin conquests. This majority was normally ruled by the Jacobite patriarch's lieutenant or delegate, a bishop known as the *maphrian* (of whom perhaps the best known is the historian Bar Hebraeus). Significantly, although the patriarchal see was quite large and was centered in Antioch (in the twelfth century it consisted of some thirty-five suffragan bishops) the patriarchs themselves preferred to reside in various Jacobite monasteries, including Bar Sauma (near Melitene) in the county of Edessa.[11] Indeed, some Jacobite primates spent their reign entirely in Muslim territory. The physical possession of Palestine (to repeat) evidently did not have the same attraction for eastern-rite Christians as it had for most Latins. The fact that Jerusalem was never the seat of a patriarchate for any of the non-Chalcedonian groups except the Armenians (due admittedly in part to their rejection of the council of Chalcedon, 451) is not insignificant, and contrasts sharply with the Latin need to guard and possess Jerusalem and its holy shrines. Of course their love and reverence for the city are not in doubt. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem's ancient shrines was practiced by everyone, including the distant Ethiopian Church.

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[10] Hitti in Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, 5:49-50.

[11] Hamilton, *Latin*, 190; I. Ziade, "Syrienne, Église," *DTC* 14 pt.2 (Paris, 1941), 3017-88; E. Honigman, *Le couvent Barsauma et le patriarcat jacobite d'Antioche et de Syrie* (*CSCO*, Subsidia

As noted earlier, the Frankish policy towards all dissident non-Latin Christians was to allow them to retain their own bishops. The Jacobite episcopate was as such never replaced or expelled from Frankish territory. Apparently the only restriction was the Latin confirmation of all elections, including those of patriarchs. (This practice of ratification, involving letters of appointment issued by the Latin hierarchy, was an adoption of previous Muslim custom.) To be sure, another reason why the Franks were often so solicitous of the Jacobite Church was because of the influential political position of its primate; the fact that part of the patriarch's congregation lived under Muslim rule could not be ignored. Needless to say, the Jacobites were on the whole grateful for this Frankish attention and welcomed it as a means of self-preservation and self-protection. Submitting politically to the Franks without being in any way subject to their bishops was evidently acceptable. And yet, once again, it bears repeating that Latin toleration did not mean integration but condescension. The multiplicity of native Christian confessions was transformed by the Franks into a caste of native inferiors. To put it otherwise, under the Franks, the Jacobites and all "former *dhimmis*—non-Muslim clients of the Muslim state—became *dhimmis* of the crusader kingdom."[12] The Latin attitude has been described aptly enough as "colonial pragmatism," the simplest means to resolve an essentially awkward or unpleasant problem. Ironically, Jacobite goodwill towards the Latins and later towards the Mongols was to prove in the end the undoing of the Syrian Church.[13] As a rule, subsequently, the local Muslim population was to see the Jacobites as collaborators. It has actually been suggested that the Latin cru-

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vol.7; Louvain, 1954); E. Spuler, "Die west-syrische (monophysitische) Kirche unter dem Islam," *Saeculum* 9 (1958), 322-44. Cf. also J.M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbassides surtout à Bagdad* (749-1258) (CSCO, Subsidia vol.59; Louvain, 1980).

[12] Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 232, 38.

[13] See especially, Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Mongols*, 101-2.

sade was in the end a far greater catastrophe for them than for any other dissident Christian group in the Levant.

Significantly, although individual conversions to Rome, including that of patriarch Ignatius II (1222-52), occurred during the crusading period, corporate reunion with the Jacobite Church of Syria was never realized.[14] Ignatius' personal act of submission in 1236 was evidently unpopular once it became a matter of public knowledge; it was never supported by the Jacobite hierarchy or community. Predictably, theological negotiations with the Byzantine Church in the twelfth century, during the patriarchate of Michael the Syrian, did not fair any better.[15] The Byzantine emperor Manuel I Comnenus was doubtless eager for union primarily because it would have enhanced his claims to North Syria (and of course to Antioch) in the eyes of both the Franks and the Muslims. It made sound political sense. Meetings with theologians of both the Jacobite and Armenian Churches in the 1170s were ultimately fruitless, however. Both sides were locked into mutual incomprehension. Nor did the age-long bitter resentment felt by the Jacobite patriarch, Michael, help matters. In this connection, it is perhaps necessary to add that the Jacobite community was not known in general for its trained theologians or its literate clergy. Whether the typical Jacobite was aware of the theology which officially separated his Church from both the Orthodox and the Latin is arguable. Documentary evidence at any rate indicates that both the Jacobites and the Nestorians were seen by the Latins as devout but also as ignorant and ill-educated.[16]

Although Armenian Christianity shared with other dissident groups (at least officially) a dislike of Chalcedonian christology, the community as a whole differed from most monophysites. Unlike the Jacobites, for example, the Armenians constituted a political, ethnic, and religious unity, much like the Orthodox Georgians.[17] Their common language and literature, and their national monophysite faith contributed powerfully to their ethnic identity and survival during the Middle Ages. Although Armenians had been a

[14] J. Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Âge (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Rome, 1977).

[15] Dölger, *Regesten*, no.1487; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. J.B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899-1924), 3:335f. On Michael's patriarchate, see Hamilton, *Latin*, 195-99, 358.

[16] J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven, 1987) 52. For a different view, see Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1:507.

[17] On the early period, see J. Meyendorff, *The Church in History*, II. *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions* (Crestwood, NY, 1988) 105-9, 238-89. 338-45; K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London, 1965). M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (London, 1912); Müller, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Nationalkirchen*, 354-60.

familiar sight in Byzantium for centuries, it was not until the Macedonian period that there was a massive infusion of this ethnic non-Chalcedonian and non-Greek element within the imperial borders. Even after the Macedonian age, 10-15 percent of the Byzantine aristocracy, it has been suggested, may have been of Armenian stock.[18] At least two twelfth century patriarchs, Michael II (1143-46) and Theodosius I (1179-83), were in origin almost certainly Armenian. To be sure, Armenian large-scale immigration into Byzantine territory was given a powerful boost with the expansion of the empire during the tenth and eleventh centuries. By the 1040s most of Armenia had in point of fact been conquered and incorporated into the empire. The last independent region of Ani fell in 1045. As a consequence, medieval Armenia vanished as most of its territory was converted into imperial provinces or themes (Taron, Iberia, Mesopotamia, and Vaspurakan).[19] On the other hand, this disintegration was also advanced by the endemic rivalries, separatist struggles and policies pursued by Armenia's own aristocratic feudal families throughout the Middle Ages.

The consequences of these developments were essentially twofold. In the first place, the Byzantine annexation proved to be on the whole an unqualified mistake. The Byzantines could not in fact defend their conquests and, as a result, after Manzikert, Armenia was lost to the Seljuks. The continuous Turkish advance soon gave way to invasion and settlement. As we should expect, the feelings of bitter resentment and hate of the Byzantine conquerors among the Armenian population knew few bounds. And of course the existing religious antagonism was intensified even further. The attitude of the Byzantines was perhaps even worse. The Armenian mood at any rate helped confirm the deeply entrenched anti-Armenian prejudices of Byzantine society.[20] It is probably safe to assume that the empire's pronounced ethnic animosity was also advanced after 1095 by the Armenians' sudden staunch support of the crusaders. But the Byzantine expansion into Caucasian Armenia, and the disastrous battle of Manzikert that followed, were to have another consequence. Armenians began to settle in large numbers not only in Georgia to the north but (as noted above) deep in Byzantine Anatolia as well, especially in Cappadocia and Cilicia. Remarkably, the extinction of Armenia as a political entity in the eleventh century was also to result in deep social and demographic changes for the Armenian people.

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[18] A. Kazhdan, "The Armenians in the Byzantine ruling class predominantly in the ninth through the twelfth centuries," in T.J. Samuelian and M.E. Stone, eds., *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, California, 1948), 439-51; "Armenians," *ODB* 1:182 (A. Kazhdan).

[19] R. Bartikyan, "La conquête de l'Arménie par l'empire byzantin," *Revue des études arméniennes* 8 (1971), 327-40.

[20] S. Vryonis, "Byzantine images of the Armenians," in R.G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Image in History and Literature* (Los Angeles, 1981), 65-81; Kazhdan, "The Armenians in the Byzantine ruling class," 450.

Perhaps the most surprising consequence of the extensive settlement in Asia Minor of a large Armenian population (together with a sizable Armenian native nobility) was the formation of a new state—the kingdom of Cilician Armenia.[21] By the early twelfth century the focus of Armenian political life had indeed shifted to the southeast corner of Asia Minor, to the kingdom that is also often known as Lesser Armenia (in contrast with Greater Armenia, the historical homeland in Transcaucasia). Although by 1100 most of the population in the region was apparently Armenian (the ethnic minority had become the regional majority) it is safe to assume that the new state in exile was an altogether artificial creation. It is presumptuous to suggest that Armenia's lost political independence was restored by the new kingdom. On the other hand, Lesser Armenia, with its fortified capital of Sis, did survive until 1375 when it finally fell to the Egyptian Mamluks. Besides, the kingdom also became the center of the Armenian Church. Beginning in 1149, Hromcla on the Euphrates, was to serve as the seat of the catholicus, the religious head of the Armenian community. Then in 1292 the residence was moved to Sis, the political center of the kingdom, where it remained until it was returned to Etchmiadzin in 1441. Of course, despite these changes in the residence of the catholicate, the majority of the Armenian hierarchy, to say nothing of abbots and monks, continued to reside in conquered Armenia under Muslim dominion.

The union negotiations that took place between the Byzantine and Armenian Churches during the patriarchates of Lucas Chrysoberges (1157-1169/70) and his successor Michael III (1170-78), are without doubt remarkable. Although the initiative ultimately came to grief, the astonishing fact remains that it nearly succeeded. Manuel Comnenus, to say it once more, was the moving force behind the fragile plan (which also included the Jacobites). He was doubtless fortunate in his representative, the theologian and diplomat, Theorianus, who was apparently a subtle negotiator capable above all of distinguishing between theological terminology and the basic issues dividing the Orthodox from the tacitly monophysite Armenians.[22]

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[21] S. Der Nersessian, "The kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in Setton, *A History of the Crusades* 2:630-59; D.M. Lang, *Armenia, Cradle of Civilization* (London, 1970) 200-11.

[22] *Theoriani Disputationes cum Armeniorum Catholico*, *PG* 133: 120-298; Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 1478, 1489.

Theorianus began his delicate consultations at the patriarchal see of Hromcla shortly after 1169 with the catholicus Nerses IV (1166-73) and by 1172 was ready to submit a nine-point plan for consideration to the Armenian synod. This plan included acceptance on the part of the Armenian Church not only of Chalcedon as the fourth ecumenical council (451), but of the celebration of the eucharist with leavened bread and mixed wine. There is every indication that Nerses was willing to accept all of the main points at issue before his death. His successor and nephew, Gregory IV (1173-93), was no less enthusiastic in finding a rapprochement.[23] Both at any rate were convinced that the council of 451 had not been in actual fact Nestorian, as it was cheerfully claimed time and again by all monophysites. As Nerses was to note, the dogmatic definition of the fourth council contained nothing that was against the orthodox faith. Ἐγώ οὐδέν ἐναντίον τῇ ὀρθοδόζῳ πίστει εὑρίσκω ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὅρῳ' καί θαυμάζω πῶς οἱ πρό ἡμῶν ἀναιδῶς εἰς συκοφαντίαν ἐχώρησαν κατ 'αὐτοῦ.[24] Convinced Chalcedonian Armenians (of whom there were many in the western provinces of historical Armenia) had been advocating the same for centuries.

Unfortunately by the time the Armenian synod of 1179 was called to order at Hromcla, with some thirty-three Armenian bishops in attendance, of whom ten were from Greater Armenia, it was too late. Despite the eloquent plea for compromise made by the prominent Armenian archbishop of Tarsus, Nerses of Lambron, delegates from Greater Armenia were opposed. Evidently all difficulties had not been resolved and it was decided once again to consult with the Byzantine emperor and patriarch in Constantinople. Sadly, both of these enthusiastic supporters of unity were soon dead; the synodal correspondence never reached them. This doomed the plans altogether. Of course the collapse of Byzantine military power that followed the death of emperor Manuel, and the internal unrest that soon surfaced in Constantinople and elsewhere in the empire, also insured that the peace initiatives would not succeed. And yet a few years later Alexius III Angelus (1195-1203) was willing to try again. At a synod in Tarsus in 1196 Nerses of Lambron once more took the initiative by insisting (as he had done in 1179) that both the Orthodox and Armenian Churches professed the same identical faith; the only difference between them was ultimately semantic in essence. But this synod too in the end was doomed to fail, not only because the two sides could not overcome the jurisdictional difficulties that arose, but also because of the fourth crusade (1204) and the troubled politics which preceded it.

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[23] L. Arpee, *A History of Armenian Christianity* (New York, 1946), 140-48; P. Tekeyan, "Controverses christologiques Arméno-Cilicie dans la seconde moitié du IIe siècle (1165-98)," *OCA* 124 (1939), 21-58; A. Ter-Mikelian, *Die Armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zur byzantinischen (von IV. bis zum XIII. Jahrhundert)* (Leipzig, 1892) 82-105.

[24] *PG* 133:204B (Disputatio I).

To repeat, the failure of these delicate deliberations was unfortunate. For the ecumenism displayed repeatedly by the Armenian representatives was extraordinary. They were, after all, willing to concede that their traditional anti-Chalcedonianism was in part a pretext for their rivalry with Constantinople. Political causes and differences in language and culture, it was recognized, had long kept the two Churches divided. Arguably, the extant documentation implies that both parties were aware of the fact that all considerations of ethnicity or national consciousness and linguistic differences were in the end a hindrance to Christian unity.[25] Although such matters were important in the totality of a nation's cultural patrimony, the negotiators understood that they were secondary to the fundamental requisite for ecumenism, which is always unity in the catholic Church of Christ. Predictably, the collapse of these negotiations, as well as Cilicia's own precarious political position at the time, soon forced the Armenians to turn westward.

By and large relations between Cilician Armenia and the West especially after the establishment of the crusader states were cordial and friendly. Of course hostilities were not entirely eliminated. Still, friendship was dominant. Besides, the two sides often shared the same military adversary—the Byzantines and the Muslims. As it turns out, a further reason for the positive atmosphere was due to the existence of an Armenian nobility. Apparently the Cilician aristocracy was the only native Christian element in Syria with whom the Frankish nobility were willing to intermarry.[26] Arguably, the same amiable climate was also in the end responsible for the introduction of Latin feudal law, dress, and even knighthood, at the royal court of Cilicia. But cultural changes before long were also followed inevitably by negotiations for closer ecclesiastical unity with the Western Church. That these discussions were politically motivated is beyond doubt. This in turn explains their great unpopularity both within and without Greater Armenia.[27] A further reason possibly for the popular disapproval lies in the fact that Rome routinely insisted on reforming the Armenian rite along Latin lines. Western calendrical and liturgical traditions (apart from the required profession of faith in the

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[25] See especially, *DS* 11:123-28; 134-50 (B.L. Zekiyan).

[26] Hamilton, *Latin*, 201.

[27] Arpee, *A History of Armenian Christianity*, 149-64.

Chalcedonian doctrine of the "two natures" and the Roman primacy) were often main items in the formal agreements signed by the two parties. Invariably, because practical considerations always governed Cilicia's union with Rome, the catholicus was not allowed to control the negotiations. Actually after Sis became the residence of the Armenian primate, all opposition to the royal policy of union with Rome expressed by the vast Armenian diaspora was virtually silenced. The pressure from the court at any rate was such that resistance could come only from the clergy of Greater Armenia.

For the Armenian Church (but also for the Byzantine) the thirteenth century was to be the great period of active latinization, as the missionary expansion of western friars throughout the East indicates. Although union with Rome was formally accepted by Cilician Armenia as early as 1198 at the council of Tarsus, other councils were later summoned for the same purpose (in 1307 at Sis and again in 1316 at Adana). To repeat, these union agreements with Rome were highly unpopular and were rarely seen by the Armenians as implying full communion or total submission. As an Armenian representative was to remind a presumably startled papal legate at Acre in 1261, "whence does the Church of Rome derive the power to pass judgment on the other apostolic sees while she herself is not subject to their judgment? We ourselves have the authority to bring you to trial, following the example of the apostles, and you have no right to deny our competence."[28] Remarkably, in the last decades of the Cilician monarchy, this stiff opposition to union even led to violence, and the assassination of the last six pro-Latin catholicoi. That this intense factional struggle also contributed in the end to the demise of the kingdom is certain. It was doubtless because of this resistance that Rome then decided to resolve the problem of union with the Armenians by non-diplomatic means. Decades before the fall of the kingdom of Cilicia in 1375, at any rate, papalist policy had been steering in the direction of open proselytism.[29] The official congregation of the Fratres Unitores in Greater Armenia was in fact established in 1356. This new alternative to Christian unity was a muted recognition by Rome that the formal policy actively pursued until then had failed. On the other hand, proselytism was equally unsuccessful. In the following century, the union of the council of Florence (1439), acknowledged by a small Armenian delegation, was never ratified by an Armenian synod.

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[28] *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents Arméniens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1869-1906), 1:697; trans. in Hamilton, *Latin*, 343.

[29] "Cilician-Roman Church union," in J.R. Strayer, ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1983), 3:394-95 (A.P. Atamian).

By then of course, both in Transcaucasia and southeast Anatolia, Armenia had ceased to exist. The country had been transformed into little more than a geographical term by the end of the Middle Ages. As we have emphasized earlier, the eleventh century witnessed the beginning of its political disintegration. But the conquests of the Byzantines, followed by the Seljuk raids, the Georgian occupation, and Ottoman Turkish invasion (not to mention the thirteenth century interlude when Armenia was actually incorporated into the empire of the Mongols) were to affect Armenia's destiny in other ways. Demographically, the Armenian plateau during this period changed profoundly as a steady stream of people began to flood it. Because of invasion, depopulation, devastation, and the general exodus of Armenians into the diaspora, the balance between Christian Armenians and Muslims within the plateau shifted radically. The influx of Seljuk Turks, Ottomans and Turkoman nomads into a primarily Christian region was in the end to result in a mixed population. Again, as in the past, it was the Church that was to provide the Armenian nation with some semblance of unity. The residence of the catholicate was transferred to its original site of Echmiatdzin in 1441. Although the diaspora clergy in Cilicia did not recognize the move immediately, the solidarity provided by this ancient focal point proved crucial to Armenian survival.

Oddly enough, the only lasting union between Rome and an eastern-rite community during the high Middle Ages was to be with the shadowy inhabitants of the Lebanon, known as the Maronites. The submission of this monothelite group to Rome did not also involve or imply integration with the ruling aristocracy of the Frankish state. Overall, it also never formed a bridge to the rest of the separated eastern Churches of the Christian East. Both the early history of the Lebanese Maronites and the issue of their orthodoxy (to say nothing about their dealings with the Franks and their demographic settlement) are largely obscure or unsettled.[30] That their origin is traceable back to the monastic foundation of a certain fifth century anchorite named Maron and his disciples is, in any event, highly controversial. Perhaps, more plausibly, the community came into being as a separate body in the course of the seventh century as a result of the Persian and Arab invasions of north Syria. The monothelite convictions which were to separate the group from the rest of the orthodox Chalcedonian world date from the same period (monotheletism was condemned in 680 at the sixth ecumenical council). Living in the inaccessible mountains of Lebanon, in villages dominated by monastic foundations, was a considerable advantage; it provided them with security and contributed to their survival under Muslim rule. In the age of the crusades, as a result, they were the principle Christian minority in the Latin county of Tripoli. The Latin historian William of Tyre, was to describe them in the twelfth century as being 40,000 strong.[31] Whatever the case, when the crusading immigrants arrived, the Maronites had lived in virtual isolation for five centuries, governed largely by their own hierarchy and patriarch. They had not been in communion with any other Christian minority during that time.

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[30] M. Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse, NY, 1986); K.S. Salibi, "The Maronites of the Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk rule, 1099-1516," *Arabica* 4 (1957), 288-303; E. El-Hayek, "Struggle for survival: The Maronites of the Middle Ages," in Gervers, *Conversion and Continuity*, 407-22; C. Frazee, "The Maronite Middle Ages," *Eastern Churches Review* 10 (1978), 88-100. See also the sympathetic study by J. Gribomont, "Documents sur les origines de l'Église maronite," *Parole de l'Orient* 5 (1974), 95-132.

If the charge of monotheletism levelled against the Maronites is false (this is in fact what Maronite apologists have always asserted) their union with Rome under the Latin patriarch of Antioch in 1181 would obviously have a rather ordinary significance. The arrangement would mean nothing more than the simple recognition of papal supremacy by a Christian community; it would not mean the renunciation of their own doctrines. And yet, Latin historical evidence implies that the settlement not only signified a full religious union with Rome but the repudiation of heresy as well. Both William of Tyre and James of Vitry actually identify the community's former status as heretical.[32] Unfortunately, the details of the negotiations preceding the union and the reason why they were set in motion are unknown. Quite possibly, the imminent threat posed by the Muslims at the time (presumably the same danger had also prompted the Armenians to follow suit shortly after) is the explanation.

Whatever the case, as a consequence, the Lebanese Maronites became the first "uniate" community in history. They were no doubt able to preserve their own corporate identity, some of their customs and usages, and their own hierarchy headed by a patriarch. And yet the community was subject to the direct authority of the new centralized papalism, as the guidelines given to patriarch Jeremiah in 1215 illustrate (on the occasion of his attendance at the fourth Lateran council). These instructions mark the beginning of the policy of latinization that was imposed by the papacy on the Maronites. The use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, the profession of the doctrine of the double procession, and even the adoption of Latin vestments, were all neatly prescribed. As we should expect, the Maronite eucharist, an Antiochene rite celebrated in the liturgical Syriac language, was before long modified by these and other Latin innovations and thus romanized. (The papal instructions of 1215, parenthetically, are a powerful refutation of the claim that the Maronite community of Lebanon had been in communion with the Church of Rome since its alleged formation in the fifth century.) And yet, as was to be the case with the Armenian union, the Maronite rapprochement was not an immediate success.[33] A sizable portion of the community living in the Lebanon mountains refused to accept it. This popular anti-uniate opposition in the end turned to violence, even schism, with the election of rival patriarchs in 1282. All the same, complete conformity was ultimately achieved and the union was preserved, even during the difficult period that followed the fall of Acre, when several punitive Mamluk expeditions nearly destroyed the community. At Florence (1439) the Maronite patriarch was apparently represented by the prior of the Franciscans at Beirut.

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[31] William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844-95), 1:1076.

[32] *Ibid.*, 1:1076-77; R.W. Crawford, "William of Tyre and the Maronites," *Speculum* 30 (1955), 222-29; K.S. Salibi, "The Maronite Church in the Middle Ages and its union with Rome," *Oriens Christianus* 42 (1958), 92-104.

The fate of near total extinction in store for many dissident eastern Christian communities in the late Middle Ages was particularly grim for Nestorian Christianity. Whereas at the beginning of the eleventh century one could encounter Nestorians everywhere east of the caliphate, in Persia, India, Central Asia and China, by the end of the fifteenth century they had virtually vanished from most of their far-flung settlements. As is well known, it was their rejection of the third ecumenical council of Ephesus (431) that eventually forced them to migrate into Persia, beyond the frontiers of the Roman state. This move was to prove their salvation, since it granted them freedom from persecution and interference from either the Roman or the Persian empires. Nestorians were to survive the subsequent Islamic invasion as well, when they were also to transfer the seat of their catholicus from Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the Tigris to Baghdad (*c* 775); the golden age of Nestorian Christianity is usually placed during the Abbasid caliphate (750-1055). It was of course natural that they should expand their mission eastward, since the border to the west was not only limited but more often closed. (No doubt, Syriac-speaking Nestorian merchants who traversed all the major trade routes at the time were significant agents in this eastward evangelization.) By the 630s their astonishing missionary vitality and enthusiasm was to lead them as far as China. (Various sources, including archaeological, testify to the existence of Nestorian communities in both China and Turkestan as late as the fourteenth century.) In the end, indeed, Nestorians became the greatest Christian communion east of Mesopotamia, with numerous dioceses in Central Asia and the Far East. They remained throughout the Middle Ages the dominant Christian community in Mesopotamia and Persia. Not surprising, because the focus of their missionary outreach was eastern, very few Nestorians were actually to be found in the crusader states. Virtually all the estimated twenty-five metropolitan provinces of the Nestorian Church, consisting of two hundred and fifty bishoprics in the thirteenth century, were located outside the Frankish territory.[34]

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[33] *Ibid.*, 95-98; A. Catoire, "L'Église maronite et le Saint-Siège, 1213-1911," EO 15 (1912), 28-38. On the papal instructions of 1215 see especially Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, 222-24.

To repeat, the later history of the Nestorians was destined to be dark and depressing. The decay of the community was well on the way by the end of the thirteenth century, after the dissolution of the Abbasid caliphate and the rise of Mongol power. (By then the famous Nestorian schools of translation and schools of medicine were virtually extinct.) These profound political and military developments were linked necessarily directly to Nestorian destiny; the stage in which they took place was unavoidably Nestorian country. Although the pagan Il-Khans of the Mongols had yet to declare for Islam they were soon to do so. By 1300, certainly, any hope that they would convert to Christianity had disappeared completely. On the other hand, the fact that the Nestorians had until then frequently supported or collaborated with the Mongol invaders did not endear them to the rest of the local Muslim population. On the contrary, the brutality shown to Christians by the Mongols after their conversion was soon also embraced enthusiastically by both the Kurd and the Arab Muslim. Thousands of Nestorians died in the process, if they did not vanish into slavery. The decline accelerated in the fourteenth century, especially under the brutal Timur Leng or Tamerlane (1336-1405). The calculated barbarism of his Turco-Mongol army was to bring about the total decline of the Nestorian Church both as a national and international organization in both Central and western Asia.[35] Centuries of Nestorian evangelization in the vast region ceased within decades. By 1400 certainly the community's ancient centers and strongholds, schools and monasteries, had vanished into oblivion. To an unusual degree, what happened in the Near East and Central Asia was soon repeated, almost simultaneously, in China under the new Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Persecution launched against foreign religious groups in the fourteenth century by the Chinese government naturally also embraced Nestorian settlements. By the end of the century, as a result, Christianity was entirely extinct in China. The persecution, incidentally, also involved the remarkable Latin mission, headed by the Franciscan John of Montecorvino, which had reached China by 1300.

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[34] Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*, 266 (for the evidence on China and Turkestan see pp. 260-61 and 263).

[35] *Ibid.*, 267-76; Müller, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Nationalkirchen*, 309-10.

The history of the native dissident Churches of the Christian East during the high Middle Ages was often doubtlessly tragic, as the preceding somber synopsis makes clear. The period in fact was frequently little more than an age of sheer terror, unimaginable slaughter, and repeated invasion. In the wider context of Church history the picture is perhaps more somber. The religious complexion of a vast region was in fact profoundly altered during these centuries in favor of Islam. The age, quite simply, was witness to the decline of Asiatic Christianity, to say nothing of the fate of the Copts, the Jacobites, and the Armenians.[36] Although this process of Christian recession was doubtlessly complex, some of its causes are arguably often also simple. It is important to emphasize at any rate, prolonged persecution, geographical isolation and numerical weakness, as key factors in the decline. Then again, the numerous initially pagan invaders from Central Asia did not embrace Christianity but Islam. This process was no doubt enforced or at least encouraged by the fact that the dominant political power and culture with which the invaders first came into contact, as they pushed westward into Persia, Mesopotamia, and the Near East, was Muslim. Islam as a rule was the state religion. From this perspective, Christian expectations for the conversion of the Mongols, frequently entertained in this period, were perhaps wishful thinking, even if some of the Mongol leadership did occasionally indulge Christians. Finally, Muslim militancy must be emphasized as well. The fact that Christianity slowly lost its foothold in both Asia and the Middle East and in general became weaker, with some of its population yielding to Islam, was in part due to this never-ending militancy. Formally or officially, doubtless, Islam did not engage in active persecution. And yet, as B. Lewis has noted of the Ottomans, Byzantium's nemesis, "Turkish Islam was dedicated from the start to the defense or advancement of the faith and power of Islam, and never lost this militant quality."[37] Invariably, this dedication could not but affect and, indeed, even stifle, non-Islamic minorities everywhere.

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[36] See the summary by K.S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (London, 1939), 2:338-42.

[37] "Government, society and economic life under the Abbasids and the Fatimids," in J.M. Hussey, ed., *The Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1966) 4, pt.1:659. Turkish savagery (often soft-pedalled by Turcological scholarship) is discussed in E. de Vries-Van der Velden, *L'Elite byzantine devant l'avance turque à l'époque de la guerre civile de 1341 a 1354* (Amsterdam, 1989).

3. Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nubia

Like most Christian communities of the Middle East, the Coptic Church of Egypt by the twelfth century had lost its ancient language to Arabic. Whereas until the end of the tenth century the majority of Egypt's native Christians still spoke Coptic, by the twelfth only the more educated among the clergy knew the language. Coptic was by then a dead language. Before long even liturgical books had to be translated into Arabic. The great flowering of Christian Arabic literature in Egypt followed. By then both the religious and secular literature of Egyptian Christians was exclusively in the major language of Arabic. Arguably, *dhimmi* status, which obtained in early medieval Egypt and which generated in turn cooperation and open-mindedness between Christians and Muslims, led to the gradual disappearance of the Coptic language.[38] On the other hand, the extensive colonization of the countryside by Arab (Yemenite) tribesmen in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries was perhaps a more crucial turning point. Whatever the case, Egypt's new orientation toward the East and the Islamic heartland was made permanent. The thriving center of Hellenism and of Christianity that had once been Egypt was no more. The process of arabization was evidently thorough even if it was obviously also slow.

And yet if the Coptic vernacular did not manage to survive the Middle Ages, the Coptic community *per se* did so, unlike the Jacobite sister-church of Syria with whom it formed a single monophysite communion. The frequent and sudden persecutions that have characterized its long history could not extinguish its stamina. Despite the material and sociological pressures and advantages attending apostasy in Muslim society, Christians continued to exist in Egypt throughout the Middle Ages. And of course they still do. As many scholars have stressed, the remarkable fact is not "that the progress of [Coptic] religious thought has been retarded or suppressed but that the Coptic Church has had the tenacity to survive in a sea of violence until modern times."[39] Undeniably, most non-Chalcedonian Christian communities after their incorporation into the Islamic empire could be described as parochial and, above all, inward-looking in their attitude and approach to ecclesiastical matters. Within a confining Islamic environment the emergence of indigenous "national" or provincial churches was inevitable. Evangelistic effectiveness necessarily was limited if not eliminated altogether. In the case of the Coptic see of Alexandria, on the other hand, this description must be qualified. It was not at any rate cut off from all Christendom entirely. Remarkably, throughout the Middle Ages, the Coptic patriarch managed to retain his authority as supreme head both of the Nubian and Ethiopian Churches. As a consequence, the influence of the Coptic Church outside Egypt's borders was considerable. Typically, the Coptic influence on the literature, art, and architecture of medieval Christian Nubia was often preeminent.[40] But the role of the Church was not limited exclusively to cultural life. The patriarch's spiritual supremacy was useful in other ways. When in the mid-fourteenth century he was arrested by the Mamluks, supposedly for tax evasion, the emperor of Ethiopia promptly ordered all Muslim caravans out of the country and back to Egypt. The harm to Egyptian trade was soon felt by Cairo and before long the patriarch was released from his prison.[41]

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[38] I. Hrbek, "Egypt, Nubia and the eastern deserts," in R. Oliver, ed., *The Cambridge History of Africa* (Cambridge, 1977), 3:23.

[39] Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 273; G.C. Anawati, "The Christian communities in Egypt in the Middle Ages," in Gervers, *Conversion and Continuity*, 237-51; M. Jugie, "Monophysite (Église Copte)," *DTC* 10 pt.2 (Paris, 1929), 2251-2306.

By and large, it is obvious from the above that the work of islamization in Egypt (in marked contrast with the process of arabization) was never total. During the Fatimid period (969-1171) when the patriarchal see was moved from Alexandria to Cairo, which then became the center of Coptic Christianity, Copts were still a substantial segment of the population. In some rural areas viable Coptic communities were often the majority. There is indeed very little evidence that islamization increased appreciably during Fatimid rule. The general islamization of Egypt took place much later. No less significant is the fact that relations with the Fatimid government were on the whole mostly peaceful. Actually, before the coming of the first crusade, many Copts were employed as clerks and tax-gatherers, and even as secretaries and treasurers by the Fatimid government. Of course it is no less true that they were also themselves taxed heavily, forbidden to build and restore churches, and to celebrate certain festivals openly. Besides, their service to the government often worked to their disadvantage. Quite simply, their indispensability as public servants contributed to their great unpopularity, especially among the Muslim lower classes who were often only too willing to see any thriving Coptic community as a slur and denial of their own Islamic faith.[42] In point of fact resentment of the Christian tax-collector was often so great that the government was forced to sacrifice him to the Muslim mob, either by allowing popular

[40] W.Y. Adams, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa* (Princeton, 1977), 447.

[41] Hrbek, "Egypt, Nubia and the eastern deserts," 82-3.

[42] Y. Lev, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt* (Leiden, 1991), 187.

persecution to take its grim course, or by dismissing all Copts from the administration. Still, it is important to remember that under Fatimid rule very few violent outbursts against non-Muslims are recorded. And when tolerance again returned, the unpopular Copts were quick to recover and regain their former positions and prosperity. Evidently until the end of the Fatimid period the position of the Coptic Church remained stable, even secure.[43]

The proximity of Egypt to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem did not help the cause of the Coptic Church in any significant way. Egyptian Christians were invariably placed on the defensive as a result of the situation created by western expansionism. Coptic credibility indeed was to reach a new low in the period of the crusades. Copts were often suspected by the Muslims of complicity or collaboration with the Latins of Jerusalem simply because they were co-religionists. Evidently, for the Coptic Church the crusade was a phenomenon it could have done without. Indeed, often, Egyptian military defeat inflicted by the Latins also translated into mob fury and persecution for the Coptic community in Egypt. Numerous churches, monasteries, even entire prosperous Coptic villages, were occasionally levelled to the ground as a result of such local Muslim violence.[44] Not surprising, beginning with the twelfth century, new legal disabilities and fines imposed on Christians became in time so burdensome that many Copts were compelled to sell everything to meet the exactions. Others were forced to profess faith in Islam to survive or escape destruction. Even this route was often not very helpful, however, since a Muslim of Coptic descent was widely regarded as a potentially false Muslim or at least not a true believer. This is reflected in the fact that they were tacitly excluded from all legal offices and positions of authority that could affect the lives of "legitimate" Muslims.[45]

This policy of blatant discrimination and overt oppression was to continue especially after 1250 and the accession of the new Mamluk dynasty of enfranchised slaves (1250-1517). It was under this government that the remaining economic prosperity and influence enjoyed until then by the Copts was destroyed. Their status in Egyptian society became altogether marginal. Vast numbers of Christians were forced to embrace Islam in this period; widespread conversion became commonplace. As a result, by the 1400s the Christian community of Egypt had been radically reduced in numbers. It was then that it became a small minority for the first time. The

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[43] *Ibid.*, 194, 198.

[44] Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*, 91-95.

[45] C.F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), 272-74.

Copts, however, were not the only group to be persecuted and harassed by the policy of retaliation adopted by the Mamluk sultans of Egypt. Indigenous Christian communities everywhere, including Nestorians, Armenians and Maronites (to say nothing of schismatic Muslim minorities) equally knew the wrath of this government.[46] It was of course the Mamluk sultanate of Cairo that was responsible for defeating the Mongol army of Hulagu near Nazareth in 1260, and for driving the last crusaders from Acre in 1291. In the long run both events were a disaster for Christians not only in Egypt but in Palestine and Syria as well. Both contributed significantly to the eclipse of native Christianity in the Middle East by the end of the fifteenth century.

The fate of African Christianity beyond Egypt's southern border, in neighboring Nubia, was to be even worse. Not unlike the Church of Ethiopia (Abbysinia) further south, medieval Nubia was influenced both culturally and religiously by Egypt, beginning with the evangelization and conversion of the Nubian-speaking region south of Aswan in the sixth century. The two northern kingdoms of the country, Nobatia and Makuria (united under a single ruler in the early 700s), and the kingdom of Alwa in the south, were before long also persuaded to join the monophysite camp. As a result of the Muslim conquests and the invasion of Egypt, Nubia was virtually cut off from all contacts with Byzantium and the wider world of Christendom. Remarkably, the region, which today corresponds to the Eastern Sudan, long resisted all Muslim inroads and on the whole remained politically independent of Islamic Egypt.[47]Archaeological evidence—the systematic investigation of Christian Nubian antiquities began very late in this century—reveals that the region down to the end of the Middle Ages remained Christian. More than a quarter of the known archaeological sites actually date from the medieval Christian period. These include churches, towns and villages, and, invariably, monasteries.[48] Not surprising, Nubian paintings display a strong Coptic influence (as the astonishing frescoes from the cathedral at Faras excavated in the 1960s illustrate). Most of their inscriptions are in Coptic, suggesting that they were done by Egyptian artisans imported especially for the purpose.

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[46] L.S. Northrup, "Muslim-Christian relations during the reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Mansur Qalawun (A.D. 1278-1290)," in Gervers, *Conversion and Continuity*, 253-62; and the papers by D.P. Little and N. Levtzion, *ibid.*, 263-314.

[47] Müller, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Nationalkirchen*, 330-38; Adams, *Nubia*, 459; see also W.H.C. Frend, "Nubia as an outpost of Byzantine cultural influence," *BS* 29 (1968), 319-26; P.L. Shinnie, "Christian Nubia," *The Cambridge History of Africa*, 2:556-64.

[48] See especially J. Vantini, *The Excavations at Faras: A Contribution to the History of Christian Nubia* (Bologna, 1970) which also contains a rich bibliography; cf. the earlier important study by U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana* (Rome, 1938) (=OCA, no. 118).

This is doubtless indirect confirmation of the *de facto* dominant position of the Coptic patriarchate in Nubian Christianity. As it happens, all Nubian bishops were appointed directly by the patriarch in Cairo and were answerable only to him. Unlike Ethiopia, in other words, no metropolitan for Nubia was ever designated by the Coptic Church. No textual or archaeological evidence at any rate survives confirming the existence of an ecclesiastical office comparable to the *abuna*, the title used to identify Ethiopia's primate. Even the episcopal funerary stelae found in the Sudan are silent on the matter. To put it otherwise, the Church was never organized on an autocephalous or national basis as was often the case elsewhere. Rather, Nubia was treated as a sort of extension of Egyptian Christianity; it was always under the immediate authority of the Coptic patriarch. Of course this did not mean that all the bishops were also Egyptian in origin. Some were undoubtedly of Nubian stock as were also most of the lower clergy.[49] All in all, because of this control from Cairo, the Nubian Church was unable to develop the sort of ethnic solidarity which in the case of self-governing national Churches was often a decisive factor in survival. A certain unity of organization clearly failed to materialize later when Nubian Christianity was confronted with changes in both the political and the social structure.[50] Nubia's overall inability to maintain permanent contact with the Christian world beyond its own borders was the other basic reason for the slow atrophy and eventual extinction of Christianity south of Aswan by 1500.

Although so much in the Nubian Church seems to have depended on Cairo, Coptic was not its preferred liturgical language. Remarkably, the Nubian eucharist (a slightly modified version of St Mark's liturgy) was sung in Greek, perhaps until the twelfth century. But old Nubian was apparently also used from the ninth century. This linguistic ambiguity is another example of Nubian weakness. The population at any rate does not seem to have possessed any linguistic consciousness. Curiously, they failed to see language as a unifying factor, which could have provided them with a sense of common identity. This has a parallel on the political plane as well: the Nubians also lacked ethnic unity. Their three kingdoms, quite simply, were actually never united as a single state. The fact that the toponym Nubia was never

[49] *Ibid.*, 158-68; Adams, *Nubia*, 471-73.

[50] Vantini, *The Excavations at Faras*, 278.

used by the people to identify the country *per se* is revealing. The three kingdoms were always associated with their traditional names and never by the term Nubia. Although no surviving records exist describing the organization and government of Nubian monasticism, there is every reason to believe that here, too, Nubian practice differed from the mother-Church in Cairo. Whereas the institution was very important in Coptic Christianity, archaeological evidence suggests the opposite to have been the case in the Sudan. Only a handful of Nubian monasteries have actually been identified by professional archaeologists. None of these establishments were comparable—in magnificence, wealth or size—with Egyptian foundations. Then, too, very few appear to have been truly isolated or removed from settled areas, as was usually the case with monasteries in Egypt.[51]

As is so often the case in African Christianity, the circumstances in which the Christian faith collapsed in the Sudan are obscure and often mysterious. Historical records marking the transition from Christianity to Islam are almost entirely lacking. And yet, we are certain of a number of developments. In the first place, the collapse should not be attributed exclusively to Egypt and its desire to actively propagate Islam in the region just beyond its borders. Actually, militant Islam moved in only after Nubian decline was well on the way. Besides, contacts between the Christian kingdom of Nubia and Islamic Egypt during the Fatimid period were, to an unusual degree, free of major problems. Even under the short rule of the Ayyubids that followed, relations on the whole remained peaceful. It was not as such until after the Mamluks seized power in the mid-thirteenth century that Egyptians actually began to interfere actively in Nubian affairs. Even then, however, the causes of the intrusion were not exclusively essentially religious. Often they were purely economic or political in nature.

Actually, other forces, both internal and external, had began to undermine Nubian stability and prosperity long before the thirteenth century. What has been described as a major factor in Nubian islamization originated in the late 900s, when Arabs from Egypt began to acquire lands in the north and eventually became virtually independent of any central authority. This continuous southward migration into the Sudan could not be prevented. It was ominous for the future. Settlements of bedouin Arabs along Nubia's desert flanks further aggravated this problem of slow colonization. Besides, all the while the new immigrants were being absorbed into Nubian society by

[51] Adams, *Nubia*, 478-87.

intermarriage. This continued for centuries. Characteristically, the resulting unions usually also involved conversion to the rival faith of the newcomers. "Everywhere, mixed marriages between Muslim men and Christian women have been a very effective factor in the progressive and rapid spread of Islam."[52] But the church was doubtless equally affected by the country's political fragmentation and evolving feudal structure. The long-standing internal disintegration of the Nubian monarchy in effect meant that the Church was slowly actively deprived of its chief support in the kingdom. In this respect it is worth repeating that Nubian Christianity lacked a sense of national identity. Its feeble organization in the long run meant the absence of ethnic solidarity and strength. Evidently when the patronage of the temporal power was also removed, the Church was left altogether helpless, without effective leadership, assistance, or guidance.

If we add to this development the fact that in 1323 the ruler of Makuria, the largest of the three Nubian regions, became a Muslim, the image of disarray and isolation is then complete. Although the population did not immediately follow suit, in due course they did imitate their rulers.[53] Remarkably, Alwa to the south continued as a Christian state until about 1500. It was not until then, in short, that all of Nubia passed under the control of Muslim rulers and the ancient kingdom finally became an integral part of the Arab and Islamic world. Suffice it to say that this total transformation of Christian Nubia was a major blow to African Christianity as a whole.[54] This development probably did not go unnoticed in Coptic Cairo. On the other hand, whether the patriarchate actually did anything to help its ecclesiastical province to the south is unknown. At the time, it is true, it too was being harassed by the Mamluk rulers and, as such, was hardly in a position to give either moral or material support to its neighbor. All the same, what is known is by no means comforting or consoling. As early as 1235 the Coptic Church apparently had refused to send any bishops to the Sudan because political conditions had become so confusing. Although this was not a permanent policy, it was ominous all the same. In fact the link between the Nubian Church and Cairo probably snapped in the following century in 1372. Significantly, this information is largely archaeological in nature. Evidently, when bishop Timotheus of Ibrim and Faras died, his consecration documents were buried beside him in his tomb. When the site was recently excavated, the texts, which are in Coptic, revealed that the bishop indeed had been consecrated in Cairo in 1372. It is the last known concrete proof of contact between the two Churches. Arguably, if this was in fact the final communication with Cairo, apostolic succession would in time have been broken, and of course the clergy and the liturgy before long would have vanished as well.

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[52] Vantini, *The Excavations at Faras*, 277.

[53] *Ibid.*, 275-76.

[54] Hrbek, "Egypt, Nubia and the eastern deserts," 3:96.

That the kingdom of Ethiopia—the other Christian outpost in Islamic northeastern Africa—nearly suffered Nubia's fate during the Middle Ages is not surprising. It too remained isolated for centuries and like Nubia was surrounded by militant Islamic neighbors. Centuries of Ethiopian history remain totally unknown because of this isolation. But the physical and spiritual segregation was also harmful. All of Ethiopia's pre-600 contacts with the Greek and Semitic cultures, for example, largely vanished with the rise of Islam. And yet, this Christian frontier station, like its mother-Church of Alexandria, from which it received its faith in the mid-fourth century, still survives. It remains, arguably, the largest single autocephalous Christian community in Africa today.

As is well enough known, the evangelization of the kingdom of Ethiopia, or more accurately Aksum, as the land was known before the coming of Islam, began with the consecration of its first bishop, Frumentius, by St Athanasius of Alexandria about 340. This episcopal consecration made the Church of Aksum dependent on Alexandria. The reliance also continued after 451, when the monophysite creed was embraced by the Egyptians. Indeed, although medieval Ethiopian Christianity had many features of its own—native to the country and people—its prominent characteristics were (and still are) essentially Coptic in origin, including its strong monastic tradition, ecclesiastical discipline, church order and liturgy. As a matter of fact, until quite recently the metropolitan of Ethiopia was always an Egyptian who was chosen and consecrated by the Coptic monophysite patriarch of Alexandria. Remarkably, this ecclesiastical subjugation lasted for sixteen centuries and came to an end only on 14 January 1951, when Ethiopia was permitted to elect its first native Ethiopian metropolitan. (The agreement itself, by which this autocephalous status was attained, was signed earlier, 13 July 1948.)[55] On the other hand, this canonical dependence should not be exaggerated. Although medieval Ethiopia was treated as a diocese of the Coptic Church of Egypt, the metropolitan himself, once installed in his see, was almost always without authority or influence. In all essential respects he re-

[55] A. Taklahaymanot, "The Egyptian metropolitan of the Ethiopian Church," *OCP* 54 (1988), 175-222. The formal consecration of 1951 (19 January) was actually performed in Cairo, however. It was not until some time later (29 June 1959) that the metropolitan of Ethiopia was raised to the dignity of patriarch.

mained throughout most of his reign a foreigner. Because his knowledge of the mentality, local language, and customs of the people was usually non-existent, he was powerless.[56] This imported bishop from Cairo, moreover, was apparently seldom chosen for his outstanding leadership skills, scholarly qualities or spiritual eminence. As a result, the *abuna* from Egypt, as he was traditionally called, was rarely in a position to influence either the spiritual life or organization of Ethiopian Christianity. It was in the main the emperor and his predominantly monastic advisers who exercised real power and not the titular head of the Ethiopian Church *per se.* All in all, the dependence on the see of Alexandria by no means functioned to Ethiopia's great advantage. It did not in any case always provide the country with firm Christian leadership and spiritual guidance. Such direction normally came from the country's numerous monasteries.

Because after the spread of Islam our knowledge of Ethiopian Christianity is for centuries shrouded in almost total darkness (frequently the link with Egypt is our only source of information for the period 600-1100) a detailed picture is not possible. We do know all the same that as a result of Islamic expansion and pressure, the spiritual center of the country in the north, with its national holy city of Aksum, declined in importance and the government moved to occupy and christianize the more inaccessible interior highland region to the south.[57] This period of isolation, cultural atrophy, and decline, was accompanied by the slow spread of numerous independent Muslim sultanates on the eastern and southern fringes of the country as well. This near-systematic Islamic encirclement, to say nothing of the equally menacing growth of pagan and Jewish influences, did not bode well for Christian survival. By the late tenth century the situation had in fact become precarious in the extreme. On the other hand, the sporadic missionary activity that must have accompanied the political conquest of the interior meant survival. The Christianity inherited from the ancient Aksumite period remained the official religion of the nation. Indeed, together with the mother-Church in Egypt, Ethiopia at the end of the Middle Ages was to be the only remaining Christian witness on the African continent. As one scholar recently put it, "the identification of Abbysinian Christianity with the political and cultural life of the country is so complete that no numerical increase in Islam has been able to touch the intrinsic nature of this phenomenon."[58]

The accession of a new line of kings, the so-called Zagwe dynasty (1150-1270), helped undermine somewhat the age-old physical isolation of the

[56] *Ibid.*, 184-5. See also M. Abir, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea* (London, 1980), 59-60.

[57] T. Tamrat, "Ethiopia, the Red Sea and the Horn," in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, 3:98f.

[58] E. Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People* (Oxford, 1973) 108.

country and its Church.[59] Communication with Egypt at any rate was reinforced and, indeed, restored during this period. Equally, despite the obvious danger involved, pilgrimage to the Holy Land (which had doubtless existed during the Aksumite period) was once again resumed and encouraged. (It was apparently Saladin, after his occupation of Jerusalem in 1187, who first granted Ethiopian visitors to the Holy City a permanent site where they could worship and reside.) The dynasty also sponsored the building of new churches and monasteries as well as missionary activity among unconverted pagan tribes within Ethiopia's borders. The impressive architectural remains at Roha (consisting primarily of rock-hewn churches) were probably sponsored by Lalibala (1190-1225), the dynasty's most eminent representative. The long period launched by the founder of the subsequent Solomonic dynasty, Yekunno Amlak (1270-83), was to prove even more important for the history of the Ethiopian Church. It was under this Solomonic succession (1270-1527) that Ethiopia saw the first great expansion of its borders after so many centuries. The rulers of the line were even able to pose as protectors of their monophysite brothers in Egypt.[60] Remarkably, the dynasty was to insist on its uninterrupted direct descent from the fictitious Memelik I, the son of Solomon and the queen of Sheba. Memelik's family, it was believed, had once ruled Ethiopia. In the event, the new line saw itself as a "restoration" of the ancient "Solomonic" house. It has been suggested that this "chosen people complex," this identification with ancient Israel, was not a difficult leap to make, given Ethiopia's centuries-old hostile relationship with its pagan and Muslim neighbors. As it turns out, the Solomonic tradition actually predates the thirteenth century. This belief (together with Ethiopia's separation and isolation from Christendom as a whole) is at least in part responsible for the adoption of circumcision, the dietary laws of the Old Testament, the Sabbath, and even polygamy by medieval Ethiopian Christianity. The explicit opposition of the Coptic see of Alexandria to these practices was rarely acknowledged. No doubt the near-total fusion of Church and state under the new rulers greatly encouraged and sustained the queen of Sheba-Solomon legend.

Of course the victories of the powerful Solomonic monarchy against its Muslim enemies (in the last two centuries of the Middle Ages the struggle against Islam was especially intense) helped consolidate the position of the

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[59] On the dynasty, see *The Cambridge History of Africa*, 3:112-22.

[60] *Ibid.*, 3:123-34; T. Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527* (Oxford, 1972); Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians*, 62-8.

Church in Ethiopian society as a whole. It also stimulated the growth of a highly productive literary revival, and the expansion of monasticism. The Solomonic period is in point of fact the golden age of Ethiopian literature. Numerous translations into the sacred liturgical language of Geez still survive from these centuries. There were also, however, many original writings as well. Most if not all of this literary corpus was predictably religious or liturgical in nature.[61] Similarly, the monarchy's military success also may have been responsible for the identification in the western imagination of the Ethiopian ruler with the legendary wise and immensely wealthy king-priest, Prester John. Although this hoax had its origin earlier in Asia in the late twelfth century, it was later eventually identified with Ethiopia or Abyssinia. The gloom generated in the West by the Islamic counter-offensive against the crusading movement in Palestine may be at the root of this famous fiction. Prester John was to be the salvation of the Latin crusade.

Ethiopian Christianity was without a doubt (much like the Church in Cairo) heavily monasticized. The limited attempt at evangelization among the Muslim and pagan populations was in the main the work of its monasteries. Monastic communities were, indeed, seen by the state, and especially by the Solomonic rulers, as effective institutions for expanding the frontier.[62] As we should expect, the monasteries were liberally pampered and endowed generously with vast estates from which they collected large revenues. On the other hand, as independent, semi-autonomous institutions concentrated in the provinces, monasteries were often a problem for both the Church and the state. Under the Solomonic monarchy the monastic community which was by then divided into two opposing monastic groups was actually the cause of a serious schism. Although both parties concerned eventually agreed on a compromise, the weakness generated by the lengthy struggle did not bode well for the future of the dynasty or for Ethiopian Christianity.

Invariably, the oldest and strongest of the two opposing groups, called after its founder, Tekla Haymanot (1215-1313), favored the dynasty and was accordingly influential at court. In its doctrinal position, the group identified with the kingdom's metropolitan and the Coptic patriarch in Cairo, both of whom had long wished to rid Ethiopia of its pre-Christian and Judaic customs. Its center in the south was the monastery of Debra Libanos. The abbot of this foundation was in point of fact the counsellor and confessor of the Ethiopian emperor. He was also viewed as the leading monk of the kingdom, as a sort of superior-general of Ethiopian monasticism, a position implied in the office of *etchege* customarily held by the abbots of Debra Libanos. It was a pivotal office, to be sure, given the *abuna's* weak status. The second group based in the north (Eritrea) was founded by Eustathius or Abba Ewostatewos (1273-1352). This party was evidently not in total accord either with the ecclesiastical or the political establishment, as was almost certainly true of the Debralibanesians of the south. The community was actually a dedicated critic of both the Church and the state and even publicly denounced the slave trade. It was also suspicious of the Coptic Church in Cairo. In marked contrast with their opponents at Debra Libanos, members of this group also insisted on the strict observance of the Sabbath; they repeatedly fanatically rejected every ban imposed by the Ethiopian primate and the patriarch in Cairo. Persecution was not long in coming. The founder of the group actually died in Armenia as an exile after unsuccessfully appealing in person to the patriarch in Cairo. Even so, the Ewostatewosians could not be stopped and ecclesiastical schism was the result. Sadly, the division was not healed until 1450, when at the council of Debra Metmaq the group in the north was allowed to keep its observance of the Sabbath. On the other hand, it could not impose its custom on anyone else.[63]

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[61] *Ibid.*, 131-51 (also includes a lengthy description of the manuscript collections); G. Haile, "Religious controversies and the growth of Ethiopic literature in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries," *Oriens Christianus* 65 (1981), 102-36.

[62] On evangelization, see Tamrat, *Church and State*, 157-205.

It was of course just a few years earlier, before the council of 1450 and the rehabilitation of the Ewostatewosian monastic party, that the famous union assembly at Florence was convened. It is known that representatives from the Ethiopian monasteries of Jerusalem actually were present at Florence in 1441.[64] Still, scholars are of the opinion that the delegation did not come with the official approval of either the Ethiopian Church or the emperor. These monastics from Jerusalem did not in fact have any official status. At the same time, however, the Ethiopian monarchy was aware of the need to reach out to Christendom. The isolation of the kingdom had increased after the wholesale islamization of neighboring Christian Nubia to the north. As as result of this development, Ethiopia's connecting link with Egypt and the outside world as a whole was eliminated once and for all. And yet, the monarchy failed to find a solution to its predicament. No doubt had it been able to foresee the sustained aggression of the coastal Muslims in the south in

[63] For the council see *ibid.*, 220-31.

[64] G. Hofmann, "Kopten und Ethioper auf dem Konzil von Florenz," *OCP* 8 (1942), 5-29; J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), 321-27; Tamrat, *Church and State*, 265.

the following century, and their systematic anti-Christian campaign of destruction, it would not have been so complacent. Indeed, as a result of the Muslim terror initiated by Ahmad Grann on Ethiopia's southern fringe in the 1520s, it has been estimated that one in three Ethiopians was a Muslim by the seventeenth century. The tactics of the recent Marxist-Leninist military government were perhaps less harmful.

4. The Orthodox Church of Georgia

The plateau south of the Caucasian range historically occupied by Armenia and Georgia has long been one of the most important Christian outposts in the East Mediterranean. Its pivotal geographical position is beyond dispute as its dizzying medieval history testifies. Insofar as it stood literally geographically at the "crossroads of empires," Christian Transcaucasia was of great strategic importance, to say nothing of its primary commercial distinction as the leading gateway to Asia.[65] Actually, its history for most of the Middle Ages was determined almost exclusively by these facts, and especially by the permanent political pressure exerted by the competing empires just beyond its borders. Indeed, Transcaucasia's traditional role in late antiquity as a natural buffer zone between Rome and Sassanian Persia (both of whom claimed some control over the region) was not altered or affected with the Arab conquests. By the eighth century Rome and Persia had been simply replaced by imperial Byzantium and the Arab caliphate. Of course any change in either the status or relationship of its powerful neighbors invariably meant invasion and occupation, or worse, devastation. Developments in both Constantinople and Baghdad in the eleventh century led as we have seen to the dismemberment of Armenia proper, and other profound changes. Because it opens up in the south to Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Syria, the Transcaucasian plateau was in fact transformed by the end of the century into a thoroughfare by which Turkic nomads for the first time entered the East Mediterranean basin.

It goes without saying that the evangelization and then conversion of Georgia to Christianity in the course of the fourth century was of fundamental significance. Insofar as the Georgian people were concerned, this official identification with Christianity was a purposeful and no doubt intentional rejection of the Persian Zoroastrian faith. Subsequently it was to be a deliberate denial of the new Islamic religion as well. Suffice it to say that these rival hostile faiths never really came to terms with the Christian expansion in Transcaucasia. Culturally, too, the conversion was fraught with major consequences, and is best described as momentous.[66] True, contacts with Iran and the Islamic world were not sundered altogether. Eastern Georgia (the ancient Iberia) clearly was inspired more by Iran than was, say, western Georgia, which indeed faced primarily the Black Sea and the Byzantine empire. On the whole, however, the decisive affiliation of medieval Georgian culture was always with the Mediterranean world and with Orthodox Christendom in particular. As part of the Mediterranean world, its primary orientation was away from the Arab world and Islamic civilization. Of course political ties with Byzantium were equally close and were often formally sanctioned by dynastic marriage alliances. Besides, as we have earlier emphasized, Byzantium's ruling elite did not consist of a single ethnic element. As it happens, many nobles of Georgian descent often held high office in the Byzantine army. Gregory Pakourianus, an imperial duke who later became grand domestic of the West under Alexius I, is perhaps the best known example, but there were others. It was only after the Latin partition of the empire in 1204, and the subsequent lightning Mongol forays into Christian Caucasia, that direct contacts with Orthodox Georgia understandably declined.

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[65] C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, DC, 1963); *idem*, "Armenia and Georgia," in *Cambridge Medieval History*, 4, pt.1:593-637.

A few parenthetical observations are perhaps in order regarding Georgia's preponderant cultural and ecclesial solidarity with Orthodox Christendom. Not unlike other native Churches in the East, the Georgian Church was also transformed into a key national symbol. As its history became inseparably intertwined with Georgian political life, it too became a "national" Church. The development helped sustain and preserve Georgian political identity and consciousness. It is not surprising that a Georgian Christian culture and civilization emerged before long with its own distinct character, even individuality. Insofar as Georgian society remained for centuries primarily rural in essence, this was doubtless even more remarkable. Indeed, although urban life remained undeveloped (even the monarchy was for centuries without a capital) Georgia managed to produce its own unique literature and architecture.[67] At the same time, however, the nationalization of Georgian Christianity differed in several crucial ways from other native eastern Churches. In

[66] See the splendid summary statement by R.W. Thomson, "The origins of Caucasian civilization: The Christian component," in R.G. Suny, ed., *Transcaucasia: Nationalism and Social Change* (Ann Arbor, 1983), 25-43; Müller, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Nationalkirchen*, 361f.; Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*, 102-9.

[67] R.G. Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation* (Stanford, 1988), 38-9.

contrast with Armenia (but also Coptic Egypt and Jacobite Syria) Georgia refused to detach itself from the universal catholic Church of Christ. Unlike its monophysite Armenian neighbor to the south, Georgia has since the early seventh century, remained in communion with the Orthodox Church.[68] No doubt, Georgians and Armenians were also divided by different historical circumstances, temperament, language, and mutual rivalry. Nonetheless, the ecclesiastical division was decisive—an irrevocable parting of the ways between the two countries. As we shall see, the Byzantine Orthodox impact on Georgia was considerable and was advanced by Georgia's decision in the 600s to remain faithful to Chalcedon. The painful tension that characterized Byzantine-Armenian diplomacy was by no means typical of Byzantine-Georgian relations.

Arguably, one of the most dramatic episodes in the long history of the Georgian nation occurred in the eleventh century. This event, involving Georgian political unity, contrasts sharply with Armenia's sudden synchronous fragmentation and disintegration. As we have seen, it was during the eleventh century that the various Armenian principalities were attached one by one to the Byzantine empire. Both external and internal pressure managed to contribute to this weakness in a fatal way. Armenia's feudal aristocracy, the one element largely responsible for the nation's inner strife and fragility, was before long emigrating in great numbers to the Byzantine empire. After the Seljuk invasions, Greater Armenia as a political unity ceased to exist. Even the adjacent Caucasian territories of Albania and Azerbaijan were before long altogether turkicized. Remarkably, for various reasons, Georgia was to be an exception to this transformation and, indeed, turkification. It was alone destined to retain its independence. It soon became a strong stable state. Evidently, in contrast with landlocked Armenia, Georgia possessed a distinct advantage by being on the periphery of the Caucasian plateau. It was not at any rate (like Armenia) at the center of the Byzantine-Iranian zone of military operations. This blessing rendered most invasion less destructive.[69] But Georgia was above all also fortunate in possessing talented and accomplished sovereigns. Their success in creating an autonomous and united national monarchy was a striking achievement. Their vision survived for over two centuries—until the Mongol whirlwind shattered everything in its wake.

Ironically, it was the Georgian branch of an Armenian feudal family—the ubiquitous Bagratids—that was responsible for Georgian unity. (The same noble family had also earlier given royal dynasties to Armenia and Caucasian Albania.) The unification achieved by Bagrat III (975-1014) involved the actual consolidation for the first time of the two Georgias. Eastern and western Georgia, both of which had long shared a common language and social structure, were in 1008 politically and ecclesiastically united to form a single kingdom. It is from this moment proper that we may speak of Georgia.[70] This accomplishment no doubt laid the foundation for the kingdom's subsequent golden age and greatest expansion throughout Transcaucasia. By the twelfth century the Georgian Bagratids had indeed transformed their kingdom into a dynamic pan-Caucasian empire stretching from the Black Sea to the shores of the Caspian Lake. During the late 1100s, under queen Tamar, powerful Georgia included virtually the whole of Transcaucasia. Even the Muslim state of Shirvan on the Caspian Sea, and the empire of Trebizond under the Comnenoi, had become Georgian vassals. The kingdom enjoyed great commercial and industrial success during its golden age. Its possession of such centers as Kars, Dvin, Ani and Tiflis, virtually assured its prosperity. When the strategically crucial city of Ani was seized in 1123 by David II, the city was one of the wealthiest commercial centers in the Near East.

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[68] Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*, 105.

[69] Thomson, "The origins of Caucasian civilization," 37.

The unification of Georgia accomplished in 1008 was of course also bound to affect the Church within the two Georgian regions. Although Orthodox, the territories were not understandably under a single catholicus or a uniform ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Since the sixth century the western region had been under Byzantine ecclesiastical control with two separate metropolitan centers located at Phasis and Sebastopolis. Constantinopolitan liturgical practice predictably was in use, but was sung in Georgian. On the other hand, eastern Georgia was an independent see under a separate catholicus located in the capital city of Mtskheta. Although essentially autocephalic, the see was also still spiritually subject to the patriarch of Antioch who had consecrated the first catholicus in the fifth century.[71] As we should expect, this vague dependence involved the adoption of Antiochian liturgical usage as well. In addition to these ties with the ancient patriarchates of Constantinople and Antioch, the Georgian Church also displayed a particular devotion to Jerusalem.

[70] Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation*, 32.

[71] Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*, 107; M. Tarchnishvili, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der kirchlichen Autokephalie Georgiens," *Le Muséon* 73 (1960), 107-26; J.H. Erickson, "Autocephaly in Orthodox canonical literature to the thirteenth century," *SVQ* 15 (1971), 28-41 (here 35); reprinted in the author's *The Challenge of Our Past* (Crestwood, NY, 1991), 91-113.

Georgian monastics and their foundations were to be found in the Holy City as early as the fifth century. (The Georgian prince, Peter the Iberian [†488] was the founder of the first Georgian religious community in Jerusalem.) No doubt this same affection for the Holy Land also explains at least in part the Georgian tradition of pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[72] Whatever the case, the territorial and political unification of 1008 was soon complemented by religious unity: the eastern and western Georgian sees were both united under the catholicus of Mtskheta. Before long liturgical unification for the entire kingdom followed with the adoption of the liturgies of Sts Chrysostom and Basil then in use throughout the Byzantine world. Even the ancient Jerusalem liturgy of St James (another reflection of Georgian deference to the Holy City) was similarly replaced by Byzantine usage. Evidently, although Georgian unity implied a denial of Byzantine political hegemony, Orthodox cultural and religious influence was not affected. Indeed, Byzantine influence increased decisively in the next two centuries after 1008. Both the adoption of Constantinopolitan worship and the numerous translations of Greek texts into Georgian during this period, are salient examples of this basic truth. It has been noted that the translations outnumbered original production in Georgian.

The new unity evidently brought Church and state closer together. The ecclesiastical hierarchy were doubtless zealous advocates of national unity and in this sense were of the greatest benefit to Georgia's Bagratid rulers. The catholicus on the other hand retained control of ecclesiastical affairs and administration, and was even recognized formally as the spiritual king of the nation.[73] However, the Georgian primate along with all major bishops and abbots were temporal princes of the realm as well, and actually sat on the council of state or Darbazi together with the feudal princes of Georgia. Surviving sources also reveal that certain ecclesiastical offices which had become hereditary by the eleventh century were monopolized by the feudal clans. Remarkably, the office of Grand Chancellor was always assumed by the archbishop of Chqondidi (in western Georgia). No doubt, this involvement of the Church in the Georgian feudal structure did not always serve or promote the monarchy. The alliance between the ecclesiastical and secular nobility routinely worked as a centrifugal force against the national authority of the crown.[74] The Darbazi was in part an attempt to curtail the centralization policies of the king by the quasi-inde-

[72] For a brief summary, see M. van Esbroeck, "Église géorgienne des origines au moyen âge," *Bedi Kartlisa* 40 (1952), 186-99.

[73] M. Tamarati, *L'Église géorgienne des origines jusqu'a nos jours* (Rome, 1910), 367.

[74] M. Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI-XII Centuries* (Tbilisi, 1987), 83-5.

pendent Georgian aristocracy. Of course resolute or determined monarchs were usually also able to dispose of troublesome prelates and, with some difficulty, even to control ecclesiastical elections.

Arguably, the two most important members of the new Caucasian monarchy were David II (1089-1125) and queen Tamar (1184-1212). Both of these Bagratid sovereigns were in the end canonized as saints by the Georgian Orthodox Church. By extending Georgia's power far beyond its historic frontiers, these rulers were in the final analysis responsible for creating a genuine Georgian hegemony not only over Georgians but over Muslims and Armenians as well. David II was surnamed by contemporaries the Restorer or Rebuilder (*aghmashenebeli*) for good reason. His policy of reform and expansion, along with his impressive military successes, were even to contribute to his identification with the mythical Prester John. His reign constitutes a genuine "epic period" in the history of medieval Georgia.[75] David's victories against the Muslims were especially important since they paved the way for the Transcaucasian multinational empire of his successors. In 1122 he was able to gain control of Tiflis (it had been for centuries an Islamic town) and to reestablish it as Georgia's capital. But his great triumph was without doubt his decisively humiliating defeat of the Seljuks a year earlier at the battle of Didgori (12 August).[76] Georgians to this day celebrate the victory annually as a holiday in August.

In addition to a strengthened monarchy and a magnified Georgia, David II also bequeathed to his descendants a reformed Church. The attention he was willing to devote to the welfare of monasticism, to secular and religious education, and to the renewal of the Church as a whole, was doubtlessly genuine. He was also evidently concerned with Christian unity and repeatedly labored to convince the separated Armenian community to return to the unity of the Orthodox Church by accepting Chalcedonian christology and by renouncing schism.[77] His vigorous efforts to establish ecclesiastical discipline, eliminate abuses, and reorganize the Church, culminated in 1103 at the synod of Ruisi-Urbnisi. This meeting—one of the most famous in Georgian history—was presided over by the king who had also convened it. The council was by no means timid or guarded in specifying the abuse and corruption to be found everywhere in the Church and among the clergy.[78] More importantly, radical and often harsh measures were adopted to correct violations. The effect on the Church as a whole was salutary and invigorating, and often far-reaching. The legislation approved by the council illustrates not only the situation in the Georgian Church at the dawn of the twelfth century but also the determination with which David approached his goal of ecclesiastical renewal. It is no wonder his contemporaries tagged him the restorer.

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[75] *Ibid.*, 80-117; A. Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie* (Paris, 1951), 163-80; Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation*, 34-7.

[76] P.B. Golden, "The Turkic peoples and Caucasia," in Suny, *Transcaucasia*, 59; K. Salia, *History of the Georgian Nation* (Paris, 1983), 166-68.

[77] Tamarati, *L'Église géorgienne*, 286-7.

The following summary synopsis of the legislation of the synod of Ruisi-Urbnisi will suffice in revealing the nature of the disciplinary problem facing the Church of Georgia in 1103. The subject of simony for instance was addressed several times. It was decreed that priests were not to betray Church discipline for the sake of money; nor were bishops (under pain of excommunication) permitted to receive any compensation whatsoever from a candidate for holy orders either before, during, or after ordination. The violation of existing canon law was equally a leading issue at the council. The proper canonical age for ordination was thus required of everyone and was carefully spelled out (35 for bishops, 30 for priests, 25 for deacons). The need to avoid the conferring of several clerical orders on a candidate on the same day was likewise acknowledged and endorsed. In this connection, it was notable (and no doubt also important politically for the monarchy) that all corrupt and unworthy bishops were removed from office by the council and replaced with individuals known for their piety and devotion to the Church. Monastic discord and disorder were also discussed and censured. The practice of having several superiors in a single monastery, for example, was not only criticized but prohibited, except for very large foundations. Finally, the decrees of 1103 also dealt with existing abuses among the laity. Marriage and baptism could not be performed outside the church building and its sanctuary. No sacrament was in fact to be misused. Typically, an Orthodox Christian was not authorized to contract a marriage either with a heretic or an infidel. The marriage of an Orthodox woman, moreover, could only be blessed if she was of the proper age (at least twelve years and above). Significantly, Armenians and other monophysite dissidents upon returning to the unity of the Orthodox faith were legally compelled to be rebaptized.[79]

But David was also eager to nurture intellectual life and reform in his kingdom. Numerous schools, in which the basic elements of grammar, religion and mathematics were taught, are known to have been established in his reign. Monasteries which were endowed with lands and exemptions were often also centers of learning. Remarkably, dozens of monastics were dispatched to the Holy Mountain of Athos for the explicit purpose of becoming translators of ecclesiastical texts. Doubtless, the king's interest and concern for the intellectual life of the two Georgian regions is best reflected in his monastic foundation of Gelati (situated in western Georgia southwest of Kutaisi, then the capital of the country) and the academy which he organized and attached to the monastery. It is here that David's contemporary, the Neoplatonist philosopher John Petrisi lived and taught.[80] A student of Michael Psellus and John Italus, Petrisi has been justly described as the most significant translator of Greek philosophical texts into Georgian. Not surprising, the frescoes of this famous monastery, along with a lengthy Greek inscription in Greek, suggest Byzantine workmanship.[81]

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[78] *Ibid.*, 274-77; Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI-XII Centuries*; Salia, *History of the Georgian Nation*, 157-59.

[79] Tamarati, *L'Église géorgienne*, 275-76.

The strong Christian monarchy that had its inception with the union of the two Georgian regions by the Bagratids had no doubt acquired great eminence and fame by the mid-twelfth century. The work of David II was continued above all by his great-granddaughter queen Tamar of Georgia (1184-1212). It is during her rule that the great golden age of Georgian history and culture reached its summit. There is no denying the multinational nature of her kingdom by the dawn of the thirteenth century. By then Georgia was actually one of the most powerful states in the Near East. As a result of queen Tamar's numerous campaigns, which took her armies to the shores of the Black Sea, Paphlagonia and further east into Iranian territory, the Georgian state extended far beyond its original borders. By 1212 the entire Caucasus, the southern coast of the Black Sea, most of Armenia and Iranian Azerbaijan, had in fact been annexed to the Georgian state. All the while, it is safe to assume, queen Tamar was aware (as had been many of her predecessors) of the importance of this vast extension of the Georgian lands. The special strategic and military significance of the Caucasus was not lost on her. Unity was as such crucial. This perhaps explains the queen's generally agreeable diplomacy with Saladin, who was actually responsible in the end for the return to the Georgians in the Holy City of properties that had once belonged to them. In contrast, Tamar's relations with the Latins in the crusader states (whom the Georgians never really needed) were rarely courteous or fraternal. The Orthodox Georgians never actually directly involved themselves with the crusades. This may have been at the root of the friendship Muslims felt for them.

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[80] M. Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Studi e Testi, no.185; Vatican City, 1955), 211-25; "John Petrici," *ODB* 2:1067 (R.W. Thomson).

[81] "Gelati," *ODB* 2:827 (Alice Taylor). For Psellus and Italus see the next chapter.

It is by no means surprising that the Georgian royal house of the Bagratids was linked by marriage to the Byzantine Comnenian dynasty. This relationship explains the assistance queen Tamar eventually gave to the founder of the empire of Trebizond, Alexius I Comnenus, and his brother, David.[82] The father of the two brothers, Manuel, probably had been married to queen Tamar's sister. Both were also grandsons of the emperor Andronicus I Comnenus (1183-85). Doubtless, the troubled politics at the Byzantine court caused by dynastic change late in the twelfth century and the arrival of the fourth crusade were also cleverly exploited by Tamar of Georgia. In April 1204 the Georgian army moved quickly and occupied Trebizond. The queen's Byzantine kinsman, Alexius, was then installed as first sovereign. Remarkably, the empire of the Grand Comnenoi, as this Byzantine successor state of Trebizond came to be called, was to survive for nearly three hundred years (1204-1461). It was initially understandably subject to Georgia.

Both David II and queen Tamar were especially solicitous of monasticism.[83] This was by no means surprising since monastic establishments, as missionary agencies and outposts, had contributed to the growth of the Church in Georgia. Besides, in Georgia, monasteries had long been major cultural centers. Arguably, the literary flowering of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is inconceivable without Georgian monasticism. We have mentioned for instance the role played by Gelati and its academy (organized and patronized by David II) in the diffusion of Neo-Platonic thought in the Georgian lands. It is by no means an exaggeration to suggest that much of medieval Georgian literature, which includes translations from the Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic, and which above all was ecclesiastical in content, was the product of a monastic environment. On balance, nonetheless, the decisive contribution to the renewal of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was made by Georgian monastic communities outside Georgia. The great diffusion of Byzantine Orthodox culture and literature in Georgia was in fact made possible solely by these diaspora communities. These monasteries were to be found throughout the Near East, in Palestine, Mount Sinai, Bithynia, Antioch (the monasteries of the Black Mountain), in the Balkans, and of course on the Athonite peninsula.[84]

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[82] A.A. Vasiliev, "The foundation of the empire of Trebizond (1204-1222)," *Speculum* 11 (1936), 3-37; C. Toumanoff, "On the relationship between the founder of the empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamar," *Speculum* 15 (1940), 299-312.

[83] Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, 69-78; Tamarati, *L'Église géorgienne*, 296-347; and the more general summary statement by D.M. Lang, *The Georgians* (New York, 1966) 152-78.

In this respect, the contrast between the Georgian and Armenian communities outside their Caucasian homeland is of considerable interest. In the first place the Georgians (unlike their Armenian cousins) were Orthodox, and as such could build their communities anywhere. Since they were in full communion with the Chalcedonian Orthodox Church, Georgians could also live and work in the same monasteries as the Byzantines. Such ethnically mixed monastic foundations were to be found throughout the Byzantine world and in Palestine. This close contact was crucial for the evolution of Georgian scholarship and literature.[85] Although there were many Armenians who also frequented Byzantine centers of learning, the contacts possible to the Orthodox Georgians were obviously not always available to the Armenians. Another major difference between the Georgian and the Armenian diaspora communities was the simple fact that the former was fundamentally a diaspora of individuals. It was mentioned in an earlier page that war did not affect Georgia and Armenia in the same way; the Georgian lands were not routinely on the path of invasion and devastation.[86] In the event, flight in Georgia was never transformed into a veritable exodus (as was often the case in Armenia). Georgians usually left their homeland individually and for more personal reasons. The love of pilgrimage, and exile for the sake of Christ, were also standard reasons especially among monastics.

One of the more popular Georgian diaspora regions was undoubtedly Palestine. The special veneration displayed by the Georgian Church for the Holy Land has already been mentioned, as has the fact that the Jerusalem liturgy of St James was actually still used in Georgia in the eleventh century. Not surprising the first Georgian monastery founded by Peter the Iberian was built in the Holy City (rather than in Georgia).[87] This centuries-old Georgian presence in the Holy Land is reflected in a striking way to this day by the manuscript holdings of the Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem; a very large

[84] K. Salia, "Les moines et les monastères géorgiens à l'étranger," *Bedi Kartlisa* 34-5 (1960), 30-59; *idem*, *History of the Georgian Nation*, 77-91; W.Z. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes* (*CSCO*, Subsidia vo. 48; Louvain, 1976).

[85] See Thomson, "The origins of Caucasian civilization," 35.

[86] *Ibid.*, 37.

[87] R. Janin, "Les Géorgiens à Jerusalem," *EO* 16 (1913), 32-38; 211-19.

number of them are indeed Georgian in origin. Some of the holdings probably came from the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross founded around 1040 by the monk Prochorus. This community survived the late Middle Ages as an independent foundation until financial problems and a dwindling of Georgian recruits forced it to sell its property to the Greeks in 1685.[88] A similar concentration of Georgians was also to be found at Mount Sinai, as the eighty-five Georgian manuscripts preserved today in that monastery's library illustrate. These holdings are deemed crucial for the history of Georgian literature and language.[89] They are also often essential in the study of patristic literature and the biblical text.

Within the borders of the Byzantine world itself the best-known Georgian foundations were those of Petritzos in Thrace, just south of Philippopolis, and Iveron, on the northern coast of the Athonite peninsula. Petritzos was the personal foundation of the Byzantine general Gregory Pakourianus. Originally Gregory's family probably belonged to the "mixed Armeno-Iberian Chalcedonian aristocracy"[90] of the eastern Anatolian border. Although the monastery, near modern Bachkovo still survives, its inhabitants since the late fourteenth century have been Bulgarian in origin. Initially, however, the house was entirely Georgian in character. Its famous *typicon* or charter, composed in both Georgian and Greek by Pakourianus in 1083, explicitly excluded non-Georgian residents.[91] Its earliest tenants were war veterans who had served under Pakourianus. It is notable that one of the most important Georgian scholars living abroad, John Petrisi, spent nearly thirty years at Pakourianus' foundation before leaving for Georgia and the monastic complex of Gelati early in the twelfth century. As we should expect, the wealthy and pious founder was also careful to exclude members of his family from interfering in the affairs of the monastery. He is also known for his generosity to Iveron on Mount Athos.

Organized monasticism on the Athonite peninsula had its beginnings with the Great Laura, founded in 963 by St Athanasius. The first Georgians on Mount Athos—Euthymius the Iberian and his father John the Athonite—arrived shortly after. Both joined the new cenobitic house of Athanasius. Before long John Tornikios, who had faithfully served the emperor Basil II, both as general and as ambassador, came to Athos as well. He

[88] *Ibid.*, 213-18; Salia, "Les moines et les monastères," 52-6.

[89] G. Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinai* (Louvain, 1956).

[90] "Pakourianos," *ODB* 3:1553 (N.G. Garsoian).

[91] P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," REB 42 (1984), 5-145; M. Tarchnishvili, *Typicon Gregorii Pacuriani* (Louvain, 1954); Salia, "Les moines et les monastères," 56-8.

was also of Georgian origin and in 979/80 founded Iveron, the "monastery of the Iberians" as it was initially known.[92] John was immediately chosen to be the community's first abbot; he ruled until 1005, when his son Euthymius was promoted to the office. After the Great Laura and Vatopedi, the Georgian monastery of Iveron is the third oldest foundation on the Holy Mountain. Its vast properties at one point even exceeded those of the Great Laura. Of course its significance is not to be found either in its landed wealth or estate properties. This famous Georgian foundation was one of the most important centers of Georgian culture and scholarship within the Byzantine world proper and, as such, played a crucial role in the cultural interaction between Georgia and Byzantium. From the beginning the original founders established a scriptorium in which both Greek and Georgian texts were copied. (The contemporary Georgian manuscript holdings of Iveron are still indeed considerable.) No less important is the fact that this center of book production was also responsible for translations of Greek theological, hagiographical, and liturgical works, into Georgian. Predictably, perhaps, the prolific abbot Euthymius has been credited with the Greek version of the legend *Barlaam and Joasaph*. His translation was supposedly done from a Georgian version which was in turn based on an Arabic original. It is allegedly from Euthymius' Greek rendition that all other translations are derived. No doubt, Euthymius' work as a whole, along with that of his numerous successors at Iveron, is far more important than this one translation, which in fact may not be his composition.

Unlike most other Georgian foundations, the residents of Iveron were not all Georgians. The majority of the monks were actually Greeks, and this was to become before long a source of conflict and rivalry. On the other hand, the "Iberians," as the Georgians were normally called by the Byzantines, were dominant initially, even if the liturgy was celebrated separately by the two groups within the single community. Predictably, by the fourteenth century the Byzantine Greeks were able to profit from their greater numbers and the monastery finally passed under their authority. Even after it had come entirely under Greek control, however, Georgian rulers continued to support and to patronize the only Georgian community on the Holy Mountain. The last surviving Georgian monk apparently died in 1955.

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[92] *Ibid.*, 43-9; J. Lefort and D. Papachryssanthou, "Les premiers Géorgiens à l'Athos dans les documents byzantins," *Bedi Kartlisa* 41 (1983), 27-33; J. Lefort *et al.*, *Actes d'Iviron*, I. *Des origines au milieu du XI siècle* (Paris, 1985); Tamarati, *L'Église géorgienne*, 318-26. For Mount Athos, see also below ch. VII.

The sinister sequence of events which followed the death of queen Tamar is well known. By the end of the thirteenth century the great pan-Caucasian monarchy of the Bagratids (along with Georgia's cultural golden age) was very much on the wane. By then Georgia had been repeatedly ravaged and despoiled by the Mongols. The intruders arrived in the winter of 1220-21 and by the following decade had spread "like clouds of locusts"[93] everywhere. All of Transcaucasia soon came under their control. In the course of the next two centuries the Georgian lands were to experience what Armenia, Albania, and Azerbaijan had suffered and endured earlier under the Seljuks.[94] The kingdom, it is true, was not turkicized or islamized, as had been the fate earlier of Albania, and particularly of Azerbaijan. Moreover, Georgian statehood (unlike Armenian) did not vanish into thin air. On the other hand, by the end of the Middle Ages Georgia had undergone its own often irreversible transformation.

Strictly speaking within less than a century after queen Tamar's reign, Georgia had become a tributary state to the Mongols. In addition to the payment of tribute, Georgians also had to serve in the Mongol armies. Bagratid rule continued, but only over a diminished, weakened, and fragmented Georgia. Not surprisingly, this Mongol hegemony was probably responsible for the emergence once again of semi-autonomous feudal lords. Central monarchical authority, quite simply, was unable to prevent the rise to power of the aristocracy. Although the crown enjoyed some respite under George V (1314-46), the interlude was too brief for any sort of recovery. Besides, the period was soon followed by the wholesale slaughter and devastation launched by Tamerlane (in 1386). In the fifteenth century these operations were in turn succeeded by Ottoman inroads. Although the Georgian monarchy barely managed to hold on to its own autonomy, "all of Christian Transcaucasia was now subjected to profound Turkic cultural and linguistic influences."[95] Characteristically, the constant pressure of warfare and invasion forced the crown to formalize its weakness. By the second half of the fifteenth century the country was divided among the members of the Bagratid royal family into three kingdoms. This collegial sovereignty soon gave way to regional separatism as well, with the emergence of five independent principalities. Remarkably, the kingdom survived well into modern times until its incorporation into the Russian empire in 1801.

[93] Golden, "The Turkic peoples and Caucasia," 63.

[94] *Ibid.*, 62-67; *Salia, History of the Georgian Nation,* 203f.; Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie*, 217-40.

[95] Golden, "The Turkic peoples and Caucasia," 66-7. For Tamerlane, see Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1:480-88.

As we should expect, the ancient Church of Georgia, led by its autocephalous catholicus of Mtskheta also suffered equally from these waves of barbarian invasion. In the end, all the same, the Church remained a focus of national unity and the defender of Georgia's Christian civilization, even as it was forced into isolation and retrenchment. As was to be the case in Byzantium, especially after the fourth crusade, Latin missionaries arrived in Georgia at the close of the first Mongol invasions to proselytize among the Orthodox. By 1329 a Latin bishopric had been established in the Georgian capital of Tiflis. Although the papacy was able to give its blessing to conversion, it was never able to provide any assistance against the Mongols. The fact that the Georgian representatives did not sign the union decree of 1439 at the council of Florence is not surprising. It was entirely in keeping with Georgia's long-lasting loyalty to Chalcedonian Orthodoxy. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Orthodox Church of Georgia together with the Church of Russia alone remained outside of Muslim occupation.

CHAPTER IV

THE BYZANTINE CHURCH IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Although the popular icon of Christian Byzantium as a perfectly immutable time zone has not yet vanished in some quarters, contemporary historiography has shown beyond any doubt that such monolithic uniformity does not correspond to historical reality. In particular, it is no longer possible to stereotype Byzantium as a sheltered society without any connection to the rest of the medieval world and its evolution. In the eleventh century, as we have already seen, the Near East underwent a radical transformation of its own. It was then that Byzantium lost its dominant position in the world and became weaker, though without losing its resilience and ability to adapt altogether. Even as the horizons were darkening, it had managed to accommodate itself to the new international context and by so doing took "its first steps toward modernity."[1] In this sense it was not very different from Latin Christendom and its own evolution. After the eleventh century certainly, neither East nor West could be described as parochial or self-centered. The age of the Comnenoi, at any rate, was distinguished by a sustained atmosphere of mutual interchange between the two worlds, unknown before the coming of the crusades and the papal revolution. Aside from the contacts that took place in this period, moreover, Byzantium was also to experience an internal cultural and intellectual vitality that was both exceptional and important. The age was clearly more than a period in which, so it is said, schism hardened. As we should expect, the Church was fully aware of this general intellectual awakening and its implications for theology; doctrinal debate was to feel its impact more than once in this age. Nor was the encounter with the West altogether fruitless. Because of the large number of Latin visitors to the Byzantine capital (Peter Grossolanus, Leo Tuscus, Hugh Eterianus, Anselm of Havelberg, to mention only a few) open public debate on the issues of the Roman primacy, the use of unleavened bread in the Latin eucharist, and the *Filioque*, became a regular feature of the period. Occasionally, western developments were to affect doctrinal discussion as well, as the council of Constantinople in 1166 indicates. Then again, the theology or rather mythology of the heretical Bogomils within the empire may have been the stimulus for the Catharist movement in southern Europe, with its clear profession of a dualistic and spiritualized Christianity.

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[1] E. Patlagean, "Byzantium in the tenth and eleventh centuries," in P. Veyne, ed., *A History of Private Life*, vol. I: *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA, 1987), 553.

1. Currents of controversy: the Roman primacy

A major contributing factor to the long and uneven estrangement between the two Churches during the later Middle Ages was unquestionably ecclesiological in nature. That this stemmed above all from the papacy's provocative understanding of its primacy is beyond doubt. If the Latin hierarchy, quite simply, was willing to acknowledge the reform papacy as "the great puppeteer"[2] of Christian Europe, Eastern Christendom for sound historical and ecclesiological reasons was unprepared to do the same. The new conceptual framework in which the papacy had managed to place itself by the end of the eleventh century was to cause incalculable damage to Christian unity. True, the liturgical and disciplinary details which had surfaced earlier during Cardinal Humbert's 1054 visit to Constantinople should not be ignored. The issue of rites was to dominate anti-Latin propaganda in Byzantium long after the 1050s. Be this as it may, the evidence (both Greek and Latin) strongly suggests that this was never the heart of the problem.[3] Even Cerularius was to allude in his letters to Leo IX that the liturgical questions he had himself raised, were not really an impediment to unity and fraternal concord. The Byzantine episcopate for the most part was to concur, and in the end actually refused to follow his initial extreme position. In the event, the archbishop of Bulgaria, Theophylact of Ohrid, was to stress in no uncertain terms that the trivial liturgical and disciplinary divergences existing within Christendom were not a cause of schism. Slandering the legitimate customs of the Western Church, he was to emphasize to one of his more conservative correspondents, was possible only when one ignores Church history. "Christian unity is threatened only by those practices which have a doctrinal implication."[4]

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[2] C.W. Hollister, *Medieval Europe: A Short History* (New York, 1982), 239.

[3] Cf. W. Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), 133. See above, p. 70-1, ch. II.

[4] P. Gautier, ed., *Théophylacte d'Archrida; Discours, traités, poésies* (Thessalonica, 1980), 279: ὡς οὐ πᾶν ἔθος ἀποσχίζειν ἐκκλησίας ἰσχύει,'αλλὰ τὸ πρὸς διαφορὰν ἄγον δόγματος. Cf. the near-identical approach of the twelfth century abbot of Monte Casino, St Bruno of Segni, *Tractatus de sacrificio azymo*, PL 165: 1085: Nos vero veraciter tenemus, imo firmiter credimus, quia quamvis sint diversi mores ecclesiarum, tamen una est fides quam indissolubiliter unitur capiti suo, id est Christo: et ipse unus, idemque permanet in suo corpore. See also below, pp. 244-6, for Theophylact.

Although the growing power of the papacy was first brought to the attention of the Byzantine world with emphatic clarity by Cardinal Humbert, its unmistakable revolutionary ecclesiological implications, it seems, were not immediately recognized. The standing synod of 1089, for example, failed to raise the question and, instead, emphasized that communion with the pope was both possible and desirable; nor was the restoration of the papal name in the diptychs ever denied outright. To be sure, a very different point of view is expressed in a letter long thought to be by this synod's president, patriarch Nicholas III.[5] The author of this text was apparently convinced that the Roman pontiff no longer possessed the primacy, since this was never based on "violence and tyranny" (which evidently was characteristic of Rome at the time) but on the Pope's identity of faith with the other patriarchates. Be this as it may, this anonymous letter (it lacks in fact both signature and date) was in all probability written early in the thirteenth century and not before the synod of 1089 (as it has been suggested). The blunt tone of the document cannot actually be reconciled with Nicholas's other known and authentic letter to pope Urban II, or with the generally friendly contacts that were then under way.[6] To be short, the text appears too advanced to have been written in the period 1085-89. Its composition is best placed after the fourth crusade or, more precisely, in the patriarchate of Germanus II (1223-40).[7]

After the launching of the first crusade, nevertheless, Byzantium did become increasingly conscious of the arguments and self-righteous intransigence of the papal reformers. This was essentially a twelfth century development. It was then at any rate that the new Roman theory of papal universal sovereignty began to command center stage in Byzantine theological literature.[8] By the end of the century, as a consequence, the Orthodox indictment of the Roman version of primacy was securely in place; all its aspects (canonical, historical, and exegetical) had been skillfully crafted. The assumption that Byzantine theologians were suddenly startled by Rome's unorthodox claims only after 1204 has no basis in fact. Actually, there was little for subsequent Byzantine polemicists to add to the subject except to elaborate. It is perhaps important to emphasize that the miscellaneous texts in which this Byzantine exposition of primacy is found are usually in the form of letters, dialogues and debates. Being chiefly concerned with the primacy, they fail to address the purely local problem of moral and canonical breakdown which the Western Church reformers had begun to address in the 1040s. They are by no means disparaging of the deep sense of responsibility and anxiety felt by reforming circles for the *libertas ecclesiae*. Byzantines would have doubtless approved of the reformers' root-and-branch approach to abuses since in the twelfth century they were themselves to launch an offensive against the exploitation of monastic foundations by lay patrons.[9] In sum, the central issue was not the western ecclesiastical reform proper, but the axis of that reform as it affected the structure and government of the Church universal.

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[5] *Regestes*, no. 956. V. Grumel, "Jerusalem entre Rome et Byzance. Une lettre inconnue du patriarche de Constantinople Nicolas III à son collégue de Jerusalem," *EO* 38 (1939), 104-17; M. Jugie, *Le Schisme byzantin* (Paris, 1941), 242 (note 2); F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Papacy* (New York, 1966), 139-40.

[6] W. Holtzmann, "Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Alexios I und Papst Urban II im Jahre 1089," *BZ* 28 (1928), 62-64.

[7] See especially, J. Darrouzès, "Les documents byzantins du XII^{e} siècle sur la primauté romaine," *REB* 23 (1965), 51.

[8] *Ibid.*, 42-88; D.M. Nicol, "The papal scandal," *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976), 141-45; J. Spiteris, *La Critica Bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII* (Rome, 1979).

Before analyzing the Byzantine understanding of the new Roman primacy, a brief synopsis of the issue as it was understood before 1100 is in order. In the first place, the East had no difficulty in explicitly recognizing Rome's presidency or primacy within the pentarchy of patriarchs. Its willingness to do so is well documented.[10] It was assumed, however, that the government of the Church was vested jointly in all five patriarchs. No one bishop or patriarchate—including the primary see in Christendom—possessed universal jurisdiction as an exclusive prerogative. Certainly primacy, though in principle never denied, was not understood or confused with doctrinal infallibility or absolute supremacy over all Churches and their hierarchy *in toto orbe*. As such, the right of any see to intervene directly in the internal affairs of another Church was alien to the Christian East.[11] Indeed, monarchical government was never part of Orthodox ecclesiology, canon law, or tradition. (It is safe to assume that this was also true in the West before the eleventh century; the special papal prerogatives listed in the *Dictatus papae* represented, as we have seen, the particular bias of reformist policy; they did not reflect catholic tradition in its historical form.) It was for this reason that the papacy's claims to jurisdiction over the Byzantine Church during Photius' patriarchate were resented. The privileges claimed by pope Nicholas I were indeed deemed uncanonical and, as such, unacceptable. Western attempts to undermine the balance of conciliarity and legitimate primacy in the Church catholic were always passionately rejected as ecclesiologically unsound. As conclusive evidence that Church structure stipulates such an equilibrium, the Byzantines often pointed to the familiar canon 34 of the apostles.

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[9] J.P. Thomas, "A Byzantine ecclesiastical reform movement," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1984), 1-16 (with rich bibliography). See below, p. 281, ch. VII).

[10] See Jugie, *Le Schisme byzantin*, 57-100. D. Knowles and D. Obolensky, *The Middle Ages*, vol. II: *The Christian Centuries* (New York, 1968), 100-102; Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Papacy*, 27-123.

[11] For one of the earliest rejections of such claims by the East (late 340 or 341) see W.H. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1984), 529.

> The bishops of every nation must acknowledge him who is first among them and account him as their head, and do nothing of consequence without his consent; but each may do those things which concern his own parish, and the country places which belong to it. But neither let him who is the first do anything without the consent of all. For so there will be oneness of mind, and God will be glorified through the Lord in the Holy Spirit.

Suffice it to say, allusions to the Petrine idea found in Byzantine texts before the eleventh century also should be understood in the same way. Churchmen invariably used the idea "rhetorically" without any real recognition of its implications; invoking it was in fact the smart thing to do, especially if the moral support of the Roman bishop was required against a powerful emperor or a heretical teaching.[12]

Invariably, twelfth century Byzantine theologians remained faithful to this earlier ecclesiological vision. Their polemic is in all essential respects in full agreement with the traditional understanding of ecclesiastical authority professed by Eastern Christendom since antiquity. Granted their examination of ecclesiastical government was to be more exhaustive than the somewhat hesitant summary observations of the first millenium. But then, the "state of reciprocal ignorance,"[13] which in part explains why the issue had not been confronted directly or defined more precisely before the twelfth century, no longer existed. Besides, by 1100 the high-medieval papacy with its armory of new canonical collections had come to its own, and a more detailed refutation was unavoidable. Indeed, western ecclesiology had by then moved inflexibly and unmistakably in the direction of papal monarchy, methodically supporting its claims by a new legalistic interpretation of the so-called Petrine texts of the New Testament.

Suffice it to say, not all of the Byzantine documents in question are of equal value. Some of their arguments are often beside the point, even contrived, while others treat the theology of primacy only marginally and therefore inadequately. This is particularly true of the debate of 1112 between the

[12] J. Meyendorff, "Ideological crises in Byzantium, 1071 to 1261," in *idem*, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* (Crestwood, NY, 1982), 82.

[13] Jugie, *Le Schisme byzantin*, 188.

archbishop of Milan, Peter Grossolanus, and several Byzantine theologians, including Eustratius of Nicaea, Nicetas Seides, a lay rhetorician, and John Phournes, the *protos* of Mount Ganos.[14] Although the discussion was wide-ranging, the question of papal authority was not raised except briefly and then superficially by Nicetas; the spotlight was focused, above all, on the *Filioque* and the unleavened bread or *azymes*.[15] Far more rewarding was the public debate of 1136 involving bishop Anselm of Havelberg, ambassador of the German emperor Lothar III to Constantinople, and Nicetas of Nicomedia. Although a separate Greek version of this disputation was apparently never made, Anselm's own detailed account, written shortly after 1149 at the request of pope Eugenius III, does survive.[16] Remarkably, although the greater part of this Latin text is reserved for Anselm's defense, the argument of both participants is rendered equitably and objectively and without distortion; each retains his own distinctly personal approach throughout. Actually, Nicetas' perceptive defense of the Orthodox case is one of the most eloquent ever made by a Byzantine churchman. No less striking is the commendable common courtesy displayed by the two bishops during the debate, even as they held their own on the battle ground. Evidently, the doors to dialogue for both participants were wide open.[17] Broadly speaking the importance of their direct theological exchange lies in the fact that for the first time the ecclesiological dichotomy dividing the Churches was fully disclosed. Of the two sessions involved, only the second, held in the Hagia Sophia, dealt with the primacy, while the first treated the *Filioque*.[18] Primacy, however, was approached by way of the topic of unleavened bread, almost as a digression to

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[14] For the literary contribution of the Byzantine contingent, see especially Beck, *Kirche*, 616-19; V. Grumel, "Autour de voyage de Pierre Grossolanus, archevêque de Milan, à Constantinople en 1112," *EO* 32 (1933), 22-33; and Darrouzès, *REB* 23 (1965), 51-59; and R. Gahbauer, *Gegen den Primat des Papstes. Studien zu Nikitas Seides: Edition, Einführung, Kommentar* (Munich, 1975).

[15] Darrouzès, *REB* 23 (1965), 55-57.

[16] *Anselmi Havelbergensis Dialogi*, *PL* 188: 1139-1248.

[17] *Ibid.*, 1163C: "Néchitès archiepiscopus Nicomédia dixit: Placet quod dicis, et humilitas tua nobis placet; nam in colloquendo et humiliter conferendo citius elucescit veritas quam si superbe et ad vincendum avidi contendamus."

[18] For a discussion of both dialogues (Book II and III of the text) see N. Russell, "Anselm of Havelberg and the union of the Churches," *Sobornost* 1 no. 2 (1979), 19-41 and 2 no. 1 (1980), 29-41. Cf. the French translation of Book II by P. Harung, "Dialogue entre Anselme de Havelberg et Néchetès de Nicomédie sur la procession du Saint Esprit," *Istina* 17 (1972), 375-425; and the critical analysis of Darrouzès, *REB* 23 (1965), 59-65. Cf. G.R. Evans, "Anselm of Canterbury and Anselm of Havelberg: The controversy with the Greeks," *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 5 (1977), 158-75.

Anselm's argument that the papacy, by virtue of its preeminent authority, was entitled to pronounce on Byzantine eucharistic practice.

Overall, bishop Anselm's position was rooted in Gregorian ideology and practice. In his insistence that the East should conform to the Roman liturgical rite, Anselm could indeed be described as being more catholic than the pope himself.[19] As we should expect, he justified Roman monarchism with the personal promise made to Peter by Jesus in the New Testament. By then, to be sure, such verses as Matt.16:18-19 had become *the* foundation-texts of Roman papalism in theological and canonical literature. Anselm at any rate viewed them as the unique and decisive argument on which the divine origin of the primacy had always been anchored; for his part, the primacy was not based on Church legislation or conciliar decree, but on Peter living in his own successors. Salvation, in the event, was found exclusively in the ship of Peter, the one Church to which the preservation of the faith was alone entrusted by divine decree. Rome's impeccable doctrinal record was proof that this was so. The East repeatedly, in contrast, had been the cradle of theological distortion, even heresy, against which the Church had to struggle to preserve its integrity. Given this understanding of the scriptural foundation of the Roman see, the German ambassador found the Byzantine concept of regional primacies resting on *conciliar* decree, to be against divine law. For Anselm, in fact, there were only three principal sees—Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria—all of which were of Petrine origin, founded by the prince of the apostles and his disciple Mark. The idea had even been confirmed by the council of Nicaea in 325, which also recognized Rome as the leading see—the mother of all Churches. Doubtless, since Roman hegemony was God-given, it was also final. Disobedience was indeed inadmissible, even unthinkable.[20] Evidently Anselm's Gregorian credentials were unimpeachable.

Nicetas' reply to his fellow disputant was polite if not deferential. The East, he was quick to stress, had no problem with the primacy as such; Rome's claims to senior status among the patriarchates or within an ecumenical council had always been acknowledged by the Church. The conciliar decisions on this matter, based not on apostolic foundation but on Rome's position as the imperial capital, were undeniable. Still, this did not mean that Christendom's leading hierarch was anything other than the bishop of the first see. He could not, in fact, call himself universal bishop—"prince of

[19] Darrouzès, *REB* 23 (1965), 65.

[20] See especially, *PL* 188:1214A-C.

priests or supreme priest or anything of the kind."[21] Pretensions of this sort were the ultimate root cause of the conflict between the Churches.

> Rome has appropriated to herself, my dear brother, the monarchy which is not contained in her office and which had divided the bishops and Churches of East and West since the partition of the empire... How shall we accept from her decrees that have been issued without consulting us and even without our knowledge? If the Roman pontiff, seated on the lofty throne of his glory, wishes to thunder at us, and, so to speak, hurl his mandates at us from on high, and if he wishes to judge us and even rule us and our Churches, not by taking counsel with us but at his own arbitrary pleasure, what kind of brotherhood, or even what kind of parenthood can this be?... We should be the slaves, not the sons, of such a Church, and the Roman see would be not the pious mother of sons but a hard and imperious mistress of slaves... For the truth of Christ has caused us to be born not in slavery but in freedom—in the bosom of mother Church... I ask your pardon when I say this about the Roman Church, for I venerate her along with you. But I cannot follow her along with you through everything; nor do I think that she should necessarily be followed through everything.[22]

This remarkably perceptive description of papal behavior was, to an unusual degree, right on target. It was a surprisingly accurate reading of western developments at the time.[23] The term *plenitudo potestatis* used to describe the papal fullness of power (the pope's supreme right to intervene in all parts of the Church, according to St. Bernard of Clairvaux) had already become commonplace among western canonists, including of course Gratian who was to publish his *Decretum* in about 1140.

In the above passage Nicetas was characteristically concerned among other things with the consequences of the universal episcopacy claimed for Rome by bishop Anselm. What was in fact being implied in the western development was the destruction of the Church's pluralistic structure of government. Papal claims to supreme spiritual and doctrinal authority quite simply, were threatening to transform the entire Church into a vast centralized diocese. Under the Roman scheme the relationship of individual sees or patriarchates to Rome becomes simply a relation of daughter to mother, or of disciple to teacher. For Nicetas, such innovations were the result of a radical reading of the Church's conciliar structure of government as revealed in the life of the historic Church. No see, regardless of its spiritual seniority, had ever been placed outside of this structure as if it were a power over or above the Church and its government. To put it otherwise, Rome's relationship to Constantinople was never interpreted by the Church in terms of naked power, jurisdiction, or obedience (as Anselm was apparently doing). On the question of obedience, to be sure, Nicetas was in good company, historically speaking. Nine centuries before, St. Cyprian had made a similar case against the pope when he politely informed the Roman incumbent at the time that dictatorship for a bishop was unbecoming: the pope had in fact no authority to insist on obedience from anyone in the Church universal. "We judge no one, nor do we propose to put out of communion those who think otherwise. None of us wishes to pose as bishop of bishops, or to force the agreement of his fellows by a tyranneous terror. Every bishop, in the fullness of his liberty and authority, retains the right to think for himself; he is no more amenable to the judgment of another, than he is at liberty to judge others."[24]

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[21] *Ibid.*, 1218A. Significantly, the pre-Gregorian canonist, Burchard of Worms, was to concur on this point (*Decretum*, *PL* 140:549-50): although the Roman bishop enjoys primacy, he could not in fact call himself *princeps sacerdotium* or *summus sacerdos*!

[22] *PL* 188:1219B-1220B.

[23] K. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1984), 3. See also note 55 below.

In emphasizing the essential equality of all Churches, Nicetas was to insist that the legislative function exercised historically and traditionally by Church councils could not be assumed by the Roman bishop. If this were possible the study of Scripture, the knowledge of the wise Greeks, and the doctrinal disciplines of past teachers would be made altogether superfluous. "All by itself, the authority of the Roman pontiff nullifies all of these... Let him alone be bishop, master, and preceptor, let him alone, as the only good shepherd, be responsible to God for everything that has been committed to him." Exactly three hundred years later Bessarion of Nicaea was to put it just as cogently, if less ironically, at the council of Florence: "We are not ignorant of the rights and privileges of the Roman Church; but we know also the limits set to these privileges... No matter how great the Roman Church is, it is notwithstanding less than an ecumenical council and the universal Church."[25] Overall, Nicetas was insisting that mutual consultation among Churches—episcopal collegiality and conciliarity, in short—had been the quintessential character of Church government from the outset. It was here that the locus of supreme authority in the Church could be found. Christendom indeed was both a diversity and a unity, a family of basically equal sister-Churches, whose unity rested not on any visible juridical authority, but on conciliarity, and on a

[24] Cited in L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church* (New York, 1909), 1:309. Cf. G.W. Clarke, trans., *The Letters of St Cyprian of Carthage* (New York, 1989), 4:69f; and H.W. Borden, ed., *A Century of Church History* (Carbondale, IL, 1988), 50.

[25] Cited in J. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1964), 267.

common declaration of faith and the sacramental life. In the end, Nicetas was to note, all Christians make their profession of faith to the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church. Nowhere in the creed are they asked to confess Rome or its primacy as an absolute external power independent of the Church and its authority. To summarize, for Nicetas ecclesiastical unity was in the last analysis really internal in essence based on a shared faith; it can never be viewed as external.[26]

According to Nicetas, the ecclesiology of communion and fraternity of the Orthodox, which was preventing them from following Rome blindly and submissively like slaves, was based on Scripture and not merely on history or tradition. Quite simply, the power to bind and to loose mentioned in the New Testament had been granted during Christ's ministry to every disciple and not just to Peter alone. This was also to be the case after the resurrection at Pentecost, when the Spirit had descended on all the apostles indifferently. In sum, no one particular Church could limit the fullness of God's redeeming grace to itself, at the expense of the others. Insofar as all were essentially identical, the fullness of catholicity was present in all equally.[27] In the event, the Petrine biblical texts, cherished by the Latins, were beside the point as arguments for Roman ecclesiology or superiority. The close logical relationship between the papal monarchy and the New Testament texts, assumed by Rome, was quite simply undocumented. For all bishops, as successors of the apostles, claim the privilege and power granted to Peter. Differently put, the Savior's words could not to be interpreted institutionally, legalistically, or territorially, as the foundation of the Roman Church, as if the Roman pontiffs were alone the exclusive heirs to Christ's commission. It is important to note parenthetically that a similar or at least kindred exegesis of the triad of Matt. 16:18, Luke 22:32 and John 21:15f. was also common in the West before the reformers of the eleventh century chose to invest it with a peculiarly "Roman" significance. Until then, the three proof-texts were viewed primarily "as the foundation of the Church, in the sense that the power of the keys was conferred on a *sacerdotalis ordo* in the person of Peter: the power granted to Peter was symbolically granted to the whole episcopate."[28] In sum, biblical Latin exegetes before the Gregorian reform did not view the New Testament texts unambiguously as a blueprint for papal sovereignty; their understanding overall was non-primatial.

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[26] *PL* 188:1220A. Cf. Y. Congar, *L'Ecclésiologie du haut Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1968), 388: "Le rejet d'une pure autorité formelle, d'une *ex sese* purement juridique, trouve ici son motif profond: ce serait la destruction du rapport de fraternité et de libre coopération; ce serait, de la part de Rome, passer d'une maternité familiale à une domination politique. Nicétas a dit cela en 1136, sept siècles avant les Slavophiles." See also the fine synopsis by J.H. Erickson, "Collegiality and primacy in Orthodox ecclesiology," *Kanon* 4 (1979), 100-12.

[27] J. Meyendorff, "St Peter in Byzantine theology," *Primacy of Peter* (Crestwood, NY, 1992), 20; and *idem*, *Theology*, 98: "Peter's succession is seen wherever the right faith is preserved and, as such, it cannot be localized geographically or monopolized by a single Church or individual."

Nicetas' final remarks dealt with his opponent's earlier argument regarding Rome's irreproachable orthodoxy or capacity to "always remain unshaken" by heresies. By and large, the bishop took a dim view of the argument and said so. As corroborative proof for Rome's primacy or jurisdictional claims it was pure fiddlestick. For although heresy was often born in the East, it was also in the East that it was suppressed and extinguished. This was accomplished in the end not by Rome's pontiffs but by the collegial labors of the eastern episcopate or, more generally, by the ecumenical councils. "For it was they who, full of zeal for the faith, condemned these heresies and provided confirmation of the true faith, sometimes with the Roman Church and sometimes without."[29] On purely historical grounds, to be short, the decisive influence upon the trinitarian and christological debates of the early Middle Ages was never the West or the Roman bishop, but the entire episcopate of the Church meeting in council. For good measure, Nicetas was to add in conclusion (though perhaps with less justification) that the reason why Rome had not succumbed to error was probably accidental, given the fact that at the time the West was a cultural backwater lacking both scholars and theologians. It is worth noting that in 1155 when pope Hadrian IV, in a somewhat different context, casually in one of his letters applied the parable of the "lost sheep" to the Eastern Church, his correspondent, Basil of Thessalonica, was indignant. The papal slur, he was to note, was unconscionable, since by God's grace, Peter's confession had always been the unshakable foundation of his Church; from this heritage of faith the Christian East had in fact never strayed.[30] Evidently, the idea that Byzantium had to submit to

[28] I.S. Robinson, "Periculosus homo: Pope Gregory VII and episcopal authority," *Viator* 9 (1978), 118. See also J. Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)* vol. 3: *The Christian Tradition* (Chicago and London, 1978), 46-47; J. Ludwig, *Die Primatworte Matth. 16:18,19 in der altkirchlichen Exegese* (Münster, 1952); and K. Froehlich, "Saint Peter, papal primacy and the exegetical tradition 1150-1300," in C. Ryan, ed., *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities 1150-1300* (Toronto, 1989), 3-44.

[29] *PL* 188:1228A.

[30] PG 119:930-33, esp. 932A; for the papal letter, see cols. 925-30. Both letters were probably written in late 1155. On a return visit to the East in 1156 Anselm of Havelberg was also to debate with Basil; see J. Schmidt, *Des Basilius aus Achrida Erzbishofs von Thessalonich bisher unedierte Dialoge* (Munich, 1901).

Rome as a wayward child to its mother or a lost sheep to its fold was inadmissible for both Nicetas and Basil.

Needless to say, the dismissive approach of Byzantine theologians regarding the doctrine of Roman indefectibility was equally applicable to individual papal incumbents. What was true of any hierarch in Christendom was certainly equally true of the pope: no one was infallible in matters of faith. As Nilus Cabasilas was to stress in the fourteenth century, "as long as the pope observes due order and remains in the truth, he preserves the first place which belongs to him by right...But if he departs from the truth and refuses to return to it, he deserves condemnation."[31] All the same, it is worth adding that Nicetas failed to insist on the point and did not, as a consequence, use the censure of pope Honorius I at the sixth ecumenical council against Anselm.[32] The omission was perhaps deliberate. The exaggerated politeness of both parties in the debate may have prevented any allusion to the fact that Honorius had indeed been anathematized as a heretic in 681 and that his successors until the eleventh century were required formally to condemn his name at their consecration. That it was brought to the attention of the Latins soon after 1204, when such discreet reticence was no longer necessary, is certain. John Mesarites was to do so for the first time in his dialogue of 1206 with the Latin patriarch, Thomas Morosini.[33]

Arguably, few twelfth century disputations involving Latin and Byzantine theologians were as dispassionate as the one just summarized. As commentators, Nicetas and his partner in dialogue, Anselm, were not only objective and learned, but singularly courteous as well. More important is the fact that most of the exegetical and historical arguments dealing with the primacy were fully disclosed by the two speakers. By the end of the discussion at any rate both parties were fully conscious of the ecclesiological dichotomy dividing their respective Churches. Nicetas had certainly put his finger on the radical novelties introduced and enforced in the West since the 1050s. In his assessment of the new reactivated papacy he was able to demonstrate that its monarchical pretensions and claims to universal episcopacy were ecclesiologically shaky. In stressing the collegial and conciliar principle of ecclesial structure, he was convinced he had expressed a permanent truth about the nature of the Church and its unity. For his part, it was absurd to claim that unity was alone guaranteed by obedience to Rome.

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[31] *De primatu papae*, *PG* 149:728D-729A.

[32] For Honorius, see J. Meyendorff, *The Church in History* II, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions* (Crestwood, NY, 1988), 307, 372.

[33] A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion*, 1-3 (Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse) (Munich, 1922-23), 1:52-63.

But if the Byzantine brief on papal absolutism is to be fully appreciated, one other encounter needs to be summarized. This exchange, which took place at the very end of the century (1199-1200), was a correspondence between patriarch John X Camaterus and his western colleague, Innocent III. As it often happens with Byzantine documents, the patriarchal replies (unlike Innocent's own letters) were largely unknown and unedited until recently, when they were finally published.[34] Although the pope's letters could be described as an ultra-papal commentary on *Tu es Petrus*, his ideas in the end were not very different from Anselm's. The notion that Rome is the "mother" of all Churches (the ark of salvation, as he put it) to which every see must subscribe, was as we have seen Anselmian as well. Likewise, Innocent's call for submission and the return of the Byzantine Church to the Roman fold (if it wished to be saved) is similar to Anselm's expressed convictions. Still, the pope is far more emphatic about the fullness of his jurisdiction and power. Suffice it to say, Camaterus, like Nicetas before him, was just as puzzled at these ideas. The belief that Rome should sit in judgment as "the head, the universal and catholic mother of Churches everywhere in the world" was for the patriarch, at any rate, odd in the extreme, since the idea was conspicuously absent from the Gospel; nor had the ecumenical councils ever authorized such a doctrine. Rome had obviously conveniently forgotten that it was only one among several great sees within Christendom. On the other hand, if the reason for the papal claims were Peter's preaching and death in Rome, the pope was misinformed and mistaken. For all the Churches of God had received the same Gospel from the other disciples as well as from Peter. Rome's conclusion that Christ's commission to Peter was exclusive and unique to itself was, as such, inadmissible: "for we believe this no less of the other apostles." No one disciple was invested with a dignity superior to that of the others.

In emphasizing the equality of all the apostles (as well as the special titles and functions exercised by both Paul and James in the early Church) the patriarch was not rejecting Peter's personal primacy among the apostles, or the pope's subsequent primacy within the episcopate. On the contrary, as the patriarch was careful to stress, a certain analogy actually existed between Peter's relationship with the other disciples and Rome's relationship with other bishops. However, since all the apostles were vested with the same power, this meant that no one was in the end subject to Peter. It was presumptuous to conclude from Peter's primacy that the apostolic choir had "to obey him as chief and master, leaving thus to the Church of the Romans a similar universal primacy." Rome's primacy among the patriarchates was not an extension of Peter's leadership in the apostolic college. Besides, given the fact that Peter's mission was fundamentally universal, any attempt to "confine" or localize his succession exclusively to Rome was nonsense. The contention lacked the support both of Scripture and tradition. This point, not surprising, was to be echoed later by other Byzantine writers. Nilus Cabasilas in the fourteenth century was to phrase the argument somewhat differently, but the idea was essentially the same. "Peter indeed is both apostle and leader of the apostles, but the pope is neither an apostle (for the apostles appointed pastors and teachers, not other apostles) nor the leader of the apostles. Peter is the teacher of the entire universe..., whereas the pope is only the bishop of Rome."[35]

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[34] A. Papadakis and Alice Mary Talbot, "John X Camaterus confronts Innocent III: An unpublished correspondence," *BS* 33 (1972), 26-41. Letters of Innocent in *PL* 214:327-9; 758-65. For a recent detailed assessment of Innocent's allegedly moderate view on primacy, see G. Hagedorn, "Papst Innocenz III. und Byzanz am Vorabend des Vierten Kreuzzugs (1198-1203)," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23 (1974), 3-20; 105-36.

But if the Roman primacy did not in the end originate with Peter, where did it ultimately stem from? For the patriarch, as for all Byzantine Orthodox theology, there was but one answer: it was to be found in the life of the historic Church itself, or more precisely, in the canonical activity of its ecumenical councils. Contrary to Innocent's firm conviction regarding the Petrine proof-texts, the patriarch insisted that the origin of the Roman primacy (and of all other primacies for that matter) was determined not by *divine* decree but by Church legislation, that is, by purely *historical* factors or considerations. In the end, it was on Rome's preeminent political position, as the imperial residence and center of the empire, that the councils of the Church had based their decision to invest Rome with the primacy. Primacy did not arise from Christ's promise to Peter or from "apostolicity" but from the contingencies of politics and history, or from purely pragmatic considerations faced in the past by church councils.

[35] *PG* 149:704D-705A. Not surprising, Nilus is equally critical (716A, 728A) of the typical Latin distinction between the "power of jurisdiction" and the "power of orders." "When the pope is ordained by bishops he does not receive a higher power than bishop: no one can give what he does not have. Therefore he is not superior to bishops; he is as one of them, and subject to all the laws to which the episcopal order is subject...Whence he cannot regulate ecclesiastical matters without their counsel, as canon 34 of the apostles indicates."

> We declare that Peter was set by Christ before the other disciples, and in honor precedes the others and was exalted by such primacy. Although we believe the Church of Rome is first in rank and honor, as among sisters of equal honor, among the other Churches of God honored with patriarchal rank, at no time whatsoever have we been taught that she is their mother or is comprehensive of them. Such primacy and honor have been allotted to her over the years not because Peter was made bishop in Rome by Christ (surely this is not a tradition supported or handed down by Scripture) or because he died there. Indeed, the first argument limits the honor granted the apostle, by confining to Rome alone, the man who was sent to circumcised Hebrews everywhere in the world; the second, is hardly a source of pride in Rome. Such honor has been granted to your Church because at the time it was exalted by an emperor and senate, neither of which is found there any longer.[36]

The lucid ecclesiology of this passage needs neither analysis nor long commentary. It is important only to note that primacy for the patriarch did not mean absolute sovereignty or dominion by any one see over the Church universal. Any attempt by the primary see to corner the market on such terms as "universal," "mother," or "teacher" is ruled out. As it happens, Rome is merely "the first in rank as among sisters of equal honor." Its relationship to the other local Churches and patriarchates is above all a relationship of equality. On this point the patriarch appears to imply significantly enough that Rome's position parallels Peter's own leadership role in the apostolic college.

Such then were some of the more important arguments of the Christian East against the high-medieval papacy by the end of the twelfth century. To say it once more, the explosive character of the papal claims did not become immediately apparent to everyone at the time. It took a while, at any rate, for theologians to appreciate the inherent "logic" used by the West to support the Petrine monarchy. Even so, by the end of the twelfth century, a straightforward, if not always exhaustive, formulation of the Byzantine position had been hammered out. Although writers were not always systematic, the embracing sweep of their indictment was eloquently plain and it carried conviction; what they had to say about the true nature of the Petrine primacy was essentially valid. In the event, subsequent Byzantine assessments of the question were to build on the same solid foundation established by twelfth century polemicists. As a rule, new arguments against the Roman primacy in Byzantine theological literature were rare after 1200 (in sharp contrast to the *Filioque*).[37] To be sure, the Orthodox reaction has often been interpreted in terms of conservatism, as Byzantium's alleged overall hostility to theological innovation. This interpretation is both superficial and untenable, however. Byzantine writers, such as patriarch John X or Nicetas of Nicomedia, had something important to say and their authentic grasp of the question was by no means a mere sterile intellectual exercise. Issues of genuine principle were in fact raised, both ecclesiological and exegetical in nature, demonstrating that the papal argument was by no means unanswerable. Their contention that the papal version of primacy was something of an aberration and as such ecclesiologically indefensible was at any rate not a matter of conservatism.

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[36] Papadakis and Talbot, *BS* 33 (1972), 39-40. Cf. the comments of the patriarch's near-contemporary, Demetrius Tornikes, in J. Darrouzès, ed., *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès: Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1970), 351: "It is thus not as a result of a plan or arrangement of a spiritual nature that the thrones of our Churches have acquired superiority or inferiority, but as a result of the order of preeminence and subordination of the principalities of the world...For Churches are not vested with supremacy because of the burial places of the apostles ('αποστόλων ἐνταφιασμοῖς) but because of the disposition taken by the holy ecumenical councils."

As we have seen the Byzantine indictment against Rome also had a strong historical component. A major reason why Orthodox writers were unsympathetic to the Roman restatement of primacy was precisely because it was so totally lacking in historical precedent. Granted that by the twelfth century papal theorists had become experts in their ability to circumvent the inconvenient facts of history. And yet, the Byzantines were ever ready to hammer home the theme that the historical evidence was quite different. Although the Orthodox may not have known that Gregorian teaching was in part drawn from the forged decretals of pseudo-Isidore (850s), they were quite certain that it was not based on catholic tradition in either its historical or canonical form. On this score, significantly, modern scholarship agrees with the Byzantine analysis. As it happens, contemporary historians have repeatedly argued that the universal episcopacy claimed by the eleventh-century reformers would have been rejected by earlier papal incumbents as obscenely blasphemous (to borrow the phrase of a recent scholar).[38] The title "universal" which was advanced formally at the time was actually explicitly rejected by earlier papal giants such as Gregory I.[39] To be brief, modern impartial scholarship is reasonably certain that the conventional conclusion which views the Gregorians as defenders of a consistently uniform tradition is

[37] For a brief synopsis of the literature after 1204, see Gahbauer, *Gegen den Primat des Papstes*, 226-32.

[38] See the eloquent studies by R.A. Marcus, entitled "Papacy and hierarchy" and "Papal primacy: Light from the early Middle Ages," in the author's *From Augustine to Gregory the Great* (London, 1983), no.17 (esp. 30-31) and no.16 respectively. The author correctly believes that Congar's *L'Ecclésiologie*, supports his interpretation. See also C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), 31.

[39] Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 108; and Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity*, 304-7.

largely fiction. "The emergence of a papal monarchy from the eleventh century onwards cannot be represented as the realization of a homogeneous development, even within the relatively closed circle of the western, Latin, Church."[40] It has indeed been suggested that the conviction that *papatus* (a new term constructed on the analogy of *episcopatus* in the eleventh century)[41] actually represented a rank or an order higher than that of bishop, was a radical revision of Church structure and government. The discontinuity was there and to dismiss it would be a serious oversight.

2. Changes in theological method: the West

Unlike the new manner of conceiving the government of the Church, the rise of scholasticism has seldom been viewed as a cause of schism. Besides, Byzantine intellectuals during this period were by no means immune to the attractions of critical theological analysis. The Byzantine philosophers, John Italus and Michael Psellus, and the early scholastics, Peter Abelard and St Anselm, were actually near-contemporaries. Still, the fact remains that the emerging scholasticism of the West was another alarming symptom of the disintegration of the common Christian tradition—the intellectual counterpart to the ecclesiological evolution that has just been described; as with the issue of ecclesial authority, the Latins were before long to alter the rules of the game for the doing of theology as well.[42]

Suffice it to say, the rapid rise of higher education in the West of which scholasticism is an expression should not be divorced from its larger historical context. In all essential respect the new interest in learning was part of the general social and political reawakening that characterized Europe after the anarchy and violence of the first feudal age. By the late eleventh century this new vitality was to lead to the rise of towns, the growth of population and a new merchant class, to say nothing of the new monasticism, the renewal in ecclesiastical discipline, and papal authority.[43] In general terms, higher education in the central Middle Ages is best explained by the instructional tradition that developed first in the flourishing cathedral schools of the late eleventh century. Though many of these institutions could trace their origin back to the Carolingian period, it was not until the early twelfth century that they were to develop and mature into independent centers of higher learning. This intellectual vitality was due in part to the increasing number of wandering scholars who were all the while attaching themselves to the old schools. Before long, given the increasing mobility and prosperity of the age, the number of students also swelled in proportion. By the end of the century with an expanding enrollment and a more diversified teaching faculty, many of the cathedral schools had crystallized into universities. One of the most influential bequests of the Middle Ages to the modern world had become reality by 1200.

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[40] Marcus, *From Augustine to Gregory the Great*, 355 (no.16); cf. G. Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (New York, 1979), 116.

[41] Cf. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 107.

[42] J. de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1948); M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century* (Chicago and London, 1957).

[43] R.W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism* (New York, 1970), 10.

That this spectacular expansion in education affected theological study in various ways has already been implied. In the first place, henceforth all new ideas in theology were to come from these new institutions. Before long, the university of Paris, in point of fact, became the leading theological center in Europe. The setting of theology by 1200 had shifted permanently from the cloister to the classroom. The organized teaching and writing of theology, which had until then been confined primarily to the monk and the monastery, was to be done in the new city schools by secular urban teachers or masters. The prominent part played by the monastery in the preservation, creation, and diffusion of culture in the West since the sixth century was lost. By the end of the twelfth century, quite simply, its leadership of learning had passed over to the new universities situated in the areas of greatest urban development. Granted a number of abbeys continued to hold on to their intellectual primacy for some time, including Bec in the north of France under St Anselm, and of course Cluny itself. But these were to prove the exception and did not survive the century as centers of learning and theological creativity.[44] By 1200, theology was simply no longer the preserve of the rural and remote monastery.

More fundamentally, by then theology was also no longer liturgical, contemplative, or traditional. Henceforth it was to be shaped almost exclusively by deductive rational thought, or by the techniques learned from the study of dialectic. In its simplest etymological sense scholasticism has often been defined as the instructional methodology developed by the schools of medieval Europe. And yet scholasticism can also be characterized as a system of philosophical speculation in which theology is provided with a logical substructure or content; its essence could be said to lie in the urgent need felt by medieval thinkers to understand Christian doctrine rationally. Exploring the relationship between reason and revelation was always at the heart of the scholastic method. "Once the process had started, there was nothing to stop it, and by the end of the eleventh century the practice of scholastic debate was emerging as a central feature of the educational system."[45] The pioneer of the movement was to be the well-known St Anselm (1033-1109), the famous abbot of Bec and later archbishop of Canterbury. Of course long before Anselm medieval thinkers were aware of the Augustinian argument that theological disputation could be enhanced by the skillful use of philosophy and, indeed, dialectics, the method of rigorous logical analysis and deduction. As a matter of fact a limited knowledge of the latter was available during the early Middle Ages, thanks to Boethius' translations of some of Aristotle's logical treatises. Still, the attempt to organize the data of faith into a rational body of knowledge, to better fathom the mysteries contained in the Scriptures by means of disciplined rational argument is rooted in Anselm and his immediate disciples.[46] Specifically, the movement has its beginning in the purely Anselmian conviction (shared by every subsequent scholastic) that rational reasoning could effectively illumine and deepen one's understanding of what is accepted by faith. True, Anselm's famous formula—*fides quarens intellectum*—implied that revealed truth was to be the starting point. "I do no seek to understand that I may believe, but I believe that I may understand: for this I also believe that unless I believe I shall not understand."[47] For Anselm, nevertheless, the obvious priority possessed by faith or revelation did not in any way invalidate the use of human reason as a path to truth. Man's striving to understand his faith, to find logical consistency in what he believed, was, on the contrary, a wholly laudable, even essential, exercise. That Anselm was able to put his speculation to the test is well known. His tight logical investigation of such doctrines as the incarnation and atonement (in *Cur Deus Homo?*) were to earn him the title "founder of scholasticism." The high-medieval rationalism of the thirteenth century does indeed lead back in a straight line to St Anselm.

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[44] P. Wolff, *The Awakening of Europe* (Baltimore, 1968), 242; R.L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), especially the papers by J.W. Baldwin and R.W. Southern.

During the early stages of the movement an equally decisive contribution was to be made by the intellectually independent Peter Abelard (1079-1142). As his *Sic et Non* illustrates, Abelard was in part responsible for perfecting the scientific method and technique of scholasticism. His ruthless pursuit of theology as a rationalistic activity, in which he insisted that all inconsistencies and discrepancies found in the fathers and Scriptures were to be laid bare for the reader (his aim was to invite question but not skepticism) was to influence theologians and canonists alike. Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* and Gratian's *Decretum* both demonstrate what could be achieved with the help of such techniques. Both authors were also to go beyond the restless Abelard by seeking to reconcile the apparent contradictions in the traditional authorities deliberately left unexplained in *Sic et Non*. Arguably, by mid-century, early western scholastics were well on the way to reducing the study of doctrine (to say nothing of canon law) to a rigorous and exact science. Granted opposition to this shift in theological method was not unknown. Both Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter Damian were convinced that the new rationalism was unnecessary and perhaps even harmful to salvation. "One knows God, insofar as one loves him" was to be St Bernard's argument. And yet in the end such hostility (including the double condemnation of Abelard in 1121 and 1140 engineered by Bernard) was unable to arrest the growth of the new methodology. The desire to penetrate the content of Christian belief by means of logic enlightened by faith was off and running.

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[45] Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, 12.

[46] According to E. Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1938), 27: Anselm and other scholastics "remain famous in the history of theology for their recklessness in giving rational demonstrations of all revealed truths...This bold ambition to procure necessary reasons for the revealed dogmas had never entered the mind of Augustine."

[47] F.S. Schmitt, *Sancti Anselmi Opera Omnia* (Seckau, 1938), 1:100.

Although the creative contributions of the twelfth century scholars were obviously crucial, the full potential of scholasticism was not realized until the following century. For this maturation—the so-called "high scholasticism" of the thirteenth century—the recovery of the full corpus of Aristotle and the growth of the universities, as international degree-granting institutions, was essential. As it happened, the impact of the full translation into Latin of Aristotle on the new intellectual discipline of dialectics was revolutionary. For scholasticism, in particular, the age was one of synthesis and consolidation. The great systematic treatises, commentaries, and summas that were produced, make the century one of the most seminal and significant in the history of systematic theology. Of the great system-builders of the century no one was perhaps as important or gifted as the Dominican, Thomas Aquinas. That his elaborate all-embracing synthesis harked back to Anselm's initial position of faith seeking understanding is not surprising. He, too, was to insist on the autonomy and importance of reason.

> Although the natural light of the human mind does not suffice for the manifestation of the things that are made manifest by faith, yet it is impossible that what is divinely taught to us by faith be contrary to the things with which we are endowed by nature. For the one or the other would then have to be false, and, since both come to us from God, God would be to us an author of falsehood, which is impossible. Rather,

> the situation is this. Since within the imperfect there is a certain imitation of what is perfect, though an incomplete one, in what is known through natural knowledge there is a certain likeness of what is taught to us by faith.[48]

In sum, Thomism also begins from the conviction that an essential harmony exists between revelation and reason; both are compatible, even complementary. Ultimately the gift of grace does not destroy or remove nature but perfects it. After Albertus Magnus and his talented student, St Thomas, one could justifiably argue that the "christianization of Aristotle" had indeed been completed.

On the other hand, the period also produced other system-builders who were by no means always eager to concur with St Thomas. Scholastic theological speculation at any rate should not be equated with Thomism. There were other ways to approach the problems and issues raised in the schools, as the work of Albertus Magnus, Alexander of Halles and others, illustrate. Besides, in addition to the Aristotelian tradition, the Platonic tradition prospered equally at the same time. The latter system had its roots in Augustine, who had of course sought to christianize Plato and the Neoplatonists in the fourth century; one of its more eloquent representatives was the minister-general of the Franciscan order, St Bonaventure, a contemporary of St Thomas. These schools of thought were also at the center of a major medieval philosophical debate regarding the nature of "universals" or Platonic archetypes. But Thomism was frequently questioned in the fourteenth century as well. Time and again it was overtaken, although never altogether overturned, by the teaching of Duns Scotus and William of Ockham. In the western theological landscape Thomism evidently was not sovereign. Diversity instead tended to prevail. And yet, among the different western approaches to theology, Thomism possibly was more faithful to the eastern tradition than some of its opponents. The nominalist approach of the Franciscan Ockham, with its tacit denial of any real possibility of sanctification, for instance, has little in common with patristic teaching. The well-known admiration for St Thomas expressed by the fifteenth century Byzantine, Gennadius Scholarius, was, in the final analysis, not without basis.

Apart from its emphasis on logic, one of the more salient features of the scholastic method concerned its approach to the proof from authority, the so-called argument from biblical and patristic sources. The rejection, or at best deemphasis, of such proof was often at the heart of the transformation of theology into a rationalist activity. Granted, revelation always had precedence over reason. All scholastics, as we have seen, invariably used revealed truth as their point of departure; the authority of the Bible and the fathers governed all their activity. Logic, on the other hand, was supposed to be exploited much like a tool for understanding the content of revealed doctrine. (In the *Divine Comedy*, significantly, it was Beatrice, symbol of theology, who was destined to guide Dante to eternal beatitude rather than the poet Virgil, symbol of classical rationalism.) And yet, since the whole object was to grasp official theology philosophically, traditional authorities in the last analysis had to be dismissed or ignored in the process. All appeal to tradition had to be firmly excluded. Doctrine was to be defended and proven by intellectual argument only, without the support of biblical and patristic authority, and with "Christ aside"—*Christo remoto*—as Anselm had boldly phrased it in *Cur Deus Homo*?[49] Indeed, the goal was to try to transcend the boundaries set by traditional theology, with its frequent simple restatement of old answers, by focusing on rational demonstration, on dialectical relationships, and on the definition, identification, and classification of doctrine. Theology was to become a formal academic subject or science—a university discipline. Significantly, it was with Abelard that the term "theology," used until then to designate scriptural studies (*sacra pagina*), first became identified with the new highly abstract scientific theology of scholasticism.[50] That the reconciliation and synthesis between Greek philosophy and revelation achieved in due time by the Latin world marked a radical shift away from the theological methodology preferred until then by both Churches is indisputable. Doctrine was "analyzed, defined and codified in a way for which there was no previous parallel" in either East or West.[51] In the long run this unilateral change in the rules of the game on the part of the Latin world could not but affect the future of East-West relations. Logic-oriented theology at any rate was to widen the distance between the two worlds.[52]

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[48] P. Mandonnet, ed., *S. Thomae Aquinatis Opuscula Omnia* (Paris, 1927), 3:50.

As noted earlier, the new dialectic was to affect canon law as well. Church law soon also became an influential discipline, even a science, much like the new systematic study of the evidence of divine revelation. More fundamentally, it was also to become a factor of great importance in the life of the papal revolution. That its great growth was due in part to Gregorian theologians is not surprising. Granted canonists were at first primarily interested in reconciling the conflicts and discrepancies of their authorities and in imposing order on their varied material. Before long, however, they were to become papal propagandists as well, thanks to the Gregorian reformers' need to assert the legislative authority of the pope in the new legal system that was being created at the time. Quite simply, the spectacular advance of this practical discipline is also linked to the reactivated papacy and its apologists who wished to give legal strength and solidity to their abstract assertions of papal sovereignty. It is by no means an accident that the new wave of canonical studies coincided with the rise of papal monarchy in Latin Christendom. It is in point of fact the canonists who were before long to make the Roman pontiff not only supreme judge but supreme legislator in Christendom. The sweeping law-making powers ascribed to the popes by canonists were in the end to give substance and muscle to the new papacy.

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[49] Cf. the discussion by S. Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven and London, 1980), 50.

[50] De Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique*, 83; Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 5-6.

[51] Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 362.

[52] K. Ware, "Scholasticism and Orthodoxy: theological method as a factor in the schism," *Eastern Churches Review* 5 (1973), 16-27; Meyendorff, *Theology*, 64.

Of course, the recovery and study of classical Roman law early in the twelfth century also inspired canonists in developing a corresponding ecclesiastical discipline. The task of systematizing and harmonizing the massive legislation of past councils, and of the precedents and pronouncements of various pontiffs and Church fathers into a single comprehensive collection, was accomplished first at Bologna, by the monk Gratian (1140). The result, his famous *Concordance of Discordant Canons*, or more commonly, *Decretum*, was to become the foundation of western canon law. Although manuals of Church law were known before 1140, none had been as complete as the new *Decretum*. Above all, in contrast with its partial predecessors, the new codification was furnished with a unified design; it was arranged not only topically but systematically, even logically. The entire manual was actually provided with a "dialectical" structure: all existing conflicting authorities, gaps, or discrepancies in the texts, were carefully lined up to be reconciled. As with the new logic-oriented science of theology, in brief, there was a rational weighing-up of arguments for and against, followed by their resolution. The work was at once a text of law and a commentary. This arrangement, as we should expect, was a great benefit to its users, including Gratian's immediate successors and subsequent commentators, the so-called Decretists, who were to continue his work of "harmonization." Why this initially purely private achievement soon became the authoritative text in western ecclesiastical courts and the foundation of all future canonical study in the schools of Europe is obvious.

But the *Decretum Gratiani* became an instrument of papal absolutism as well, to say nothing of its contribution to the growth of papal administrative unity and efficiency. To repeat, it was inevitable that Gregorians from the outset should turn to the canon lawyers for appropriate legal precedents, texts, and arguments, to support both their claims and deliberate aggressive centralization. In particular, their need to define the pope's supreme judicial authority over the Church—as *iudex totius ecclesiae*—soon became urgent. Indeed, if Gregory VII's *Dictatus papae* is a faithful guide, the entire canonistic activity of the early reformers was aimed at rediscovering and defining the supposedly forgotten privileges of the Roman pontiff. Gratian's definitive summary was to contribute to this enterprise in a fundamental way, both by the burst of legal scholarship that his codification was to generate and by the emphasis it was to place on papal authority. Quite simply, the reformers' promotion of the Church as a *regnum* or government, with the pope as monarch, was to become the foundation stone of Gratian's structure. For the monk of Bologna the pope's omnipotence as supreme judge in all ecclesiastical matters, and as the source of juridical authority in the Church, was at any rate never in doubt. For its part, the Roman Church by virtue of its authority was "alone able to judge concerning all men but no one is permitted to make judgment concerning it."[53] Indeed, in the end, the bishop of Rome was not even bound by the laws because he makes the laws.[54] Such pronouncements, neatly summarizing the ideological progress made by the Gregorian movement in the period 1050-1150, were of course continued by Gratian's successors. They were helpful in the subsequent full unfolding of a separate law consisting of papal decretals—a new law that was both papal in origin and papal in spirit. Increasingly, in fact, the view of canonists was to be that papal decretals were both equal and superior to the canons of the ecumenical councils.[55] Evidently papal authority had absorbed all other authority in the Church! To put it more bluntly, thanks to the decretists, by the end of the twelfth century, the popes were for all intents and purposes in possession of Justinian's sweeping law-making powers. It is a commonplace, but one worth repeating, that "it is in the sphere of canon law that the Gregorian reform strikes the reader as unmistakably revolutionary."[56]

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[53] Gratian, *Decretum*, c.9 q.3 dictum post c.9 in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol.1 (Leipzig, 1879).

[54] *Decretum*, c. 25 q.1 post c.16.

[55] G. Le Bras, *et al.*, *L'âge classique 1140-1378. Sources et théories du droit* (Paris, 1965), 133; Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy*, 103-105.

[56] I.S. Robinson, "Church and papacy," in J.H. Burns, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1988), 277.

Given these legal developments, it is not surprising that one of the more fundamental consequences of the Gregorian revolution should have been the transformation of the papacy into the most complex tribunal in Christendom. As early as the pontificate of pope Urban II, the expression *curia*, normally understood as a law court, was actually being used to describe the papal household. This is to say, in other words, the *Curia Romana* was beginning to be viewed as the ecclesiastical counterpart of the secular law court of a king or a feudal vassal (*curia regis*). The new legalism was beginning to affect the papacy deeply. In due course this was to lead to an unending flow of litigants to Rome and, necessarily, to an increase in the volume of legal business for the papacy. As a matter of plain fact legal rather than religious functions were to set the pattern of papal activity for the rest of the central Middle Ages.[57] Practically every papal incumbent in the period 1100-1300 was to be a lawyer. The Western Church was invaded by canonists and, for a time, even occupied by them. In the papal chambers, as St Bernard had once feared, more was being heard of the law of Justinian than of the law of Christ.[58] Sadly, by the fourteenth century as we shall see, the papacy's legal involvements were to result in abuse and corruption as well. If the twelfth century satires on the Roman *curia* can be trusted, abuse was already a problem. This development was to prove tragic in the long run, both for the Western Church as a whole and for the papacy in particular.

3. Currents of thought: the East

Like the West, Byzantium was also attracted to Aristotelian logic and Platonic speculation. It was inevitable that this should be so, given the fact that the tradition of Greek antiquity was an essential element of Byzantine culture. The argument that Byzantine intellectuals felt comfortable and confident with this inheritance is a truism. As the polymath Psellus was to put it, the ancients were Byzantium's "own writers," the very source of its cultural chauvinism. After the Macedonian revival of the ninth century, the tradition of Greek learning was to continue virtually without interruption until the end of the empire.[59] In a very real sense, our present knowledge of Greek classical literature is largely dependent on this renewal in the age of Photius and Arethas of Caesarea. In the eleventh century the tradition was to

[57] R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1970), 111, 131.

[58] *De Consideratione*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, *Sancti Bernardi Opera* (Rome, 1963), 3:381-493; *PL* 182:727f.

[59] N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Baltimore, 1983), 89-147; P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971); and G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie* (Munich, 1977).

gain further momentum with the reorganization of the imperial university of Constantinople and its two institutions of learning—the school of philosophy and the school of law. Inevitably, during this centralization of higher education, under the direction of such teachers as John Xiphilinus, John Italus, Michael Psellus, and their friends and pupils, legal and philosophical scholarship flourished. A fresh group of professional academics, a new urban intelligentsia, was emerging. No less inevitable perhaps was the fact that this age of intense intellectual activity and awakening was to be far more creative than its predecessor, the encyclopedic literary revival under the early Macedonians. The scholarly study of Plato and Aristotle, resumed again after centuries of neglect, was no longer purely antiquarian or imitative.

In some ways the renewed preoccupation with philosophy, law, and dialectic, which the more structured Byzantine institutions of higher education began to encourage in the mid-eleventh century, parallels the diverse achievements of the West, especially the growth of scholasticism and legal studies.[60] Although the institutionalization of schools and the interest displayed by established law and philosophy faculties in both East and West did not develop in the same direction, the two worlds clearly mirrored each other. The promising "intimations of rationalism," to say nothing of the other changes of a socio-economic nature that occurred in eleventh and twelfth century Byzantium, were related to the broad transformation of the medieval world as a whole.[61] The common intellectual efforts and concerns of the two worlds at any rate indicate that neither was sealed off from the other. Mutual intellectual interchange and contact certainly did exist (to repeat), even if it was often unfriendly.

The prominent part played by Michael Psellus (1018-79) in the educational innovations connected with the restoration of the university under Constantine IX is well known. Actually he was the first among Byzantium's new urban elite to be appointed professor of philosophy and to carry the title of *hypatos ton philosophon*. His productive career, vast literary output and, of

[60] R. Browning, "Enlightenment and repression in Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries," *Past and Present* 69 (1975), 3-23, esp. 19-23; M.V. Anastos, "Some aspects of Byzantine influence on Latin thought," M. Clagget, ed., *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society* (Madison, 1966), 131-88; and the still useful paper by S. Salaville, "Philosophie et théologie ou épisodes scholastiques à Byzance de 1059 à 1117," *EO* 29 (1930), 132-56.

[61] A.P. Kazhdan and A.W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1985), 158; A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200* (Cambridge, 1990).

course, teaching, were to influence a whole generation of scholars. Given his general penchant for philosophical inquiry, particularly Neoplatonism, it is not surprising that he was also a vigorous, even eloquent, supporter of dialectic for theological purpose. In defending himself against the attacks of his jurist-friend and subsequent patriarch, John VIII Xiphilinus (1064-75), Psellus maintained that such inquiry served a practical purpose. Syllogistic reasoning, invented and perfected by Hellenic wisdom, was indeed beneficial to both theology and philosophy. "To argue dialectically is not contrary to Church doctrine nor a method alien to philosophy, but rather only an instrument of truth and the means by which the answer to the question posed is discovered."[62] As a hermeneutical tool of reason, at any rate, the device was entirely compatible with true piety and doctrine. On this point Psellus was certain, even immovable. "I may belong entirely to Christ, but I refuse to deny the wiser of our writers or the knowledge of reality, both intelligible and sensible."[63] Overall, Psellus' support of syllogistic argument and more broadly of Hellenism, was similar in principle to the defense of dialectic espoused by western scholasticism. St Anselm was Psellus' slightly younger contemporary.

Of course Psellus was sensitive to the fact that the truths of Christianity could not be compromised. Any element in the pagan philosophical systems shown to be incompatible with official Church teaching had to be rejected. Nor could logical analysis be used methodically to resolve every doctrinal problem. Psellus' passionate denial that he was actually entirely under Plato's influence was grounded on such arguments. Doubtless the *hypatos* of philosophers managed to remain within the traditional boundaries of dogmatic theology. By cautiously formally avoiding any serious collision with the authorities, his religious loyalty never became a matter of public debate. His denials of apostasy or heresy, at any rate, were found convincing, even when his protests were so charged with insincerity and invention that they could not be taken at face value.[64] Evidently, his disgrace in 1055, when he lost his faculty position, was temporary since, before long, he was back at the court as imperial tutor. Conceivably, the same would have been true of John Italus, Psellus' pupil and successor to the chair of philosophy at the university, had he been more cautious. As it turned out, Italus was rather unfortunate in his efforts to interpret Christian doctrine in terms of rational principles. He was eventually brought before the patriarchal tribunal and condemned in two successive synodal proceedings (1076/77 and 1082).[65] Not surprising, his errors, enshrined in the eleven anathemas added to the *Synodicon* by the synods, are virtually all doctrinal in nature. These include the assertion that the incarnation and the hypostatic union could be explained in terms of logic (1); perverse explanations or denials of the miracles of Christ and his saints (6); the conviction that the pagan philosophers (the first heresiarchs) were of greater importance than the Church fathers (5); the admission that ideas and matter were eternal (4 and 8); the denial of the bodily resurrection (9); the false belief in the pre-existence of souls (10); and the treatment of pagan literature as an independent source of truth rather than as a tool for educational purposes or instruction (7).[66]

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[62] K.N. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi* (Venice, 1872), 5:447.

[63] *Ibid.*, 5:450. For a survey of Psellus' "theological system," see J. Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)* vol. 2: *The Christian Tradition* (Chicago and London, 1974), 242-50.

[64] Cf. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 158.

It is true, Italus' trial was partially politically motivated and reflected the tension between the new intelligentsia and the political establishment; it is likely that the new dynasty of Alexius I Comnenus, founded months before the last synodal proceeding involving John Italus, was eager to give the appearance of being orthodoxy's protector.[67] And yet, the propaganda value of this famous "show-trial" also should not be exaggerated. Although some of the details of the charges leveled against the accused may have been embroidered, there is apparently little reason to believe that he had been as circumspect as Psellus in his teaching. He resembled, it seems, the Latin Abelard both in his lack of caution and in his methodology. As such, he was quite capable of upsetting the authorities. "The vigor of the Orthodox reaction to the unorthodox ideas of the academics," it has been argued, "testifies to the strength of the rationalist threat to tradition ideology."[68] No doubt, the Church also felt the need to respond to Italus' rational skepticism toward inherited doctrine in a direct way; it saw the trend as dangerous and, like its condemnation of past heresy, was anxious to make its position clear. As it happens, the notion—implied by many of the sanctions against Italus—that Christianity and Platonism are incompatible was not entirely novel. Actually,

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[65] P.E. Stephanou, *Jean Italos, philosophe et humaniste* (Rome, 1949) (=*OCA*, no 134); P. Joannou, *Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz: Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Joannes Italos* (Ettal, 1956); Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie*, 75-77, 114-16.

[66] *Synodicon*, 56-61; Stephanou, *Jean Italos*, 46-49.

[67] For a recent assessment of the political background of Italus' condemnation, see M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204: A Political History* (London, 1984), 118f; and Stephanou, *Jean Italos*, 63-80.

[68] Kazhdan and Epstein, *Changes in Byzantine Culture*, 160.

Italus' doctrinal deviations, condemned in the end as heretical by the synod, were virtually identical with Origen's own Platonism, anathematized five hundred years before by the fifth ecumenical council (553). Even the comparison between the ancient philosophers and the first heresiarchs was as old, if not older.

Significantly, the canonical sanctions of 1077/82 (the first to be added to the *Synodicon* since the final suppression of iconoclasm in 843) were before long supplemented by other decisions and condemnations. Italus' supporters were the first to feel the pressure by being denied any personal contact with their former teacher. This action was followed by the indictments of Theodore Blachernites and the monk Nilus. Then, in 1117 Italus' most famous pupil, Eustratius of Nicaea, the eminent commentator on Aristotle, was in turn condemned for his syllogistic approach to christological issues. According to his accusers he is said to have maintained that Christ had "reasoned in the manner of Aristotle," while Anna Comnena described him as more confident in his powers of rhetoric than the philosophers of antiquity. It was perhaps because of these powers that he had participated together with some of his later accusers in the Latin discussions of 1112. By mid-century the list of indictments was to grow longer as further synodal sanctions were added to the *Synodicon*. Apparently, despite official discouragement, interest in philosophy and dialectic persisted. The enthusiasm of literary circles for Neo-Platonism is in fact beyond question and is on the whole traceable to the earlier renaissance launched by Psellus and his circle. The well-known refutation of Proclus by Nicholas of Methone, to say nothing of the polemic against the "Hellenizers" by the patriarch Michael III, must in part be explained by the study of Neo-Platonism by twelfth century Byzantine humanists.[69] Indeed, most of the sanctions issued by the authorities were aimed it seems at prominent "liberal" intellectuals, including bishops (one of these was the patriarch-elect of Antioch, Soterichus Panteugenus) as well as deacons. According to one recent estimate, there were some twenty-five such trials for "intellectual" heresy in the age of the Comnenoi. "And who knows how many do not appear in our patchy records."[70]

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[69] G. Podskalsky, "Nikolaos von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz," *OCP* 46 (1976), 509-23. See also A.D. Angelou, ed., *Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology* (Athens and Leiden, 1984). On Eustratius' methodology, see the excellent discussion by Salaville, *EO* 29 (1930), 146-51; also the critical edition of the text of the *semeioma* of 1117 in P. Joannou, "Der Nominalismus und die menschliche Psychologie Christi," *BZ* 47 (1954), 369-78; *idem*, "Eustrate de Nicée, trois pièces inédites de son procès," *REB* 10 (1952), 24-34. Cf. also the texts of his accusers, Nicetas of Heracleia and Seides, in J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966), 276-306. On Nilus, see *Regestes* no. 945 and 946; and N.G. Garsoian, "L'Abjuration du Moine Nil de Calabre," *BS* 35 (1974), 12-27. For a more detailed discussion of some of these issues, see section four below (pp. 187-98).

To be sure, this "repression" should not be overstated. Apart from an occasional exile, brutal punishment was actually rarely used; none of Byzantium's independent-minded humanists was indeed ever condemned to death or burned at the stake. The campaign against them also did not involve the systematic censorship of Greek classical texts. In fact, these continued to be read, copied, and studied, down to the breakup of the empire. Their use as school material was by no means discontinued. As sanction seven against Italus clearly implied, using pagan literature "for the sake of education," as opposed to adopting its "foolish" doctrines, was permitted. Official anathemas against "Hellenism" were never accompanied by book-burning. The attitude was characteristically Byzantine.[71] To summarize, however high the number of "intellectual" heresy trials may have been, the goal of the Byzantine Church was never the total suppression of Hellenism. And yet, on the other hand, the reality of the opposition between conservative churchmen and secular scholarly humanists was undeniable. The complex cultural history of the age cannot in fact be adequately understood without this fundamental tension and polarity between Greek thought and the Christian gospel—best symbolized by Italus' trial. Although the attitude of the Church was not inspired by outright suppression, its aim was in the end the practical elimination of Greek philosophy from the sphere traditionally reserved for theology proper. In the course of the Comnenian age, in more general terms, Orthodox Eastern Christendom increasingly argued that philosophy was not essential or indispensable for the solution of theological problems and the exposition of doctrine. Authentic knowledge of God and the truths of the catholic faith were to be grasped by means other than those offered by either Plato or Aristotle. On the whole, the canonical sanctions added to the *Synodicon* by the various councils of the eleventh and twelfth centuries against the Byzantine disciples of Greek wisdom find their significance in such arguments or convictions. To put it otherwise, the Christian East refused to enter into an alliance with philosophy in its attempt at doctrinal synthesis during this period. Its denunciation of the metaphysical systems of Byzantine intellectuals was, as such, quite consistent.

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[70] Browning, *Past and Present* 69 (1975), 19; *idem*, "Byzantine scholarship," *Past and Present* 28 (1964), 16.

[71] For a balanced assessment of censorship in Byzantium, see Wilson, *Scholars in Byzantium*, 12-18.

Arguably, in its rejection of Byzantine humanism, the Church was equally implicitly revealing its attitude towards Latin scholasticism as well. It was at any rate demonstrating that it could be far more hostile to Greek philosophy and the analytical approach to theology than the Latin West. Remarkably, "on the eve of the period when the West would commit its mind to the philosophy of the ancients and enter the great epoch of scholasticism, the Byzantine Church solemnly refused any new synthesis between the Greek mind and Christianity, remaining committed only to the synthesis in the patristic period. It assigned to the West the task of becoming more Greek than it was."[72] As a consequence, the Orthodox world was by and large in the end to escape the negative effects of Aristotelian logic on both theology and canon law. In contrast with Latin Christendom the teaching and study of theology in the Christian East kept its religious status.[73] Theology, conceived as an intellectual discipline, or as an investigation and systematization of revealed truth in the name of Aristotle, quite simply, remained outside of its theological field of vision.

Undeniably, the contrast between East and West on this issue is striking. By the late twelfth century western theologians by and large had ceased to speculate ***ad mentem patrum*** or to work in the same atmosphere of the fathers preferred until then by both Churches. Because of his attitude towards the proof from authority, the new professional Latin theologian was arguably willing to relativize the patristic inheritance. "Once the criticism of authorities has been introduced, even if it was for the sake of harmonizing them, the possibility of progressing beyond passive acceptance of them was suggested....each of the fathers was situated, delimited, and characterized, with the effect of making his authority only relative."[74] Oddly, this denigration of the patristic tradition apparently was furthered by the debate over the *Filioque*. Some western theologians it seems were soon convinced that the Greek fathers were somehow not as authoritative as the fathers of the Latin church. Protest against Byzantine theology and the Greek language in the twelfth century was at any rate not uncommon. Robert of Melun, the successor of Abelard at Mount St Geneviève, was even willing to argue that it was unsuitable to use Greek in the exposition of Christian doctrine.[75] To be short, increasingly, the Greek patristic heritage was deprived of its strength by the scholastic superstructure. By the thirteenth century, when a purely abstract systematic theology had emerged in the West, little of this legacy had survived. Latin theology was by then almost entirely dependent on human methods of argument, logic and philosophy. Still (to repeat what was said earlier of St Thomas), given the appreciation expressed by some Byzantine theologians for scholasticism, this western theological transition should not be distorted or exaggerated.

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[72] Meyendorff, *Theology*, 64; *idem*, "Byzantium as a center of theological thought in the Christian East," in P. Henry, ed., *Schools of Thought in the Christian Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1984), 70: "Seen in historical perspective this formal renunciation in the eleventh century of the Greek philosophical inheritance in Greek-speaking Byzantium offers a remarkable contrast with the almost simultaneous 'discovery' of Aristotle in the Latin West on the eve of the great synthesis between philosophy and theology known as scholasticism. Paradoxically, in the Middle Ages the East was becoming less 'Greek' than the West."

[73] Cf., Y. Congar, *After Nine Hundred Years* (New York, 1959), 38-44.

[74] Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, 314-15.

If the difference in theological perspective between the two Churches after the twelfth century is to be appreciated, an additional number of points need to be emphasized. In the first place, Byzantine Orthodox theology was never transformed into a school-theology; that is to say, it was never made either in schools or in universities. Genuine theological creativity was to be found far from such institutions as we shall see. Similarly, contrary to western practice, the subject was never studied or taught as a "science" with a formal academic methodology; exploring theology as a scientific discipline of higher education was simply unknown to the East. Finally, the professionalism that was to distinguish theology graduates of western universities everywhere, was altogether exceptional for Byzantium.[76] The Orthodox theologian was actually never to know the structured theological training so characteristic of his western coeval. In the last analysis, the remarkable spiritual and theological maturity of such individuals as Theoleptus of Philadelphia, Nicholas Cabasilas or patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus (a contemporary of St Thomas Aquinas) was not the result of any formal theological training whatsoever. In the event, the theology of these and other gifted Byzantine theologians was very different from the theology familiar to Peter Lombard, Abelard, or St Anselm. Time and again the great theological system-builders of the West were to rely on philosophy to an extent incomprehensible for an Orthodox scholar. In contrast, to repeat, Byzantine theology was a continuation of the patristic legacy, and a such, was learned primarily by the reading and hearing of

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[75] De Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle*, 402; Anastos, "Some aspects of Byzantine influence on Latin thought," 132-34 and 149-54 (for exceptions to this trend).

[76] Cf. J. Meyendorff, "The Mediterranean world in the thirteenth century, theology: East and West," *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New Rochelle, NY, 1986), 671.

Scripture and of course by praying.[77] It was never at any rate pursued as a purely rationalistic activity. Therefore, overall, it always remained a "kerygmatic theology, even when it was logically arranged and corroborated by intellectual arguments. The ultimate reference was still to faith, to spiritual comprehension...[As such] it was not just a self-explanatory 'discipline' which could be presented argumentatively, i.e., *aristotelikos* [in the manner of Aristotle] without a prior spiritual engagement. This theology could only be 'preached' or 'proclaimed,' and not be simply 'taught' in a school-manner."[78]

Predictably, this fundamentally religious approach to theology was also shared by Byzantine contemplative monasticism. The position taken officially by the Church towards pagan philosophy always had the staunch support of monastics. All allegiance to the "foolish" secular wisdom of the ancients was automatically deemed as abomination by such circles. On the other hand, intellectuals were repeatedly expressing their reservations about monastic irrational mysticism.[79] This opposition between Byzantine humanism and monasticism will, as we shall see in a later chapter, become especially obvious during the hesychast controversy in the fourteenth century. It was by no means accidental that the most original spokesmen of monastic theology and spirituality—Gregory Palamas and Symeon the New Theologian—were also adversaries of the secular humanistic currents prevailing during their lifetime. It is worth adding, in this connection, that in Byzantium the monastery remained a significant locus of theological creativity and productivity (in sharp contrast with the Latin cloister of the high Middle Ages). Real creativity, at any rate, was to be found largely in the monastery and not among Byzantium's secular humanist circles or among conservative churchmen.[80] The hesychast debates of the 1300s illustrate this in a forceful and impressive way. Doubtless the fact that the more dynamic theological current in late Byzantine thought was monastic might seem surprising. And yet in the end it is not. As it happens, "it is primarily because theological truth could be neither conceived as a system of concepts to be taught as a scholastic discipline, nor reduced to authoritative pronouncements of the magisterium that creative theologizing in medieval Byzantium was largely pursued in monastic circles."[81]

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[77] Meyendorff, "Byzantium as a center of theological thought," 68.

[78] G. Florovsky, "The ethos of the Orthodox Church," *The Ecumenical Review* 12 (1960), 188. Cf. V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1957), 104; "Despite all its richness, the religious thought of the East has never had a scholasticism. If it does contain certain elements of Christian gnosis, as in the writings of St Gregory of Nyssa, St Maximus, or in the *Physical and theological chapters* of St Gregory Palamas, the speculation is always dominated by the central idea of union with God and never acquires the character of a system. Having no philosophical preferences, the Church always freely makes use of philosophy and the sciences for apologetic purposes, but she never has any cause to defend these relative and changing truths as she defends the unchangeable truth of her doctrines."

[79] See especially, Stephanou, *Jean Italos*, 19-38; Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie*, 34-47.

[80] Meyendorff, *Theology*, 66.

Needless to say, it follows from all the above that the change in methodology introduced in the West by scholasticism was to make theological exchange with the East rather difficult. Time and again the western complaint was to be that the Orthodox East was incapable of theologizing professionally or argumentatively. On the other hand, Byzantine churchmen could not understand how theology could be viewed as a rational discipline; listening to the logic-oriented Latin theologians in official debate (at Florence, for example) was for them often an incomprehensible, even loathsome exercise. To be short, the fundamental reorientation of western theology in the twelfth century, along with the papal Petrine claims, must be viewed as factors contributing to the disruption of Christendom. Both scholasticism and the Roman primacy, in a sense, changed the rules of the game and, as a consequence, destroyed the "living continuity with the common past of the Church universal."[82] The synchronous development of Latin scholasticism and schism at any rate was not a purely historical accident.

The scholastic tendencies among Byzantine humanists analyzed earlier in this section were by no means the only parallel with the West at the time. The twelfth century was also to experience a renaissance in both secular and ecclesiastical law. This revival in jurisprudence, like the revival in philosophy, is related to the renovation of the imperial university of Constantinople in the 1040s. John Xiphilinus, who did not always agree with Psellus' defense of Platonism, as we have seen, was the first *nomophylax* or director of its law faculty.[83] Not unlike the renewal of literature and philosophy, the study of law moved away from collection and compilation, characteristic of the Macedonian period, to commentary and appropriation. As a result of this active interest in law, both secular and ecclesiastical, a new class of academic lawyers and canonists were before long producing a stream of glosses, treatises, tracts, and even textbooks on the subject. For Church law the century was to prove rich and rewarding. The leading canonists of the age, Alexius Aristenus, John Zonaras, and Theodore Balsamon, were to produce commentaries on virtually the entire collection of canonical sources. Their extensive and impressive legal knowledge and judgment was in turn to influence canonical literature down to the end of the empire. Of course, this renewal is not a literal comparison with western legal developments. There is no parallel in Constantinople to the ever-expanding papal court system and chancery and to the development of schools of canon law. The coherent and independent canonical system that emerged in the western Church after the *Decretum Gratiani* is unique to the West. Obviously, the different ecclesiology of the East accounts in part for the absence of parallel development. In medieval Byzantium the divine reality of the Church was seldom viewed as being ultimately institutional. Unlike the West, the Church was seldom defined in external, legal or juridical terms.

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[81] Meyendorff, "Byzantium as a center of theological thought, 71-2.

[82] G. Florovsky, "The Eastern Orthodox Church and the ecumenical movement," *Theology Today* 7 (1950), 70. Cf. K. Ware, "Christian theology in the East 600-1453," in H. Cunliffe-Jones and B. Drewery, eds., *A History of Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh, 1978), 214; "It is not easy to summarize that difference [in theological perspective] without distorting its true nature. Nevertheless, a difference in approach to theology does certainly exist—a difference which colors the whole range of religious thought and which undoubtedly contributed to the separation." See also above footnote numbers 52 and 72.

[83] P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 207-13; W. Wolska-Conus, "L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit à Byzance au XI^e siècle: Xiphilin et Psellos," *TM* 7 (1979), 13-53; Kazhdan and Epstein, *Changes in Byzantine Culture*, 145-48; Beck, *Kirche*, 655-62; Meyendorff, *Theology*, 79-90. J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les Offikia de l'église byzantine* (Paris, 1970), 53-8.

And yet, it is also necessary to point out that institutional development did not cease. The patriarchal administration actually experienced considerable reorganization and centralization in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is especially evident when comparing ecclesiastical arrangements before and after the eleventh century. In particular, by the end of the tenth century the election of metropolitan bishops, which until then had been the function of provincial councils, was transferred to the standing synod of the patriarchate, the so-called *endemousa*. The right of consecrating these candidates was itself granted to the patriarch, whereas previously it had belonged to the suffragan bishops of the province. As has already been implied earlier when discussing the crusades, the Church of Constantinople was also able to take the initiative in the affairs of the other eastern patriarchates, due to their reduced circumstances and overall weakness under Muslim rule. The distribution of episcopal responsibility enshrined in the ancient pentarchy of equals was necessarily weakened. Equally, attempts by metropolitans within the *endemousa synodos* to reduce the patriarch's own powers as primary bishop within the Church of Constantinople was to cause considerable tension. Although this challenge was unsuccessful and the patriarch's functions were not modified, the antagonism continued, particularly after the Seljuk inroads into Asia Minor had forced many metropolitans and their suffragans to flee their sees. As refugee hierarchs residing in the capital they were to play collectively an important role in the standing synod. No less decisive was their simultaneous involvement after the 1050s in the political life of the capital. In the event, they were repeatedly enjoined both by the patriarch and the emperor to return to their abandoned dioceses. Given the character of Turkish expansion, all the same, the issue of refugee metropolitans living in Constantinople was to remain a problem for the patriarchate down to the end of the empire.[84]

By the twelfth century evidently the standing synod of the patriarchate had experienced considerable change both in personnel and in function. Its importance clearly increased in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was then that this assembly, over which the patriarch himself presided, acquired responsibility for virtually all patriarchal business. Judicial, liturgical, legislative, disciplinary and dogmatic issues all came under its extended jurisdiction. Inevitably its ever-widening purview also brought into prominence the *exokatakoiloi*, the synod's five permanent administrative officials. These dignitaries were also simultaneously on the staff of the patriarchate and functioned as deacons in the Hagia Sophia. The five included the great *oeconomus* or financial administrator, the great *skeuophylax*, supervisor of liturgical matters, the great *sacellarius* in charge of monastic establishments under patriarchal jurisdiction, the great *chartophylax*, the leading officer in the patriarchal chancery and, finally, the *sacelliou*, the supervisor of all public churches. It was not until the end of the twelfth century that the *protecdicus*, an officer responsible for those seeking asylum in the Hagia Sophia, was assigned sixth place within the initial group of five. Together they rapidly came to constitute a crucial ecclesiastical ministry of sorts.

As we should expect, in the course of the eleventh century these officials were able to amass considerable power both as individuals and as a group by virtue of their large jurisdiction and control of an extensive secretariat. That they were often promoted to major episcopal sees including patriarchates, is not surprising. Within the staff of five, the *chartophylax* was doubtless the most important and took precedence over the *sacellarius*, the second ranking official in the group. He was an expert in canon law and as such was normally responsible for drafting the patriarch's letters. In the absence of the patriarch, he was also responsible for presiding at the meetings of the *endemousa*. The great canonist-commentator, Theodore Balsamon, was to hold this important chancery post (in addition to *nomophylax*) before his promotion to patriarch of Antioch. Significantly, in their attempt to gain the advantage and control within the standing synod, the five often aligned themselves with the newly elected metropolitans against both the patriarch and the older members of the synod. The emperor predictably was frequently their supporter especially if there was friction between his government and the patriarch. Then again, political engagement was also within their province, as their cooperation with the senate and synod on such matters illustrates. No doubt, this political involvement of the clergy could on occasion even be decisive (as in various succession disputes, for example). On the other hand, it was clearly unusual or unprecedented. Before the eleventh century at any rate clergy had never been active in the political arena as a solid or coherent body.[85]

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[84] J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966); and P. Karlin-Hayter, "Notes sur quatre documents d'ecclésiologie byzantine," *REB* 37 (1979), 249-58. On the non-juridical nature of the Church, see especially Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, 14-16, 174-5; Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 79.

4. The pursuit of christology

For the Byzantine theologian, venturing beyond the boundaries set by the Church fathers and the great christological synthesis achieved by the ecumenical councils was rare if not unusual. The patristic framework of Byzantine theological thought, particularly after the liquidation of iconoclasm in the ninth century, was simply a given. To say it once more, in contrast with the Latin West, where after the twelfth century logical proof and argument prevailed, Orthodox theology remained traditional in character. As Basil of Thessalonica was to note in the twelfth century: "Doubts regarding dogma is not a problem among us, nor is it possible for the Christian to believe otherwise. We are indeed content with the tradition of the gospels, the apostles and the fathers, and with the definitions of the seven holy, ecumenical councils, to which westerners also subscribed when present or, if absent, confessed in their writings. Adding to or subtracting from these is impossible."[86] This conservative attitude toward the inheritance of the past was doubtlessly typically Byzantine and is reflected not only in speculative theology, but in religious art, in monastic literature and in spirituality. The preservation of the *depositum fidei* was evidently far more important than its systematization or formulation into doctrine.[87]

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[85] V. Tiftixoglu, "Gruppenbildungen innerhalb des Konstantinopolitanischen Klerus während der Komnenenzeit," *BZ* 62 (1969), 25-72. On the *endemousa*, see also *ODB* 1:697 (A. Papadakis).

[86] Schmidt, *Des Basilius aus Achrida*, 41.

[87] Cf. S. Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church* (Crestwood, NY, 1988), 100: "Orthodoxy contents itself with the indispensable minimum of obligatory dogmas. It is the opposite of Roman Catholicism which tends to canonical formulation of an entire dogmatic inventory of the Church."

And yet what was a seemingly rigid approach to theology with ready-made answers should not be interpreted as insensitivity to dogmatic issues and problems. Nor did it mean the end of theological creativity, particularly among monastic circles, as we have said. Conservatism was never actually able to stifle speculation or disputes, as the numerous christological controversies and trials of the twelfth century discussed earlier illustrate (to say nothing of later debate). As we have seen, analyzing issues in terms of logic was quite common in the twelfth century, despite the "hardline" policy followed by the Church. Even if the mechanical piling up of patristic quotations was continued by many theologians, "the tension between Christian doctrine and the implications of philosophical thought is clearly felt, and is expressed with a freedom which is quite new."[88] To be brief, theology was often dominated by the new interest in philosophy and rationalism. These "early-scholastic" tendencies even paralleled western developments, to say it once again.

As the patriarchal registers and canonical sanctions of the period illustrate, the highly intricate discussions of the Comnenian age were largely christological in content. Virtually all the issues debated by the early ecumenical councils were then again reexamined. Even the slightly earlier trial of John Italus, as we have seen, was linked to the council of 553 and its condemnation of Origenism. Christology and by extension soteriology, to put it briefly, were dominant concerns of Byzantine theological circles from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. Doctrinal discussion was never detached from christology. With the exception of the thirteenth century (during which union with Rome and the *Filioque* held center stage) the christological question was always in the foreground.[89] To be sure, debate in the twelfth century was more circumscribed and technical in scope, involving isolated individual theologians only. It would be vain at any rate to look for any fixed party loyalties in this age, similar to those generated by the question of union or by hesychasm in the following centuries; nor did the period produce any great doctrinal synthesis comparable to Palamism in the 1300s. Finally, time and again issues were resolved relatively quickly. Dissidents themselves helped expedite matters by their willingness to admit their error and to accept the decision of the council sitting in judgment.

In contrast with the extraordinary councils of the fourteenth century dealing with Palamism, the assemblies of the twelfth century were in actual fact meetings of the *endemousa synodos*, the so-called standing synod of the patriarchate. Its members have already been identified. The episcopal element increased in both size and importance at this time. Similarly, the five principal officials of the patriarchate also acquired prominence particularly since they were in charge of patriarchal administration and even held many of the teaching posts for preaching and catechesis in the patriarchal school.[90] Occasionally, some of these learned individuals, along with certain bishops, were themselves the source of the doctrinal controversies discussed in the standing synod.

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[88] Browning, *Past and Present* 28 (1964), 16.

[89] J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Washington, 1969), 149-61 (chapter 10, "Christology in late Byzantium").

The official condemnation of the talented scholar, theologian, and commentator of Aristotle, Eustratius, metropolitan of Nicaea, is a case in point. He was perhaps Italus' most important student and was famous for his dialectical skills, which may explain his position as court theologian. His active participation in the discussions involving the Latin Peter Grossolanus has already been noted. In 1114 he was also to assist in another debate in which Armenians were present. It was apparently this second conference that led to his subsequent censure three years later. It seems that in his exegesis of Christ's humanity, he had used a philosophy of being that was "nominalist" in essence.[91] There was a distinct difference, according to Eustratius, between the uncreated Word and Wisdom of God and the human created nature assumed by the Christ. Eustratius was to conclude that the "assumed reality" (*proslemma*) of the Word was a separate entity differing both in dignity and perfection from the divinity; in terms of its relationship to God, its position was above all one of essential servitude, eternally worshipping God as behooves a servant. It was to this humanity that the term "high-priest" apparently belonged, being inappropriate as an earthly title to the divinity proper. Evidently, Eustratius' rationalist methodology and theology were determined by logic, as was doubtless the case with his famous teacher. Piling up quotations from the authorities of the past was avoided only to be replaced by the principles of syllogistic reasoning.

Preserving the orthodox doctrine of the unity of person and the duality of natures in Christ was Eustratius' major concern in addressing the monophysite christology of the Armenians. In so doing, however, he was himself to fall into error regarding the mystery of the hypostatic union endorsed centuries before by the ecumenical councils. In particular, the synod of 1117 rejected Eustratius' obvious nestorianizing theology and by so doing implied that Christ's every action (human or divine) was the result of a single agent. Although there are two natures in the single hypostasis of the incarnate Word (according to the council, this distinction is to be grasped "piously as a distinction of the mind") it is not possible to argue that one of the natures is subject to the other or that one is imperfect and "high-priest" while the other is not.[92] To do so was to imply that there were two hypostases in Christ which would of course be tantamount to Nestorianism. Invariably, Eustratius, in his brief confession before the synod, was required to abandon his curiously faulty christology. Specifically, all "those who say or believe that the human nature of Christ adores in servitude the inaccessible divinity, acting always as servant as if this servitude was essential" were anathematized by the defendant.[93] A brief but significant statement at the end of the same document emphasized (if only indirectly) that the scholastic-like tendencies evident at the time among some theologians were to be resisted. "Those who insist that the indemonstrable articles of the faith, including matters for which the saints did not use logic, should be approached syllogistically—of which I have been suspected by some—must be proclaimed not only as impious but as fools and insane."[94]

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[90] Cf. the brief summary in H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen, 1980), 158-64; Tiftixoglu, "Gruppenbildungen," 25.

[91] P. Joannou, "Der Nominalismus und die menschliche Psychologie Christi: Das Semeioma gegen Eustratios von Nikaia (1117)," *BZ* 47 (1954), 369-78; *idem*, "Eustrate de Nicée, trois pièces inédites de son procès," *REB* 10 (1952), 24-34. See also Darrouzès, *Documents inédits*, 276-305; and J. Draseke, "Zu Eustratios von Nikäa," *BZ* 5 (1896), 319-36.

A far more subtle and controversial issue was to divide theologians several decades later at the synods of 1156 and 1157. The spokesman of the group opposed by those synods was the deacon Soterichus Panteugenus, patriarch-designate of Antioch. His rationalist partisans included Michael of Thessalonica, deacon and professor of the gospels at the patriarchal school, his colleague, Nicephorus Basilakes, and Eustathius of Dyrrachium. Although Soterichus has been described as a dilettante theologian, he was also doctrinally far more indiscreet and indifferent towards tradition than Eustratius.[95] The debate centered chiefly on Christ's supreme sacrifice on the Cross. Specifically, was Christ's self-oblation on Calvary offered to the Holy Trinity and, therefore, to himself, or to the Father exclusively? Indeed, could Christ be simultaneously the offerer as well as the receiver or not? Soterichus was apparently convinced that the oblation was offered by the Son solely to the Father and not to the Trinity or to himself, since the latter would divide the single Christ into two persons or hypostases.[96] A distinction of this sort would in fact be equal to a separation of the two natures of the incarnate Word (and therefore to Nestorianism, according to Soterichus) with the humanity sacrificing to the receiving divinity. In sum, for the deacon, asserting that Christ was simultaneously victim, officiant, and receiver, was a contradiction involving irreconcilable actions. For these reasons Soterichus insisted that the two actions of offering and receiving were hypostatic characteristics or properties of the Son and the Father respectively. "The sacrifice is offered not to the nature of the Father but to the hypostasis of the Father, thus, the offerer makes his offering hypostatically, and the receiver receives hypostatically."[97]

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[92] See Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*, 152, 209 (note 9).

[93] Joannou, "Der Nominalismus," 376.

[94] *Ibid.*, 377.

[95] *Regestes*, no. 1038-43; *Synodicon*, 210-15.

Inevitably, given the nature of the question involved, the discussion was also to focus the argument on the meaning of the Lord's Supper, the eucharistic memorial proper, and its relationship to Christ's self-oblation. Actually the debate on the eucharistic dimensions of the question were unavoidable: the controversy had begun with the text read during the singing of the Cherubic Hymn at the liturgy, which states that Christ is at the same time the one "who offers and is offered, and who receives and is received." (This liturgical prayer, which forms part of the two Byzantine liturgies traditionally ascribed to Sts John Chrysostom and Basil, is the only one addressed to Christ.) Briefly, in addition to insisting that the sacrifice of the Cross was offered to the Father alone, Soterichus was to contend that it was also not identical with the sacrifice of the altar or daily celebration of the liturgy. Christ, after all, had offered himself to the Father in the distant past once for all, dying on our behalf only once (Heb 9:27). It was not possible, as a result, to say that Christ offers himself every day at the altar as well and, thus, to suppose an absolute identify between the two sacrifices. To the contrary, the eucharistic liturgy is not a sacrifice at all, but a subjective remembrance—a purely symbolic representation of the Lord's passion; it is indeed to be understood figuratively as a sort of reenactment rite performed in Christ's memory by the officiating priest rather than by Christ himself.[98]

As we should expect, Soterichus' views were qualified as heretical by the councils of 1156-57. Despite his submission and retraction (26 January

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[96] Cf. Nicholas Choniates, *Thesaurus fidei orthodoxae*, *PG* 140: 137-48.

[97] *Ibid.*, 145B.

[98] *Ibid.*, 148A-B.

1156), he was in the end judged unfit to hold any ecclesiastical office and deposed. What is more, the anathemas issued against him (second synod, 12 May 1157) were formally entered into the *Synodicon*.[99] He was also finally roundly condemned in a detailed refutation by Nicholas of Methone, the emperor's theological advisor and the council's spokesman.[100] (The condemnation of Proclus' philosophy, with which at the time it seems many were enamored, was also the work of this talented theologian, as noted earlier.) Broadly speaking, the position of the Church was that the sacrifice of the Cross was offered not only to the Father but to the Trinity and, therefore, to Christ simultaneously. Although the eternal Word alone had become man and then priest and victim at his salutary passion and sacrificial death, he did not cease to be essentially God, sharing equally in the divinity, honor, and glory, common to all three divine persons. That Christ is at once priest and victim as well as the God who receives the offered sacrifice, is made possible by the unity of his two natures. Put another way, the entire Trinity participates in the mystery of salvation, even if the divine hypostasis or person of the Word alone was incarnate and as such assumed also the role of offering. Indeed, all of God's activities *ad extra* are trinitarian, even if participation is personal.[101] To confuse the essentially trinitarian actions of the deity with the hypostatic properties, by arguing that the receiving was a hypostatic characteristic of the Father while the offering was a characteristic of the Son (as Soterichus had actually proposed) was to deny this basic soteriological truth. In point of fact, any confusion between God's hypostatic characteristics and his actions or energies, or between the "immanent" and the "economic" Trinity, was unacceptable. Evidently, the triple distinction of God's being—essence, hypostasis, and energy, on which patristic theology was routinely based—was to be maintained. It is worth adding that this same triple distinction will later be of decisive importance in the Palamite synthesis of the fourteenth century, as we shall see.

It comes as no surprise that these arguments were also emphasized by Nicholas of Methone in the refutation mentioned above. The soteriological aspects of his argument are particularly striking. In his view, neither the sacrifice of the Cross nor that of the altar could be conceived juridically as a satisfaction, or as a pure exchange (*antallage*). Actually, as the supreme proof of God's love for mankind, the sacrifice of the Cross was an act of divine grace, of forgiveness and reconciliation (*katallage*). In the final analysis God has no need of man's offerings. "On the contrary, it is he who condescended toward us and assumed our nature, not as a condition of reconciliation, but in order to meet us openly in the flesh."[102] This argument was doubtless aimed at Soterichus' previous peculiar suggestion that there were essentially two progressive stages in man's reconciliation with God. The first of these apparently took place at the incarnation and involved the union between humanity and divinity, while the second occurred at the sacrifice of the Cross itself. "It is evident that the sanctification is twofold: the one he transmitted to the flesh when he was united to it, the second he accomplished by the sacrifice which he offered to the Father."[103] Significantly, against this breakdown of the saving work of Christ into a two-tiered process of salvation, Nicholas and the Church were to contend that the redemption of mankind was not only essentially a trinitarian act, but a consequence of the totality of the divine economy which include not only Christ's incarnation, death and passion, but resurrection. As the *Synodicon* was to note, "Christ reconciled us to himself *by means of the whole mystery of the economy*, and by himself and in himself reconciled us also to his God and Father and, of course, to the most holy and life-giving Spirit."[104]

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[99] *Synodicon*, 72-75.

[100] Text in A. Demetracopoulos, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica* (Leipzig, 1866), 321-59.

[101] Cf. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*, 153.

Needless to say, the lively discussion on Byzantine liturgical formulas and eucharistic doctrine that was part of the debate in 1156-57 was not ignored by the councils. According to the synods, the bloodless oblation of the eucharistic table is not only offered to the Trinity, but is identical with the historical sacrifice on the Cross. Or to put it otherwise, there is no difference between the bringing of the humanity assumed by the Word to the Father—the permanent self-offering before the throne of God—and the daily sacrifice of the altar. The latter "is precisely this offering, accomplished in the body of Christ, where human nature is penetrated with divine energy, assumed as it is by the hypostasis of the Logos."[105] What is more, since the two offerings constitute one and the same sacrifice no repetition is involved; nor is their relationship purely symbolic and artificial. As it happens, at each liturgy the entire mystery of Christ's earthly saving work is again made present and is realized through the offering of and participation in the sanctified gifts.[106] By and large, Byzantine liturgical theology was explicit on this identity of the double sacrifice long before the debates of the 1150s. This is borne out time and again by the repeated references at the councils to both the liturgical formularies and the ritual of the liturgy itself. Characteristically, the identity was also expressed in the simultaneous elaboration in the twelfth century of the ritual of the *prothesis*, the service of preparation of the bread and wine, preceding the eucharist itself and, more generally, in the art and piety of the age. The influence of the eucharistic discussions of the period on some of these developments is quite clear.[107]

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[102] Demetracopoulos, ***Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica***, 337-38, 388. Cf. J. Meyendorff in M.A. Fahey, *Trinitarian Theology, East and West* (Brookline, MA, 1977), 38: "The hypostasis of the Logos, through which divine life opens up to creation, acquires the character of humanity in addition to its natural divine properties, and thus—*in this personal opening up*—becomes the source of life, deification and divine communion for humanity and the entire cosmos. The eucharistic sacrifice is always acceptable to the Father, because the Son is both on the receiving and the offering sides and because the Spirit eternally dwells upon the Son."

[103] *PG* 140:142C.

[104] *Synodicon*, 75.

[105] Meyendorff, *Theology*, 188.

Two other councils held in 1166 and 1170 need to be mentioned, for they too dealt with similar issues.[108] The inclusion of their official decisions in the *Synodicon* marks the end of the twelfth century christological debates. Both of these councils centered on the conflicting interpretations given to the words of the Lord recorded in the gospel of John (14:28): "My Father is greater than I." The debate, significantly enough, reflected a similar concern in the Latin West at the time and was introduced in the East by the Byzantine Demetrius of Lampe following one of his diplomatic missions to Germany.[109] The council of 1166 for the most part was able to interpret the implied subordinationism of the passage in question in trinitarian terms by arguing that the Father was "greater" than the Son by virtue of his being the unique cause and source of divinity hypostatically. Equally, the verse was seen as a reference to Christ's humanity "by which he suffered," in which case God the Father was "greater" than God the Son as man (the Logos who became flesh). After all, suffering and death were not experienced by either the Father or by the Spirit, but by the incarnate Son exclusively. The christological dimensions of the Johannine text, on the other hand, were more problematic and were to provoke most of the discussion that followed. Various opinions surfaced at the time, all of which were rejected by the council of 2 March 1166. These were also identified in an edict issue on 4 April by the emperor Manuel Comnenus who had taken an active part in the debate. The imperial document was even inscribed on marble tablets and, for good measure, placed in the narthex of the Hagia Sophia for all to read. The original tablets still survive.[110]

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[106] Nicholas Cabasilas in the fourteenth century was to summarize this point concisely and eloquently in his famous *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*. Although he makes no reference to the twelfth century councils, he notes that "in the first place, the eucharistic sacrifice is not a mere figure or symbol but a true sacrifice, secondly, that it is not the bread which is sacrificed but the very Body of Christ, thirdly, that the Lamb of God was sacrificed once only, for all time...Now it is clear that, under these conditions, it is not necessary that there should be numerous oblations of the Lord's Body. Since the sacrifice consists not in the real and bloody immolation of the Lamb, but in the transformation of the bread into the sacrificial Lamb, it is obvious that the transformation takes place without the bloody immolation. Thus, though that which is changed is many, and the transformation takes place many times, yet nothing prevents the reality into which it is transformed from being one and the same thing always—a single Body and the unique sacrifice of that Body." See the translation of Cabasilas' *Commentary* by J.M. Hussey and P.A. McNulty (London, 1960), 81-2. Cf. the synopsis "Eucharist," *ODB* 2:737-8 (R.F. Taft).

[107] Kazhdan and Epstein, *Changes in Byzantine Culture*, 161. See also H.-J. Schultz, *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York, 1986), 91-2, 112. For a related eucharistic controversy during the patriarchate of John X Camaterus (1198-1206) regarding the incorruptible elements of holy communion, see *Regestes*, no. 1195.

[108] Acts of 1166: Nicetas Choniates, *PG* 140:201-81; critical edition of the relevant conciliar texts of 1170 in S.N. Sakkos, "The synod of Constantinople of 1170," (in Greek) *Theological Symposium in Honor of P. Chrestou* (Thessalonica, 1967), 313-52; *idem*, *"My Father is Greater Than I:" Controversies and Synods in the Twelfth Century* (in Greek) (Thessalonica, 1968); and *Synodicon*, 75-81; 216-26; *Regestes*, no.1059-75. Cf. also the useful discussion by G. Thetford, "The christological councils of 1166 and 1170 in Constantinople," *SVQ* 31 (1987), 143-61; and H.J. Magoulias, "Doctrinal disputes in the history of Nicetas Choniates," *The Patristic and Byzantine Review* 6 (1987), 199-226.

For all that, the controversy would not go away. The offenders, metropolitan Constantine of Corfu and the abbot John Eirenicus, refused to accept the "inferiority" of the Son as acknowledged by the council of 1166. Instead, both continued to insist that since Christ's humanity is venerated with his divinity (having been deified by the incarnation) it could not in any sense be inferior to God the Father. Such inferiority was possible only if Christ's human nature was seen intellectually as an abstract distinction. That is to say, the Johannine verse was not to be understood as a reference to Christ's humanity hypostatically united to divinity, but separately from the hypostasis of Christ; it was to be perceived by an "intellectual distinction"—apart from the divinity of the Word. For the most part, this exegesis had already been expressed and condemned in 1166. It was evidently close to monophysitism since it implied that the Lord's humanity was transformed into divinity by the hypostatic union of the two natures. Such a transformation would ultimately mean that Christ's humanity was essentially different from man's which, of course, would then be theologically and soteriologically unacceptable. The abbot and the bishop were also accused of docetism, insofar as their interpretation also implied that the Lord in his humanity did not suffer. The synod of 1170 (30 January and 20-21 February) was to condemn both defendants and their partisans.

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[109] P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," BZ 48 (1955), 339-68; A. Dondaine, "Hughes Etherien et le concile de Constantinople de 1166," *Historische Jahrbuch* 77 (1958), 480-82.

[110] C. Mango, "The conciliar edict of 1166," *DOP* 17 (1963), 317-30 (text=324-30). The four main groups were the following: those who contended that the Lord was speaking only of his timeless generation by the Father (1), of his *kenosis* or extreme condescension during his early life (2), of humanity in general which he represented and not of his flesh (3), of his humanity considered as a pure intellectual distinction (4).

Overall, the decisions of 1166 and 1170 were an endorsement of the reality of Christ's humanity as postulated by the ecumenical councils of Chalcedon (451) and Constantinople II (553).[111] They were also in agreement with the debates of the 1150s. Since antiquity the position of the Church had been that the concrete human nature assumed by God in Jesus Christ was essentially identical with that of all mankind, except for sin; as pope Leo of Rome (cited by name at the council of 1166) had noted in 451, Christ is "complete in what is his own, complete in what is ours" (*totus in suis, totus in nostris*).[112] It was to this genuinely mortal existence that the divinity of Christ was hypostatically united. Doubtless, it is by virtue of this union that Christ's humanity is also worthy of the same honor and adoration due to God. To be sure, that did not mean that the created human nature was actually transformed into divinity. Even if it was "enriched with the prerogatives of the divinity" and became God (as the council phrased it) it still remained fully and completely human.[113] Indeed, as one of the sanctions of 1166 emphatically put it, although "the body of the Lord partakes of divine dignity and majesty, is worshipped with the same adoration in God the Word who assumed it, receives the same honor and the same glory [as that paid to the divinity], is life-giving and equal in glory to God the Father and the All-Holy Spirit, and occupies the same divine throne, it does not thereby become consubstantial with God, as if it were separated from the properties natural to creatures."[114] To be short, in the end, each nature retains its own existence proper to itself; the difference between them is neither dissolved nor destroyed by the divinity of the Word. Suffice it to say, the ultimate meaning of the Johannine text lies in this basic theological truth. On the christological plane, to argue that Christ's humanity was less or inferior to the divinity was correct and proper.

To summarize, despite the tentative theological rationalism displayed by Byzantium's academic elite in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the councils of the Church remained genuinely loyal to the theology of the fathers. That they were fully aware of the soteriological dimensions of patristic thought is quite evident from the preceding analysis. The theology of *theosis* or deification always hovered over their deliberations even as they focused directly on concrete christological issues. The repeated emphasis on the integrity of Christ's human nature cannot be explained in any other way. For, indeed, personal communion with God or divine life made possible at baptism, according to the theology hammered out by the early Church fathers, is inconceivable apart from the person of Christ and his deified humanity. It is Christ's complete self-identification with man—his recapitulation of humanity in himself as God incarnate—that makes salvation or deification possible. Broadly speaking, this salvation, defined in patristic thought as *theosis*, is the same theology of deification found also in the great spiritual and ascetic writers of the Orthodox East and in contemplative monasticism in general.[115] This theology was to retain its sovereign role in Byzantine theological debate down to the end of the empire, as the hesychast controversy of the fourteenth century cogently illustrates.

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[111] The final anathema of 1166, *Synodicon*, 70, explicitly refers to these early councils.

[112] *Tomus ad Flavianum, PL*, 54:763B.

[113] *Synodicon*, 69.

[114] *Ibid.*, 69. Translation in Thetford, "The christological councils of 1166 and 1170," 158.

In concluding this section on the christological synods of the twelfth century, some remarks should be added regarding Bogomilism, another domestic problem facing the Church of Constantinople at the same time. In point of fact, time and again, all of the Comnenian emperors were compelled to address this issue, as the trials and repressive measures they undertook indicate. Although the threat posed to the established Church by these Balkan sectarians should not be exaggerated, the fact remains that the danger was disruptive and real, vanishing only with the Turkish conquest, when the documentary history of the sect also ceases. Besides, before long they were to spread from their Bulgarian stronghold throughout the empire and especially to Macedonia and Bosnia, where their creed became dominant. Their willingness to conform to Orthodox practice in order to avoid detection by the authorities doubtless contributed to their geographical dispersion.

This essentially Balkan movement long predates the chronological boundaries of this volume and, as such, will be discussed only briefly. No doubt, the sect was also spiritually older insofar as it was the heir of earlier groups such as the Manichaeans, Messalians, and the Paulicians of western Armenia: all of these heretical circles and their variants shared a dualistic cosmology. Predictably, the Balkan Bogomils have been described both as neo-Messalians and neo-Manichaeans in their theology.[116] Their conviction that the visible material world was evil led them to reject most of the basic doctrines of the Church, including the reality of the incarnation and the sacraments. Matter, quite simply, could not be a channel of grace or redemption. It was of course their anti-sacramentalism and anti-hierarchialism that aroused the suspicions of both the Church and the state. On the other hand, they were also known for their austere morality and general puritanism, which probably contributed to their popularity among the peasantry and the lower classes. Later in the fourteenth century their asceticism would be at the root of some of the false accusations of Bogomilism leveled against the Athonite monastic disciples of St Gregory Palamas by Barlaam the Calabrian. This is doubtless further proof that they remained to the end a threat to the Church. Despite the continuous harsh persecution and trials of the twelfth century, they managed to survive. Their dissimulation, it bears repeating, worked to their advantage. According to Anna Comnena they were to find disciples in the capital as well, among the highest classes. It is reasonably certain that the sect (perhaps by means of itinerant missionaries) also eventually contributed decisively to the rise of the western Cathar movement. The Balkan origin of this dualist heresy in southern France and Italy is virtually conclusive, and is verified by both the documentary evidence and by doctrine. Even terminology demonstrates a direct Byzantine connection: aside from their obvious Greek name, the sectarians are often identified in the western sources as both *Bogri* and *Bulgari*.

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[115] K. Ware, "Salvation and theosis in Orthodox theology," *Luther et la réforme allemande dans une perspective oecuménique* (Geneva, 1983), 167-84 (esp. 167 and 171), where the author argues that in patristic thought justification is more than righteousness "imputed" through some legal exterior transaction.

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[116] D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge, 1948); *idem*, *ODB*, 1:301, 391-2; M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974); J. Gouillard, "L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantin des origines au XII^{e} siècle," *TM* 1 (1965), 299-324 (here 312-22).

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH BESIEGED

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to summarize the complex history of the fourth crusade, its overthrow of the Byzantine empire and the puppet Latin state set up in its place (13 April 1204). The literature is vast and contains numerous theories, including papal collaboration and conspiracy, secret "plots" and Venetian scheming, to explain the successful diversion of the crusader army to Constantinople.[1] Nothing has escaped the historian's watchful eyes. Even the invaders' "pious" theft of Byzantine relics, for which Constantinople was renowned, has been carefully scrutinized as a possible reason used to justify the attack on the city. The never-ending fascination with this chapter of western crusading chivalry ("dripping with the blood of Christians," to borrow pope Innocent's phrase) will doubtless continue, and for good reason.[2] The episode after all marked a turning point of sorts for western military, demographic, and economic expansion into the eastern Mediterranean. It was then for the first time that the region was transformed into a Frankish lake.

1. Papal "ecumenism"

No doubt there are those who would question the argument that the conquest of 1204 was the underlying cause of the collapse of the Byzantine empire nearly three hundred years later. To account for 1453, after all, other contributing factors must be considered, including Byzantium's own internal disintegration before 1204. Besides, the dismemberment of the empire by the victors (for all its apparent conclusiveness and precision) was not in actual fact permanent. Several splinter states with imperial aspirations were to emerge on the fringe of the Latin empire and its feudal dependencies. These included the principality of Epirus, the empire of Trebizond, and the empire of Nicaea, founded by Michael Angelus, Alexius and David Comnenus, and Theodore Lascaris respectively. As "imperial" centers, consolidated into viable states from unoccupied territories in Asia Minor and western Greece,

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[1] C.M. Brand, "The fourth crusade: Some recent interpretations," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1984), 33-45; D.E. Queller, *Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople* (Leister, 1978); A. Carile, *Per una Istoria dell'Impero latino di Constantinopoli 1204-1261* (Bologna, 1978). All these works contain fine bibliographies.

[2] *PL* 215:701.

Nicaea and Epirus were to prove a formidable source of resistance to the Frankish intruders. The same was true of the Bulgars. Baldwin of Flanders, the first Latin emperor, was in fact captured by them at the battle of Adrianople and was never heard of again (1205). The peripheral part played in the struggle by Trebizond was due largely to its geographical isolation. Still, this resistance, which was by no means united, did not result in the total restoration of Byzantine power, even after the recovery from the Latins of the imperial city by the Nicaean general Michael Palaeologus (1261). Western presence in central Greece, the Peloponnese, and the Aegean remained. Neither the territorial nor economic grip of the Latins was actually seriously weakened. The restored Byzantium of the Palaeologoi was not the Byzantium of the Comnenoi. To the contrary, its pre-conquest territorial unity, military superiority and integrity, had vanished with the fourth crusade. Only its pretensions, it seems, remained undimmed. To put it otherwise, the general assessment of historians regarding the final extinction of Byzantium at the hands of the Ottomans must remain. "If there was a single fatal blow, it was struck in 1204 and nòt 1453... It was the power vacuum created by the Latin invasion which enabled the Orthodox states of the Balkans to strike out on a course of their own, freed from the field of force of Byzantium, and in the end condemned them to fall one by one to the Ottoman conqueror."[3] In sum, in sharp contrast with the losses suffered by the Islamic world (it was never really threatened except at its edges) the damage done to Orthodox Christendom and its sacred city by the Latins was deadly.[4] The mischief of the crusading movement in the end destroyed the very power that had for centuries protected Latin civilization from Islam.

Invariably, the hatred of the Byzantines for what the Latins had done to their empire was to affect the life of the two churches as well. Like the physical integrity of the state, the fragile unity of Christendom suffered irreparable damage. To be sure, even before the invasion rigidly conservative churchmen in Byzantium were convinced that the Christian West had left the unity of the Church of Christ. The same was true of western opinion. The Byzantine correspondence of Pope Innocent III, dispatched months before the invasion, was doubtless typical of the western mentality. Apparently the pope's sentiments were shared by the bishops of the fourth crusade. The more scrupulous among the soldiers were in fact told by their clergy just before the invasion that it was morally justifiable and by no means sinful to storm the

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[3] R. Browning, *The Byzantine Empire* (New York, 1980), 209.

[4] H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford, 1972), 280.

Byzantine capital, a city populated by detestable and schismatic rebels.[5] Nevertheless, the verbal violence, chronic mutual suspicion, and tension of the twelfth century did not yet constitute total rupture. The long and complex phenomenon of schism really came to an end only with the fourth crusade. As the age of Thomas Aquinas, Francis and Dominic, Dante and Giotto, the thirteenth century was indeed "one of the most important of all centuries."[6] Sadly, it was also the crucial moment of Christian division.

This hardening of confessional differences after 1204, at least initially, was caused in part by the excesses of the crusade. Although temporary in character, the senseless destruction and violence of the crusaders cannot be dismissed summarily as of no importance. Within days the Byzantine capital was actually stripped bare of its numerous works of art, treasures and monuments. What was not destroyed in the process was taken to Europe as plunder. Some of it is still to be found in western museums—an eloquent silent memorial of the conquest. In a very real sense, on returning to their sacred city decades later, the Byzantines were to find both their homes and their mansions empty. It was the same with their churches and shrines. They too were shamelessly vandalized and despoiled, apparently without qualms, of their precious metals and relics. To assuage their notorious greed for booty soldiers had to bring mules into the sanctuary of the Hagia Sophia to carry the gold and the silver away. As diversion, a prostitute was placed on the *synthronon* of the great cathedral to amuse the looters. The fact that the sacred objects found in the churches were consecrated was beside the point: all plunder it seems was treated in the same fashion.[7] It was perhaps no accident that this systematic looting was also undertaken by Latin clerics. This chance of a lifetime to enrich their abbeys and monasteries in Europe with Byzantium's holiest relics (reputedly Christendom's finest collection) was irresistible. Even the more responsible among them, including the Cistercian abbot,

[5] Robert of Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), 71-72; Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Farel (Paris, 1938-39), 2:23-24; cf. the analysis of R.H. Schmandt, "The fourth crusade and the just-war theory," *The Catholic Historical Review* 61 (1975), 191-221. G. Hagedorn, "Papst Innozenz III. und Byzanz am Vorabend des Vierten Kreuzzugs (1198-1203)," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23 (1974), 134, notes that Innocent considered the East at most schismatic and disobedient but not heretical.

[6] J. Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*, vol. 3 of *The Christian Tradition* (Chicago, 1978), 268.

[7] J. Darrouzès, "Le mémoire de Constantine Stilbès contre les Latins," *REB* 21 (1969), 50-100 (esp.81-6); Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 2 vols., ed. J.-Louis van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 573-75. For a recent description, see C.M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 258-66.

Martin of Pairis, and the cardinal legate of the expedition itself, Peter Capuanus, became in the words of one witness, "holy looters."[8] Suffice it to say, the popular helplessness and resentment felt by the Byzantines at this outrage is easy to imagine even without the available detailed commentary found in both the Greek and the Latin sources.

Still, this ultimate perversion of the knightly ideal was by no means the exclusive cause for the attendant religious division. The eastern policy adopted after the invasion by the papacy was a more serious reason. Before long, in effect, Innocent III was to interpret the diversion to Constantinople both "as a just judgment of God" to punish the Byzantines, and as a "wondrous achievement" by which the Eastern Church was to be brought to its senses.[9] Though grim and shocking, to put it otherwise, the pillage and carnage was a divinely ordained instrument for concluding the schism and restoring communion.[10] Given the fact that until then all papal attempts to impose Roman ecclesiology on Constantinople had failed, it was elementary good sense to accept the solution offered by the conquest. The unconditional submission of the Orthodox could not but follow logically the swift political surrender of their state in 1204. This is of course not to say that Innocent remained calm at the butchery and brutality displayed by the crusaders. His quick denunciation of their conduct (a well known historical fact) is strong proof against the accusation of complicity levelled occasionally at the pope.[11] The arguments that he secretly endorsed or encouraged the diversion are at best inconclusive and shaky.

If the pope's sinister involvement in the planning of the diversion remains unproven, his views on what was to be done after the city had fallen are not in doubt. As noted above, his rationalization of the crusade implied the end of the schism. Since a Latin *orbis christianorum* had supplanted the Orthodox world of Byzantium, the complex question of Christian unity was no longer a problem. In the final analysis, the question had become a simple issue of

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[8] Gunther of Pairis, "Historia Constantinopolitana"in *Exuviae sacra Constantinopolitanae*, ed. P. Riant (Geneva, 1877), 1:104-6; W. Maleczek, *Petrus Capuanus, Kardinal, Legat am vierten Kreuzzug* (Vienna, 1988).

[9] *PL* 215:1373D and 456A.

[10] For the pope's wavering attitude, see especially W. de Vries, "Innozenz III. und die christliche Osten," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 3 (1965), 87-126; and the well-documented study of K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1976).

[11] E.H. McNeal and R.L. Wolff, "The fourth crusade" in K.M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades* (Madison, 1969), 2:176. For the pope's correspondence and relations with the crusaders, see the detailed analysis by H. Roscher, *Papst Innocent III. und die Kreuzzuge* (Göttingen, 1969), 51-131.

jurisdiction, to be solved by the absorption of the East into the Roman administrative structure. Transforming or "reducing" the Byzantines into loyal sons of the papacy was to be the ultimate aim. Characteristically, one of Innocent's early encyclicals (1205) was a practical summons to the monks and the clergy of France and the teachers of the university of Paris to carry out this *reductio Graecorum.*[12] His instructions to the legate, Benedict of Santa Susanna, were no less ominous in their implications: "Because the empire of the Greeks has been handed over to us, the rites of the priesthood must necessarily change. Ephraim having returned to Judah casts away the old leavened bread and is nourished on the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."[13] It comes as no surprise that the fourth Lateran council of 1215 followed Innocent's illusory conviction and acted as if the problem of unity and the differences separating the Churches did not exist. "It was assumed," as one historian recently wrote, "that the process of unification was complete...the whole Church was to be directed from Rome."[14] In other words, union was to be treated as a jurisdictional matter.

Initially, it is true, the papal policy of assimilation was tempered by tolerance; conciliation and discretion were repeatedly recommended. As canon 4 of the Lateran assembly put it: "We wish to care for and respect the Greeks, who in our days are returning to obedience to the apostolic see, and to maintain as far as the Lord allows their customs and rites."[15] Much later as the century was winding down other churchmen in the West were to express similar sentiments toward the conquered. Before long, however, this moderate approach was viewed as indulgence. Sympathy and concern at any rate became rare or exceptional. Evidence in fact indicates that individual Latin prelates and papal envoys often ignored their precise instructions and instead deliberately tried to undermine Orthodox integrity by their bigotry and fanatical zeal. In liturgical matters, for instance, the western rite was normally favored at the expense of Byzantine practice. Latin participation in Orthodox religious services was actually forbidden. A similar suspicion was revealed by Innocent himself especially when it involved Orthodox ordinations. Eventually rebaptism and reordination of converts became acceptable practice. In the fourteenth century Franciscans went about feverishly baptizing individuals in the Bulgarian province of Vidin captured by the Hungarians. This compulsive drive to achieve greater conformity to Roman standards of orthodoxy soon prevailed in the crusader states of Syria and Palestine as well.[16] Evidently, latinization or romanization, the "unleavened bread" on which the Byzantines were to be raised, was the fundamental consideration.

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[12] *PL* 215:636-8.

[13] *Ibid.*, 623B-C.

[14] C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), 449.

[15] Alberigo, 211.

Papal rhetoric as is well known became increasingly more expansive and elaborate during Innocent's lengthy tenure. As the pope himself was to note frequently, the fullness of papal power was virtually unlimited, for Christ had "left to Peter the government not only of the Church but of the whole world."[17] Not surprising, at the outset of the Latin conquest, an oath of loyalty to the pope (which simultaneously implied recognition of the new Latin primate who styled himself "patriarch" of Constantinople) was imposed on all Orthodox bishops. The oath was essential for anyone who wished to remain in office and not be displaced. Regardless of clerical rank, everyone in point of fact was to be subject canonically to the local Latin hierarchy and through them to the pope. Bishops were understandably the main target and were required by their pledge to remain faithful and obedient to the Roman see, its incumbent Innocent III, and his catholic successors.[18] The same total acknowledgment of Roman universal supremacy was of course particularly energetically demanded of new bishops who, significantly, were to be consecrated according to the Latin rite. The Orthodox were being asked, in effect, to embrace what had by then become the quintessential ecclesial quality of all western clergy. Obedience to the Roman pontiff, the leitmotif of the Gregorian reform, had become by 1200 virtual dogma. As Leo X centuries later was to remind Martin Luther, it was the *fons et origo omnium virtutum*. As a rule Orthodox hierarchs refused to submit to this primatial despotism. Linking their loyalty and devotion to Christ to the see of Rome, Aquinas' explicit understanding of papal authority, was not to their taste.[19] In the event, most of them either resigned or fled as refugees to Nicaea (where a new Orthodox patriarch was installed by 1208) or to the principality of Epirus in western Greece. The more important sees in the new Frankish territories, like Thessalonica, Corinth and Patras, were actually abandoned by their incumbents. The Athenian metropolitan Michael Choniates, the elder brother of the historian Nicetas, was to escape to Chios. Only Theodore of Euboea is in actual fact known to have taken the oath. But his compliance was largely probably only external and formal. He was to use his nominal submission to shelter Orthodox clergy harassed or exiled by the Latin intruders. Equally revealing in this respect was his continuing correspondence with the above-mentioned Athenian incumbent, his former canonical superior and friend.[20]

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[16] A. Hamilton, *Latin*, 315-18. For Innocent's doubts regarding Orthodox ordinations, see below p. 247 note 24.

[17] *PL* 215:759CD.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1352.

[19] C. Ryan, "The theology of papal primacy in Thomas Aquinas" in C. Ryan, ed., *The Religious Role of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150-1300* (Toronto, 1989), 225.

The application of this papal drive for bureaucratic centralization and order (the practical counterpart, it is said, to this age of theological summas) is also reflected in the way in which the existing Orthodox diocesan structure was modified by the Latins. For example, by mid-century many of the sees in the Peloponnese (the Frankish principality of the Morea) were abolished or simply combined with other vacant or more financially viable dioceses. This necessarily often meant either demotion or elevation to a higher rank. It was not unusual for a metropolitan or an autocephalous archbishop to lose his position altogether or be demoted to a suffragan bishop. Conversely, an ordinary bishop could be elevated to a higher dignity provided his diocese was territorially extended. By the same token in some regions the Orthodox diocesan structure was removed altogether. By 1220, for instance, Venetian Crete had no Orthodox bishops and the clergy were before long placed under an archpriest; all ordinations were performed outside the island, in regions where Orthodox bishops could still be found. Suffice it to say, although these substantial alterations were often prompted by economic or demographic considerations, they were no less disturbing to the Byzantines. To the imposition of western ecclesiastics and western rites on the Orthodox one must also add "the crass reorganization of the Byzantine diocesan structure along 'rational' lines."[21]

The Orthodox Church of Cyprus was to fare no better under Roman centralism. By the end of the century its autonomy had vanished. That it had been autocephalous since 431 and was allowed to elect its own primate was beside the point. Indeed, after the Lusignan house had bought the island from Richard Lionheart (1191), its fourteen Orthodox sees (despite earlier papal demands to expel all bishops) were gradually reduced to four. For good measure, their incumbents (three bishops and one archbishop) were not allowed to reside

[20] R.L. Wolff, "The organization of the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261," *Traditio* 6 (1948), 37: "It is almost as if an official decision had been reached by the Greek hierarchy that one of their number would have to pretend to go over to the Latins, to serve as a center of refuge for the others and as a spy in the Latin camp." For developments in Choniates' diocese, see J. Lognon, "L'organization de l'Église d'Athènes par Innocent III," *Memorial Louis Petit* (Bucharest, 1948), 336-46. See also the detailed study of the Latin patriarchate by G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente* (Verona, 1981), 1:235-86.

[21] Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 254.

in their diocesan capitals; all four were required to transfer their headquarters to small towns, beyond the residence of their four Latin counterparts. An oath of obedience was of course also required. On the whole, any accommodation or parity of jurisdiction was abolished. Indeed, by 1260 the Orthodox hierarchy was reduced to almost total subservience as a result of the legal provisions of the *Constitutio Cypria* of pope Alexander IV. The ancient Church of Cyprus was then made fully dependent on the papacy and the Latin archbishop of Nicosia.[22] Even its judicial system was disrupted when Rome was declared the final court of appeal in all disputes originating in Orthodox ecclesiastical tribunals. That many Cypriots, both clergy and laity, chose to emigrate to the court of Nicaea is not surprising. The future patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory II (1283-89), himself a native of the island, was to do so at a youthful age. One final point should be emphasized. To the daily pressures of the Roman clergy, the Orthodox were also forced to submit to economic and social humiliation. Integration along these lines between the indigenous population and the conquerors did not exist. This situation apparently obtained in most areas where control was in Latin hands, namely, in the Peloponnese, the Aegean and in the crusader states.[23] To give but one example, intermarriage between the two groups is rarely attested in the documents: class-consciousness and exclusiveness was so entrenched that in some regions (such as Venetian Crete) it was strictly forbidden. This discrimination and intimidation was plainly different from the more tolerant approach of the Turks toward their Christian subjects. It was, significantly, an argument the patriarchate was to make again and again in its correspondence with the Latin authorities.[24]

Latin rule was of course to affect Orthodox monasticism as well. Like the dioceses, monasteries were doubtless impoverished and declined in number. Those that managed to remain in Orthodox hands did so by compromise and concession. They were nevertheless not exempt from the confiscation of property which often passed over to the Latin Church or, more frequently, to greedy Frankish lay lords.[25] On the whole, Orthodox monks preferred, like the hierarchy, to remain faithful to the religion of their forefathers. They were often the primary, if not exclusive, spokesmen for the Church, especially in areas where bishops had been expelled or exiled. This was clearly the case in Constantinople where the local population immediately after 1204 was without a patriarch or a bishop. Their non-cooperative resistance was to cost them both imprisonment and exile, especially during the tenure of the papal agent, Pelagius of Albano.[26] Martyrdom, too, was not unknown. In Cyprus, thirteen stubbornly defiant monks were actually executed in 1231 for refusing to be coaxed and bullied into submission.[27] On the orders of a Dominican friar the accused were first dragged through the market place at the tail of horses and then burned. Though exceptional, it was an unusually eloquent example of the brutal fashion by which occasionally the goal of conformity was proclaimed and imposed on the conquered. It is worth noting that the age was in general characterized by a marked expansion of western monastics into the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. In the course of the thirteenth century all of the major western religious orders were to establish centers in the region. The Cistercians, famous for their support of both the second and fourth crusades, the Dominicans and especially the Franciscans (beginning with Innocent's patronage of their order) evolved progressively as the papacy's international agents.[28] Their zealous "missionary" activity among the Orthodox, the Armenians, and other oriental Christians, is often recorded in the extant documents, including of course the papal registers. That this diffusion often resulted in the material impoverishment, physical displacement, and general harassment of Orthodox monasticism is certain.

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[22] J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1901), 114-23; H.J. Magoulias, "A study in Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Church relations on the island of Cyprus between the years A.D. 1196 and 1360," *GOTR* 10 (1964), 75-106.

[23] Cf. D. Jacoby, "The encounter of two societies: Western conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the fourth crusade," *American Historical Review* 78 (1973), 873-906.

[24] *MM* 2:87, 90-92, 338-39.

[25] P. Charanis, "The monastic properties in the Byzantine empire," *DOP* 4 (1948), 51-118 (esp.93-97); cf. also R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine (1204-1261)," *Études byzantines* 2 (1944), 134-84.

Canonically and ecclesiologically, few of the decisions taken by the Latins immediately after 1204 were perhaps as insensitive or misplaced as the creation of a Latin patriarchate in Constantinople. The installation of the Venetian nobleman Thomas Morosini as patriarch was doubtless the most representative example of western inability to understand both the mentality and ecclesiology of the conquered. Initially, it is true, Innocent was suspicious of Venetian designs. He did not relish the idea that Venice intended to monopolize the new patriarchate by treating it as its own benefice through Morosini. (The latter was actually forced to swear that he would never permit non-Venetians to join the cathedral chapter of the Hagia Sophia already staffed with Venetians.) Besides, the appointment lacked papal authorization. All the same, he was not opposed to the new office and in the end confirmed the Venetian maneuver by declaring it a papal decision. Once more, suffice it to say, the creation of yet another parallel Latin patriarchate in the East was based on the papal claim to supreme jurisdiction. As Aquinas was later to note, the entire spiritual power of a bishop—sacramental and jurisdictional—derived from that of the pope as successor of St Peter.[29] Indeed, as universal ordinary, the pope possessed the right to dispose and arrange the affairs of any see, regardless of its canonical privileges. Given these considerations, the Orthodox argument that the papal action lacked historical and canonical parallel was beside the point. It was irrelevant if the pope had never before appointed any of his patriarchal colleagues in the East to their post.

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[26] George Acropolites, *Georgii Acropolitae annales*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1836), 32,35. Cf. also *Regestes*, no.1277 (letter of patriarch Germanus II, dated 1234).

[27] C.N. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, 7 vols. (Venice, 1872-94), 2:20-39.

[28] R.L. Wolff, "The Latin empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio* 2 (1944), 213-37; E.A.R. Brown, "The Cistercians in the Latin empire of Constantinople," *Traditio* 14 (1958), 63-120. See also J. Richard, "The establishment of the Latin Church in the empire of Constantinople (1204-1227)," in B. Arbel, et al., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), 45-62 (esp. 51-55).

The appointment of Morosini, it is often argued, marked a revision of sorts in thirteenth century papal theory, since Constantinople was then also recognized as holding second place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For the first time in papal history, in fact, the theory of the five primatial sees and their order of precedence, established by the Church in the course of the fifth century, were acknowledged officially by the popes. Presumably the shift occurred because the Church of Constantinople was no longer a threat to the pope's claims. Canon 28 of the council of 451, which first raised the bishop of the eastern capital to patriarchal status (placing him second after Rome and above Alexandria among the major sees) was never formally endorsed by the Western Church.[30] For all that, Innocent's tardy acknowledgment, formally confirmed by the fourth Lateran council of 1215 (canon 5), is misleading. In no sense was the council's legislation a denial of Roman supremacy. To the contrary, the canon treats the patriarch of Constantinople as a western archbishop who ultimately owes his elevation exclusively to Rome. Typically, he too was to receive the pallium from the Roman pontiff in addition to taking an oath of obedience to the apostolic see (as did indeed Morosini and his successors). Equality between the Churches was, as such, denied. As the canon explicitly notes, by the disposition of God, the Church of Rome still

[29] Ryans, "The theology of papal primacy in Thomas Aquinas," 193f.

[30] Cf. however, J. Meyendorff, *The Church in History*, II. *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church 450-680 A.D.* (Crestwood, NY, 1988), 304-5, for the *de facto* recognition of the pentarchy theory during the so-called "Byzantine period" of the papacy.

held over all the Churches the principality of ordinary power—*super omnes alias ordinariae potestatis obtinet principatum.*[31] The revision in papal policy was nothing more than another expression of the papacy's recent solution to the schism, which was conceived, as we have seen, as administrative assimilation.

As we should expect, the authority of the new Latin patriarchs was not recognized by the Byzantine Church. That the pope was licensed to confirm such appointments by virtue of his primacy of jurisdiction was for the Byzantines an unacceptable assumption. Papal confirmation did not make such appointments legitimate. As an Orthodox delegation headed by the monk John Mesarites was to point out to cardinal Benedict of Santa Susanna (29 September 1206), such a thesis was based on canonical irregularity. The fact that Morosini's promotion had not been done "canonically and in conformity with traditional practice in force among us" explained the Orthodox refusal to recognize or obey Morosini.[32] Actually, contrary to what the papal emissary was claiming, all bishops were limited territorially and, as such, had no right to interfere dictatorially in the internal affairs of another diocese. Ancient conciliar legislation limiting episcopal power, including Rome's, listed no exceptions in cases involving consecrations outside one's jurisdiction. Evidently, for Mesarites only his Church had the authority to administer its own flock and appoint its primate. The assumption of full personal power by the pope in such matters was pure peremptory primacy. Remarkably, even when the Orthodox were inclined to recognize their new political Latin masters, recognition of the existing ecclesiastical situation was resisted. In 1207, after the death of patriarch John X Camaterus in exile, and before the promotion of his successor at Nicaea (1208), the clergy and monks of Constantinople actually petitioned the Latin emperor Henry of Flanders to elect a new patriarch. Although they had resolved to accept his authority as legitimate, they were unwilling to accept either Morosini's or Innocent's. The only concession they were willing to make was to permit the singing of Innocent's *polychronismos* at the end of the liturgy, since this for them implied recognition of his temporal authority only. Actual commemoration of the pope in the liturgy proper (as opposed to the acclamation at the end) was to occur only when union was achieved.[33] The Orthodox nations of the

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[31] Alberigo, 212. Cf. the judicious analysis by R. Foreville, "La problème de l'union des Églises dans la perspective des conciles du Latran," *L'Année Canonique* 12 (1968), 11-29.

[32] A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion* 1-3 (Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse) (Munich, 1922-23), 1:53; recently republished in *idem*, *Quellen und Studien zur spät-byzantinischen Geschichte* (London, 1973).

[33] See their letter to Innocent to which there is no recorded reply, *PG* 140:293-98 (esp.297C).

Balkans and of west Russia were invariably of a similar mind. Their requests for royal crowns from the papacy in the thirteenth century were for political reasons and did not necessarily automatically imply renunciation of the Orthodox faith.[34]

Predictably, the above defense of the Orthodox doctrine of the Church and its system of equality and conciliarity (succinctly expressed in canon law according to John Mesarites) was also forcefully emphasized by an earlier delegation of monks under the leadership of John's brother, the deacon Nicholas (30 August). The group was doubtless familiar with arguments used by twelfth century theologians to counter Rome's peculiar interpretation of primacy and its jurisdictional claims. Hence Nicholas' emphasis at the August meeting that the ancient authority or preeminence of the Church of Rome did not stem from its alleged divine foundation, but from the fact that the city of Rome at one time was the center of the empire and the residence of the emperor. This Roman authority had never been viewed by the Church as a power of interference. After all, as Nicholas was to note on another occasion, the Petrine succession claimed exclusively for Rome, was to be found in *all* local Churches, since the promise of Christ—the power of the keys—was given to all the apostles and not solely to St Peter or to the Church of Rome. "You try to present Peter as the teacher of Rome alone. While the divine fathers spoke of the promise made to him by the Savior as having a *catholic* meaning and as referring to all those who believed and believe, you [conversely] force yourself into a narrow and false interpretation by ascribing it exclusively to Rome. If this were true, it would be impossible for every Church of the faithful, and not only that of Rome, to possess the Savior properly, and for each Church to be founded on the Rock, that is, on the doctrine of Peter, in conformity with the promise."[35]

All in all, Byzantium's "catholic" grasp of primacy, directly possessed by each local Church, in all its sacramental and hierarchical fullness, according

For the first draft of this letter written by John Mesarites, see Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen*, 1:63-6. P. L'Huillier, "La nature des relations ecclésiastiques greco-latines après la prise de Constantinople par les croisés," *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses München* (Munich, 1960), 312-20 (esp. 318-19).

[34] See below, pp. 247, 253 (note 37).

[35] Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen*, 3:34-5; cf. 2:24-5; trans. in J. Meyendorff, *et al.*, *The Primacy of Peter* (London, 1963), 20. For the discussions of August and September, see also W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1909), 215-33; J.M. Hoeck and R.J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole* (Ettal, 1965), 34-52; and R. Janin, "Au lendemain de la conquête de Constantinople. Les tentatives d'union des Églises (1204-1208)," *EO* 32 (1933), 5-21; 195-202.

to Mesarites, helps explain why the unionist policy imposed on the East by the papacy in 1204 met with such stiff resistance. There was no way by which the East could have accommodated its own ecclesiology to Rome's centralism and absolutism. As a result, papal religious unity by compulsion never took root. It did not in fact take long for the Orthodox to realize that Rome's transformation of its primacy and moral authority into direct dictatorial power was a threat to their own ecclesial integrity and identity. Their underground activity, frequent open opposition, hostility, and recalcitrance, were evidence of this intuition. Necessarily, papal attempts to impose Roman standards and practice often resulted in compromise and concession. And yet, the living unity of Orthodoxy remained strong. Superficial submission for fear of retaliation did not mean surrender. After nearly two hundred years of foreign occupation, throughout the territories controlled by the Latins, nominal communion with Rome remained the only dominant reality. As one Venetian resident in the East tacitly acknowledged in the fourteenth century, the religious unity piously proclaimed by Rome after 1204 turned out to be nothing more than romantic fiction. Innocent's hoped-for return of Ephraim to Judah had not materialized. "The land of Cyprus and the island of Crete, and all the other lands and islands, which belong to the principality of the Morea and the duchy of Athens, are all inhabited by Greeks, and although they are obedient in words, they are nonetheless hardly obedient in their hearts, although temporal and spiritual authority is in Latin hands."[36]

Viewed from the overall perspective of western medieval history, the thirteenth century was an uncommonly rich and diverse period. It has indeed formally been described as a "golden age." The achievements in scholastic theology and Gothic architecture, to cite only two decisive developments, cogently illustrate the maturity attained by western culture. On the other hand, the century was equally authentically an age of division, when the religious schism became finally reality. It was then (to repeat) that the old East-West fraternal rivalry and antipathy were transformed into mutual theological intolerance and outrage. Historically, this "greatest of centuries" also bore witness to "a new savagery in the behavior of the Church as crusades were directed against the Greeks, against heretics, and as inquisition and persecution played an increasing part in the life of wide areas of western Christendom."[37] Evidently, optimism and rich diversity, and, indeed, brilliance, do not alone summarize the 1200s.

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[36] R.M. Setton in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. J.M. Hussey (Cambridge, 1966), 4, 1:429 (quoting Marino Sanudo).

[37] Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 415.

2. *The ecumenical patriarchate: Orthodox unity in exile*

Remarkably, the shattering effect of the Latin conquest did not mean, as we have seen, the permanent eclipse of the Byzantine world and its ideals. To be sure, the new states that encircled the Latins soon after 1204 did not unite in a common front to restore the ruined empire. Before long each of these territorial units was separately laying claim to the Byzantine political heritage. Vicious division and competition among them became common. Still, this revival of sorts of Byzantine patriotism was not all in vain. The Nicaean state, centered in Bithynia, gradually gained the advantage, thanks to the skillful maneuvering of its monarch, Theodore I Lascaris.[38] Understandably, consolidating his authority and his claims to be the lawful successor to the defunct Byzantine Comnenian world was not easy. Chipping away at the territorial and "imperial" sovereignty of his main adversaries—the Epirotes and the Latins—proved to be daunting. Pressure from the neighboring Seljuks of Iconium was also a problem. In time, however, Nicaea's initially precarious position was strengthened especially by Theodore's skillful military strategy and prudent diplomacy. Moreover, by the 1220s, unlike its competitors, the young state began enjoying considerable economic prosperity (fostered by its sound agricultural policy and efficient administrative structure). In their bid for the imperial title, finally, the Lascarids were able to count on the crucial support of the patriarchate. Less than three years after the death of John X Camaterus in Didymotichus (20 June 1206), Michael IV Autorianus was chosen and installed as patriarch at Nicaea (20 March 1208). His authority was eventually recognized by the Orthodox everywhere. Theodore's coronation by the new ecumenical patriarch followed promptly. The continuity and prestige conferred on the Lascarid house by this solemn blessing and by the subsequent presence of a patriarch at Nicaea were decisive. For, by then, coronation by a reigning patriarch was thought to be necessary for imperial legitimacy. Although later challenged by its Epirote rival, Nicaea became in effect the political and ecclesiastical center of the Orthodox world. Needless to say, the significance of the existence across the Bosphorus of a new "Constantinople-in-exile" was not lost on the Latins.

In the opening years of the thirteenth century the problems confronting the ecumenical patriarchate were of course just as daunting as those facing the Nicaean state. Orthodox Christians everywhere needed to be assured and encouraged in their faith and resistance, even from a distance. Providing practical and psychological support to those under Latin domination became an immediate problem. No less serious was the confusion that appeared within the larger Orthodox community of Christian states—within the supranational cultural and religious commonwealth "of which Constantinople was the center and Eastern Europe the peripheral domain."[39] That the unity and solidarity of this world was weakened and threatened with disruption by the intruders from the West soon became glaringly clear. In the Balkans, for instance, the new Orthodox political configurations (a major development examined at length in the next chapter) were before long demanding separate ecclesiastical structures of their own to parallel their political independence. The changing military situation, moreover, was to force them to reassess their foreign policy. Both Bulgaria and Serbia were before long turning westward to the Roman pontiff for political support and a royal crown. In sum, the problems faced by the Church of Constantinople during the late Middle Ages were both local and international in character. Beginning with the Nicaean age, they were to tax the diplomatic skill of the Church to its limits. Fortunately, during this early period of trial and readjustment, the task of reconstruction was made easier by the forceful and determined leadership of individual patriarchs. Their intelligence and imagination, reflected in their flexible and often realistic approach to the issues confronting them, were exemplary. They were to handle themselves with great dignity and in nearly every respect with remarkable foresight.

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[38] M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (Oxford, 1975).

Given the confusing and anomalous ecclesiastical situation created by foreign occupation, the difficulties facing the Church initially were almost invariably of a canonical and disciplinary nature. The general policy followed by the patriarchate in its attempt to preserve Orthodox unity is well illustrated by the situation in Cyprus. We have seen the delicate position in which this autocephalous Church was placed after 1191. The persistent attempts to "convert" or "reduce" the Cypriots actually only ceased when the Latins were finally expelled from the island by the Turks in the sixteenth century. The oath of submission imposed on the Cypriot clergy was especially disturbing since it seemed to imply collaboration with the Latins as well as abandonment of the faith. As a result, new archbishops took pains to have the validity of their nominations formally sanctioned by Nicaea; it was not unusual for a nominee to journey personally to the Nicaean court for this purpose rather than send a delegation to represent him. This was actually the practice in force on the island before 1191. But this

[39] D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (London, 1971), 277.

was only a formality and, as such, could not resolve the question of the oath which the patriarch and the synod disapproved. Patriarchal encyclicals, in fact, repeatedly advised the Cypriots not to obey those clergy who had complied with the required homage and fealty owed to the Latin archbishop; nor were they to attend the services or accept their blessings. Priests were to act similarly toward those bishops who had submitted—if they wished to remain Orthodox. Apparently, the only point on which the patriarchate was willing to relent was on the matter of appeals made to the Latin primate (based on the decisions imposed initially by Orthodox bishops). The Cypriot hierarchy, for its part, was to complain that it was difficult under the circumstances not to yield to the Latins. Besides, the encyclicals from Nicaea, they emphasized, could be construed as interference in the affairs of a Church that was in effect outside patriarchal jurisdiction.[40] And yet, the uncompromising posture of the patriarchate was not, it seems, without effect, as the death penalty imposed by the Latins against the disobedient monks of Cantariotissa in 1231 illustrates. On the whole, the problem was never fully resolved since patriarchal policy remained fundamentally unchanged, especially after the Latin Church tightened its grip on the island in 1260.

The problems involving the "western" bishops of the principality of Epirus were also canonical in nature; however, these stemmed naturally from the open political competition between the Epirote and Nicaean sovereigns. Doctrine was never an issue nor was communion actually ever broken. It is as such misleading to describe this ecclesiastical controversy as a schism.[41] Epirus was indeed the political rival of the Lascarids and by the 1220s its ruler, Theodore I Angelus, actually had himself proclaimed emperor. Although this coronation lacked both prestige and legitimacy (since it was not patriarchal) it greatly displeased the Lascarid rulers. Since it was a direct denial of their claims to dynastic legitimacy it could not be ignored. But the Epirote rulers were capable of irritating the patriarchate as well, especially by their practice of appointing to vacant sees, including the autocephalous archbishopric of Ohrid. In fact, Theodore's coronation was performed by one such appointee, Ohrid's incumbent, the canonist Demetrius Chomatianus. As we should expect, the Epirote bishops chose to ignore the protests of the

[40] *PG* 140:601-13; 613-21; *Regestes*, nos. 1234, 1250 (letters of the patriarch dated 1223 and 1229 respectively). Cf. also K. Chatzepsaltes, "Relations between Cyprus and the Byzantine state in Nicaea," (in Greek) *Kypriakai Spoudai* 15 (1951), 63-82; *idem*, "The Church of Cyprus and the ecumenical patriarchate in Nicaea," (in Greek) *Kypriakai Spoudai* 28 (1964), 135-68.

[41] J. Meyendorff, "Ideological crises in Byzantium, 1071 to 1261," *idem*, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* (Crestwood, NY, 1982), 75.

patriarchate. Submission, for their part, would have also implied recognition of the Lascarid claims to the imperial purple.[42] On the other hand, they continued to respect the rights and legitimacy of the patriarch and did not establish either an autocephalous church or a rival patriarchate. A settlement was finally reached in 1232 and full canonical relations were restored, but only after military defeat had forced the Epirote authorities to abandon their imperial pretensions.

As is well known, Bulgaria's national and ecclesiastical independence came to an end in 1018 when its patriarchate was abolished and a new Byzantine province was created, subject ecclesiastically to the see of Ohrid. By the early thirteenth century, however, an independent Bulgaria was once again in existence partly as a result of Byzantium's own internal disintegration, harsh fiscal policy, and the fourth crusade.[43] Predictably, the Orthodox sovereigns of this so-called "second Bulgarian empire" were eager for ecclesiastical autonomy as well. The fact that the kingdom was still canonically subject to the Macedonian archbishopric of Ohrid, headed by Demetrius Chomatianus, was to complicate matters. At first the Bulgarian ruler Kaloyan turned to pope Innocent III for his royal title, and the pope, for his part, prepared to comply. Ecclesiastical primacy then followed the initial request to Innocent for a royal crown and Kaloyan's appointee (the archbishop of Trnovo) became Bulgaria's primate. All the same, the agreement did not last. Bulgaria's age-old bonds with the mother Church of Constantinople proved stronger and by 1235, after lengthy negotiations with Nicaea, the country was once again back within the Byzantine orbit. In exchange for its recognition of the honorary primacy of the ecumenical patriarchate, the archbishopric of Trnovo was separated from Ohrid and granted patriarchal status.[44]

The rise of the medieval Serbian kingdom early in the thirteenth century under Stefan Nemanja and his sons Sava and Stefan was to create similar problems for Nicaea. The ecclesiastical situation parallels that of Bulgaria. Here, too, there was a realignment of power, temporary acceptance of papal authority, repudiation of direct Byzantine rule, as well as ecclesiastical jurisdictional rivalry involving the supporter of the Epirote rulers, Demetrius Chomatianus of Ohrid.[45] Nevertheless, Serbia's devotion to Byzantine Christianity remained strong. By 1219, "the illuminator of Serbia," St Sava, together with his brother king Stefan, had resolved to maintain Serbia's Byzantine orientation. The patriarchate, in its turn, was accommodating, and in the same year freed the Serbs from their ecclesiastical subordination to Ohrid by granting the Serbian Church autocephaly; Sava was himself consecrated as its first archbishop in the Nicaean capital. This establishment of an independent self-governing Serbian Church (despite Ohrid's vigorous protests) was limited only by the fact that the patriarch's name was to be given precedence in the commemorative diptychs. It was the same condition of liturgical commemoration that was later imposed on the Bulgarians. Characteristically, an identical generous spirit of accommodation was also to govern the patriarchate's relations with prince Daniel of Galicia and Volynia shortly after the Mongol conquest of Russia (1240). The patriarch's decision to accept Daniel's request that a native Russian be appointed to the see of Kiev was a turning point of sorts (1248-49). For, until then, the appointment of a non-Greek was unusual. Even on those rare occasions, in fact, the metropolitan-elect had always been consecrated by the patriarch in the Byzantine capital.

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[42] D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957); A.D. Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy Between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epirus (1217-33)* (Thessalonica, 1973); L. Stiernon, "Les origines du despotat d'Épire," *REB* 17 (1959), 90-126.

[43] R.L. Wolff, "The second Bulgarian empire: its origins and history to 1204," *Speculum* 24 (1949), 167-206. See also below, pp. 241-8.

[44] *Regestes*, nos. 1282 and 1285. See the detailed discussion below, p. 248f.

The political realities behind the ecclesiastical concessions granted to the Slavic-speaking daughter-Churches during the Nicaean period are undeniable. They are the clue, it is safe to assume, to the patriarchate's diplomatic flexibility. Still, "these privileges, which helped to strengthen the loyalty of these churches to the patriarchate at a time when the combined pressure of the papacy and the Latin crusading states threatened to disrupt the unity of Orthodox Christendom, are also examples of the realism and diplomatic skill displayed by the Byzantine authorities in their dealings with the nations of Eastern Europe.... It was largely thanks to the ecumenical patriarchate that the commonwealth retained a tangible structure during the late Middle Ages."[46] Significantly, this firm commitment to Orthodox unity was to become even stronger under hesychast ecclesiastical leadership in the fourteenth century.

To summarize, the Orthodox patriarchate of Constantinople did not collapse or disintegrate with the Latin invasion. Thanks to its flexible policy, it remained the focus of unity for the Orthodox family of nations. Despite its full retreat before the Roman Church after 1204, the distant Russians and Georgians, the "western" bishops of Epirus, the southern Slavs of the Balkans, as well as the Orthodox living under Frankish rule, continued to respect its supranational spiritual authority and responsibility.[47] As John Cantacuzenus was to note in 1367, Bulgarians, Serbians "and their like," throughout the late Middle Ages had remained with the Byzantines "brothers in faith."[48] Although there was periodic strife and aggression among them, the powerful spiritual and cultural ties that united them to the Church of Constantinople were indeed never sundered. It is worth noting that the papacy itself came to realize that the patriarch's international connections, wide-ranging activity and prestige, were not an illusion. The papal decision to send an embassy of friars to the patriarch in 1234 was in the end revolutionary, since until then the papacy had officially recognized only its own creature, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, as primate of the Byzantine Church. This is not to suggest that the position achieved by the patriarchate was also non-controversial. Ohrid, as we have already emphasized, was initially reluctant to recognize the primacy, canonical authority, and legitimacy of the patriarchate. This Macedonian challenge (also discussed in more detail in the next chapter) was determined in part by the political situation. On the other hand, it was also based on the legitimate argument that in its dealings with Ohrid, Constantinople had not always followed traditional Orthodox ecclesiology.

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[45] H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen, 1980), 186-87. See also p. 250f.

[46] Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, 241-2; J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), 47.

On the whole, by the 1230s the Nicaean state had also been able to achieve a position of strength in the political power game. None of its rivals had in actual fact been able to arrest its expansion. Some of them had become weaker, including the Latin empire (thanks to its diplomatic ineptitude and weak feudal structure). In the event, Nicaea was before long negotiating with the papacy to see if it could be persuaded to abandon its unwavering support of the dying Latin empire; in exchange for Constantinople, the Lascarids were willing to offer Church union. Doubtless, ecclesiastical reconciliation based on political necessity was opposed by the patriarchate. Still, open discussion was never rejected, hence patriarch Germanus' letter to pope Gregory IX, dated 1232, in which the problem was indeed raised. However deep the reservoir of popular outrage, the Church had not abandoned all hope of reconciliation. Two years later the papal delegation of friars mentioned above arrived in Nicaea.[49]

[47] Cf. *Regestes*, no.1257.

[48] J. Meyendorff, "Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367: Un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul," *DOP* 14 (1960), 170-1.

[49] *Regestes*, nos.1256 and 1257; J. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), 214-15; Hamilton, *Latin*, 321.

The debates which took place on that occasion first at Nicaea (15 January 1234) and then at Nymphaeum (late in April) had the full cooperation of the emperor John Vatatzes (husband of the daughter of Theodore I Lascaris). And although the emperor was perhaps more concerned with the return of Constantinople and its patriarchal throne to its lawful successors, the debates focused attention on the *Filioque* and the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist. The lay theologian Nicephorus Blemmydes and Germanus II represented the patriarchate, while the papal diplomats, two Franciscans and two Dominicans, were the Roman spokesmen.[50] Although the discussion was lengthy, it was also unproductive and ended in an outburst of recriminations with each side accusing the other of heresy. It was no doubt too soon after the fourth crusade for rational or dispassionate debate. Negotiations all the same continued intermittently down to the recovery of Constantinople. Blemmydes was once again the chief Byzantine advocate in 1249 when the Franciscan John of Parma visited the Nicaean court as papal emissary.[51] By then the papacy had become more flexible. The failure of the Latin conquest of 1204 to achieve unity or a new crusade (to act, in short, as an instrument of papal policy) was widely recognized. This realistic assessment meant in effect that the papal court was willing to abandon the Latin empire to its fate.[52] Still, a treaty was actually never signed, for both Vatatzes and the papal incumbent, Innocent IV, died in 1254. It was not a disaster, however. The sacred city of the Orthodox world fell into Nicaean hands less than six years later—without papal assistance.

By and large, the pourparlers between Rome and Nicaea produced little in the way of tangible results. They have in fact been described as inconclusive and futile—a barren chapter in the diplomatic history of the Nicaean state.[53] Latin arrogance and intransigence, papal hostility toward Nicaea and (until the 1240s) a corresponding support of the Latin empire, led necessarily to frequent stalemate. It is also safe to assume that the atmosphere—thirty years or so after the ordeal of 1204—was not friendly. Nevertheless, the contacts were not altogether without importance. Blemmydes' theological views certainly did not go unnoticed. The opposing theological positions of John Beccus and Gregory of Cyprus, succeeding patriarchs to the see of Constantinople some two decades

[50] P. Canard, "Nicéphore Blemmyde et la mémoire adressé aux envoyés de Grégoire IX (Nicée, 1234)," *OCP* 25 (1959), 310-25 (text=319-25); for the official report of the four friars, see the edition by G. Golubovich, "Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 12 (1919), 428-70; *Regestes*, no.1267f.

[51] Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Curriculum Vitae*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1896), 74-80.

[52] Cf. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 368-78.

[53] Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 16.

later, were indeed to have as their starting point these same earlier views aired first at Nicaea. Then again, the emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259-82) determined to follow the policy of his Lascarid predecessors. His great diplomatic triumph, the act of union signed at the council of Lyons in 1274, though a product of his own political genius, also had roots in the earlier diplomatic tactics used by the Lascarid family in its dealings with Rome.

3. The restoration of Byzantine power

The dramatic recovery of Constantinople by Nicaean forces, 25 July 1261, marked the effectual rebirth of the Byzantine empire. The very symbol of all imperial claims was again under Byzantine control. The jubilation and optimism of the Byzantines was unrestrained. It was nevertheless also short-lived. Plans for a new Latin crusade to recapture the city were soon under way. Then again, before long, ecclesiastical schism and new internal crises were to plague both the Church and the state. The end of the Nicaean period and the beginning of the Palaeologan age, to be short, was characterized by profound change and interruption. Actually, the shift became evident even before the capture of the imperial capital itself with the sudden seizure of power by the ambitious Nicaean general Michael Palaeologus. By the end of 1261 the eight year old legitimate heir to the throne, John IV Lascaris, was in fact blinded and Michael was declared sole emperor, despite the excommunication imposed on him by patriarch Arsenius.[54] This launching of the last dynasty in Byzantine history did not of course go unchallenged. Those who remained faithful to the lawful Lascarid house and the patriarch Arsenius, who was soon deposed, became a formidable opposition. The members of this anti-Palaeologan Arsenite movement (as it is usually called) were actually not reconciled to the new dynasty until 1310. Significantly, the movement was centered in Asia Minor and was bitterly opposed to Michael's foreign policy favoring the western territories of the empire at the expense of the former Lascarid lands in Anatolia. But the Arsenites were to come into conflict with the Church as well, since many of its members were ultra-conservative monastics and, as such, rigorously faithful to the deposed and exiled patriarch Arsenius. They were in fact to insist that all elections to the see of Constantinople after the patriarch's deposition (1265) were uncanonical and invalid. No less irregular in their opinion was the status of those elevated to the episcopal dignity by Arsenius' "illegitimate" successors. This schism was to raise important questions about episcopal responsibility and Church order,

[54] D.J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* (Cambridge, 1959).

and it is not surprising that numerous texts of this period (1261-1310) are preoccupied almost exclusively with such problems.[55]

It is of course easy to sympathize with Michael VIII especially since his solution to the problem confronting his government after 1261 was in part responsible for the physical preservation of the empire and the new dynasty. The facts are simple enough. The empire was once again faced with western aggression. Charles of Anjou, enfeoffed by the pope with southern Italy and Sicily in 1265 as successor to the Hohenstaufen, was determined to restore the Latin empire. Michael, for his part, was destined to spend virtually his entire reign trying to escape another lethal Latin crusade. (To the frustration of the pro-Lascarid party, the simultaneous migration of the Turks westward into Anatolia was seen by the emperor as the lesser evil.) That he should have chosen the path of reunion as a means to neutralize Angevin imperialism is not surprising. It seemed to be the only realistic solution to his predicament, since his adversary was in fact using the schism to support and qualify his campaign as a crusade. On the whole, Michael's appeals to the papacy were welcomed. To repeat, Rome had by then realized that militarism as a means to unity had accomplished little. The short-lived Latin empire had turned out to be nothing more than an embarrassment and a liability. Further, the papacy was also aware that the emperor was driven by military considerations and that, ultimately, the argument he would be making to the patriarch and his synod in favor of union would be based on the danger posed by Charles' grandiose Mediterranean schemes. In the event, Rome determined to retain the advantage: ecclesiastical submission was to be achieved first, before any promised diplomatic help would be given. This is to say, unity was to come before anything else, only then would the papacy try to resolve the emperor's political problems. This Roman policy of intransigence, which later often turned into duplicity to coerce the Byzantine government into compliance, was maintained virtually intact down to the collapse of the empire. The only difference in the following centuries was the change in the nature of the threat and the aid needed. By then the Ottomans, against whom armed assistance was urgently required, had replaced the West as the aggressor.

The Roman formula for Church unity is easily illustrated from the papal registers. It is particularly well represented by the correspondence of pope Clement IV. In a letter, dated 4 March 1267, the emperor was expressly apprised of the fact that the terms of unity would indeed be exclusively papal and Latin. Although the agreed settlement was to be sealed in an ecumenical council (eventually convoked at Lyons in 1274) deliberation or review would not be permitted. Traditional conciliar procedure would not be followed, in other words, for it was neither fitting nor desirable to submit the truths of the faith to "discussion or definition." On the contrary, no assembly could be summoned publicly to debate what was already firmly defined by so many Roman pontiffs; that would be tantamount to placing the purity of Roman doctrine in question, as well as challenging the papacy's ultimate authority. In brief, the only way Rome was willing to agree to a settlement (before it would restrain Charles) was by submission—not negotiation. Typically, in its desire to avoid any misunderstanding regarding its non-negotiable demands, the papacy asked Michael to sign a long and detailed *professio fidei* (embedded in Clement's letter) before union was actually proclaimed at Lyons. All in all, it is difficult to decide which of the two solutions to the problem of unity adopted by Rome in the thirteenth century is more astonishing—the capitulation of the Eastern Church by military conquest or its "conversion" by diplomatic intimidation.

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[55] V. Laurent, "Les grandes crises religieuses à Byzance. La fin du schisme arsénite," *Bulletin Sect. Hist. Academie Roumaine*, 26/2 (Bucharest, 1945), 225-313; J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966).

Michael was understandably in no position to argue against the papal ultimatum. To neutralize the western backlash promoted by Charles of Anjou, reunion would have to be by submission without reservation. In the end, the personal confession of faith, written for him by pope Clement, did in fact become the basis of the union signed at the fourth session of the council of Lyons, 6 July 1274.[56] It was at this session that the Latin doctrines of purgatory, papal supremacy, and the *Filioque* were solemnly acknowledged and confessed by the emperor's accredited representatives. To say it once more, no formal public debate on these matters was allowed at the council and none is recorded in the sources. Actually, the addition to the creed was formally declared dogma early in the second session of the council even before the Byzantine delegates had arrived! As for the doctrine of primacy, Michael's profession of faith made it quite clear that by virtue of the papal

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[56] A.L. Tăutu, ed., *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X (1261-1276)* (Pontificia Commissio ad redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici orientalis, Fontes, ser.3, vol.5, book 1) (Vatican, 1953), 116-21. The secondary literature on Lyons is extensive, see especially B. Roberg, *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon (1274)* (Bonn, 1964); H. Wolter and H. Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II* (Paris, 1966); J. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy 1198-1400* (New Brunswick, NY, 1979), 97-141; D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium. Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World* (London, 1973); and the important collection of Greek documents in V. Laurent and J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273-1277)* (Paris, 1976).

plenitudo potestatis, Rome alone was the source of the honors and privileges of all Churches, including those of the traditional eastern patriarchates. "The fullness of power of the Roman Church consists in that she admits the other Churches to a share in her solicitude; this same Roman Church has honored many, and particularly patriarchal, Churches with various privileges." No less interesting was St Thomas Aquinas' opinion on the matter. Although he died before he could reach the council, he was to write that its rejection by the Byzantine world was as serious an "error" as its denial of the *Filioque.*[57] Whereas both of these items were old unresolved issues, the scholastic doctrine of purgatory contained in Michael's confession was entirely new to the Byzantines. It had never before been debated formally by the two Churches.[58] The first extensive discussion on the subject would be at the council of Florence (1439).

On the whole, the Christian East was not an active participant at the council of 1274. Neither the Church of Constantinople nor any other eastern patriarchate for that matter was involved in its preparation or deliberations. As it happened, the three men who comprised the Byzantine delegation were Michael's personal emissaries. Nor was their submission anything more than a formal ratification of previous arrangements made in Constantinople between the emperor and the pope's agents. This is not to say that the Byzantine Church was unaware of the emperor's delicate diplomatic haggling. Michael had been negotiating with the patriarch and his synod as well, and had "guaranteed" both that his concessions to Rome would be limited to three formal items, namely, primacy, liturgical commemoration of the pope, and the Roman right of appeal (πρωτεῖον, ἔκκλητον καί μνημόσυνον).[59] Since these items were concerned with the pope's traditional prerogatives, the customs and doctrines of the Eastern Church would not be changed or affected in any way. Predictably, the Church was wary of the emperor's promises. Its insistence that unity could be achieved only when all the unresolved issues dividing Christendom were first discussed openly by both Churches is well documented. Two texts, issued in 1273, just as Michael was about to complete his negotiations and send his delegation to France, are

[57] D.M. Nicol, "The papal scandal," *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976), 159.

[58] See M. Roncaglia, *Georges Bardanès, métropolite de Corfou, et Barthélémy de l'Ordre Franciscain* (Rome, 1953), 56, for the earliest known informal discussion (1235-36) of this doctrine between a Franciscan and a Byzantine bishop. For the date, see Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, 155. See also below, pp. 398-401 for Florence.

[59] George Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), 386-7; 457-59; J. Gill, "The Church union of the council of Lyons (1274) portrayed in Greek documents," *OCP* 40 (1974), 140. Cf. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus*, 265, 319.

particularly eloquent affirmations of this posture. One is from the pen of patriarch Joseph I.[60] Although he may not have authored the text himself, it does bear his name and expresses his views. The other is from his synod.[61] Both are obviously official documents representing the highest ecclesiastical authorities of the Byzantine Church. That they speak for the majority of the episcopate, the monks and the clergy, is reasonably certain. Understandably, they also share a common ecclesiological sensibility and perspective.

Joseph begins his memorandum to the emperor by noting that the peace and concord that the ancient and illustrious Church of Rome had requested was a project he could only praise and approve. He himself was willing to become anathema and be cut off from Christ for the sake of union (cf. Romans 9:3). All the same, a settlement could never materialize unless the theological differences that had caused the division in the first place were discussed in an open council. Such an assembly would have to be fully representative and, as such, would have to involve all the Churches. Moreover, the council would have to include on its agenda the three canonical concessions upon which the emperor was basing his unionist effort. These, too, were unacceptable without previous discussion. In sum, the patriarch was refusing to act alone, without discussion, or without the opinion of the other Churches in eucharistic communion with Constantinople. To do so would be tantamount to separating himself from those who were clearly the majority in order to rally to the one who was not, either institutionally or doctrinally, in unity with the others. Indeed, everyone, not just the see of Constantinople, was to be represented, involved and consulted, at the proposed council. Equally eloquent was the synodal opinion signed by the majority of the patriarch's synod. The bishops, it seems, were also uncomfortable with Michael's plans. The calling of an ecumenical council to discuss all substantive differences is again politely but pointedly emphasized, as is the idea that such debate would be a necessary preliminary to accepting the emperor's three-point plan. This council would have to be attended by the patriarchs and all the body of the hierarchy everywhere. This was the traditional procedure or "practice in force in the past" used by the Church to resolve its problems. Finally, the bishops add that they too were eager for rapprochement. It was their conviction, however, that if their proposed union-council did not come to pass the "scandal of the Church would remain without remedy."[62]

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[60] Laurent and Darrouzès, *Dossier grec*, 302-5.

[61] *Ibid.*, 306-13.

[62] *Ibid.*, 313. Cf. A. Papadakis, "Ecumenism in the thirteenth century: The Byzantine case," *SVQ* 27 (1983), 207-17.

It is of course possible to interpret these preconditions negatively, as a clever counter-argument for circumventing the emperor's dubious if realistic agenda. However, such an analysis would be an oversimplification of the evidence, if only because it ignores the true thrust of the argument of the patriarch and the synod. Both texts, indeed, place the emphasis on the same fact, namely, that the emperor's overriding objective did not really have the interests of Christian unity at heart. On the contrary, the plan was a fraud and a mockery of the conciliar procedure insofar as its aim was focused primarily on the political dividends to be gained from Lyons. On the other hand, the patriarch and his synod were convinced that the only authentic solution to the problem of disunity lay in serious dialogue in a general common council; it was in fact the only path to unambiguous unity and authentic ecumenicity. Both their pluralistic perception of Church structure, and their unwillingness to break fellowship with the other local churches, stemmed naturally from this Orthodox doctrine of conciliarity. It is worth adding that the same call for debate is found in all subsequent official Byzantine documents on the subject. It became the absolute prerequisite for virtually all churchmen, including the fourteenth century hesychasts who were by then in control of the patriarchate. They, too, refused to abandon patriarch Joseph's ancient "ecclesiology of communion" for some passing political goal. A full representation of the Eastern Church and a full-dress debate in a joint council was also to be for them the only way to repair the schism.[63]

Characteristically, Rome refused to budge or to change its position by following the conciliar procedure suggested by the East. Instead it continued to demand the same abjuration of schism, the same profession of faith, and the same oath of submission. Whenever the question of union was raised the answer was identical to that given in the thirteenth century: the Clementine formula that had "made all patriarchal rights and privileges stem from Rome was to be swallowed whole."[64] It was to this mindset that the metropolitan of Thessalonica, Nilus Cabasilas, was doubtless responding when he was to note (in the 1350s) that the problem would not be resolved until the papal need to dictate everything was abandoned. "It is not, as the Roman Church insists, that we claim primacy and cannot agree to take second place after Rome. We have never quarreled with the Roman Church about primacy, and there is no question here about taking second place....What, then, is the cause of this disagreement? It is that this controversial question has not been resolved by a communal decision

[63] See below, p. 380f.

[64] Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 253.

on the part of an ecumenical council, and that it has not been settled on the basis of the ancient practice of the fathers of the Church, but that the Romans have been playing the part of the master in this and have treated the others like obedient school-children."[65] Suffice it to say, this line of argument serves to explain why Byzantine authors after the thirteenth century were for the most part singularly silent about Lyons. The council's fraudulent nature was taken for granted and hence seldom mentioned.

The official Church was not alone in its resistance to Michael's unionist efforts. Soon after the emperor's diplomatic triumph at Lyons a massive popular backlash broke out and eventually embraced monks, clergy and, indeed, most classes, including members of the imperial family and aristocracy. The vanguard of this opposition with its attendant demonstrations and riots was the lingering "legitimist" party of the Arsenites. Its futile cause on behalf of the disinherited Lascarid family was undoubtedly strengthened by the events at Lyons. Although cruel state persecution and brute force followed, this only resulted in more disorder and violence. The problem was compounded by attempts at theological persuasion undertaken by the emperor's new compliant patriarch, John XI Beccus, and his "latinophron" (Latin-minded) collaborators. Their vigorous defense of the *Filioque* was at best ill-advised if not irresponsible. As the abundant polemic generated by the Orthodox opposition indicates, their endorsement was to produce more division. Significantly, Michael's failure to convince his subjects of the wisdom of his policy is one of the most persuasive arguments against Byzantine caesaropapism. Unconditional domination of the Church by the state did not in fact exist in Byzantium. Although Michael was able to depose three individual patriarchs in the course of his reign, he was unable to control or compromise the independence of the Church and its catholic faith. During the fourteenth century, in particular, the Church was to act largely as an independent body in both its policies and its claims. No emperor after Michael VIII, at any rate, was able to ignore either the patriarch or his synod. For all that, belief that imperial control of the Byzantine Church was extensive was to govern Rome's strategy for most of the late Middle Ages. Roman pontiffs, it seems, were convinced that if the emperor could be converted the Church would then slavishly fall into line as well. Even Lyons, remarkably enough, failed to disabuse Rome of this comforting but misguided illusion (as the subsequent 1369 conversion of John V Palaeologus suggests).

[65] *PG* 149:685.

Michael was doubtless baffled by his inability to suppress the widespread internal crisis caused by his unionist effort. It was clearly undermining all the advantages he had gained at Lyons. No less ominous was the fact that Rome was beginning to regard his difficulties as a delaying tactic: whereas it had obliged the King of Sicily to abandon his expansionist plans at least temporarily, the Byzantine emperor had done little to keep his side of the bargain. (Michael's brutality evidently was not seen as a guarantee of good faith.) Accordingly, the papal position became increasingly more exacting, though it was not radically or decisively changed until 1281, when a Frenchman, Martin IV, was elected pope. Within a matter of weeks the new pontiff was coaxed by his countryman, Charles, into believing that the Byzantine alliance had not been in the papacy's best interest; Michael's procrastination and duplicity were obvious proof that it was not working. The only way Byzantium could be brought to submission and be cured of its heresy was by force. Convinced that this was indeed the appropriate solution, Martin agreed to bless Charles' scheme to restore the Latin empire of Constantinople. Following this alliance, sealed at Orvieto on 3 July, the fiction of union proclaimed at Lyons seven years before was dissolved and the Byzantine emperor was himself disowned by the pope as a heretic and a schismatic. In less than a few months after Martin's accession, the papacy had not only become a tool of the Angevins in Italy but in the process had returned to its old military policy for achieving union. Michael's long and exhausting struggle against another western crusade had collapsed.

Be this as it may, there was no repetition of 1204, thanks to the devastating conclusiveness of the so-called Sicilian Vespers, the bloody revolt that broke out in Sicily against the French early the following year (31 March 1282).[66] Charles barely survived the catastrophe. Michael's defensive diplomacy had not been in vain: the Sicilian uprising had been master-minded and subsidized at least in part by his own agents. Overall, this sudden shift in Charles' fortunes was a stunning humiliation for the papacy as well. On the other hand, Michael's own political diplomacy also had a price, even if his subjects had not been expelled from or deprived of Constantinople. Actually, the emperor died before the end of the same year, leaving behind him a divided Church and an exhausted state shorn of its strength and resources. His son and heir, Andronicus II, moved immediately to restore Orthodoxy. With the political landscape permanently changed by the Vespers there was

[66] S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge, 1958).

no longer any necessity to continue the profoundly disruptive and unpopular diplomacy of his father. An exceptionally gifted intellectual, Gregory II of Cyprus, was then appointed to succeed the deposed and disgraced Beccus.

4. *The council of Blachernae, 1285*

To be sure, the troubled ecclesiastical situation inherited by the new emperor and patriarch Gregory II did not vanish overnight. As a matter of fact it was to continue for most of patriarch Gregory's stormy tenure (1282-89). His relentless efforts to end the Arsenite schism, for example, were by and large futile. Virtually all the solutions of both the Church and the state for ending the impasse created by the dissident movement were either rejected or ignored. A mutually satisfactory accommodation was indeed never found. Moreover, the council of Lyons remained an explosive topic for Byzantine theologians. It was at this council, as we have seen, that the *Filioque* formula was first endorsed and declared dogma. Although the papacy had approved it early in the eleventh century (when the interpolation was incorporated in the Roman liturgy for the first time) it was not until 1274 that it was actually given conciliar authority as well. It was, in fact, then that the Christian East was officially condemned and anathematized for denying the doctrine: *Damnamus et reprobamus omnes qui negare praesumpserint aeternaliter Spiritum Sanctum ex Patre et Filio procedere.*[67] This canonization was at best ill-considered. After 1274, at any rate, debate on the controversial issue became more difficult, since western theologians were invariably bound to view it as a truth of faith or as a non-negotiable item of Latin trinitarian thought. But the Byzantine preoccupation with Lyons during Gregory's tenure was not due to western developments only. The pro-western position advocated by the "latinophronist" camp had not been settled dogmatically. On the whole, the feverish polemic directed against Beccus had been uninformed and unauthorized. Hence Beccus' persistent demand for an official hearing after his deposition in 1282. Before long patriarch Gregory was to concur; an objective theological evaluation of the double procession of the Spirit from the Father "and the Son" (*Filioque*) was required. Herein lies the historical significance of his brief patriarchate. For it was under his presidency that the council of Blachernae convened in 1285 to

[67] Alberigo, 290. Cf. the contemporary Greek translation in Laurent and Darrouzès, *Dossier grec*, 324-5. To foster and promote dialogue, modern Orthodox theologians have, characteristically, called for the lifting of the anathemas of 1274 and the suppression of the added clause. See especially, B. Bobrinskoy, "The *Filioque* yesterday and today," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ* (Geneva, 1981), 133-48, esp. 140-147; J. Breck, "The relevance of Nicene christology," *SVQ* 31 (1987), 63. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic scholar J.-M. Garrigues, "Le *Filioque* hier et aujourd'hui," *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum* (Vatican, 1983), 1:345-48, has asked Orthodox to suspend judgments that qualify the Church of Rome as heretical because of the *Filioque*.

assess Lyons and its Byzantine apologists. Blachernae is in actual fact the most important constructive contribution of the Byzantine Church on the subject. Its synodal *Tomus*, penned by the patriarch, is the key doctrinal document of the century.

Although a comprehensive study of the medieval debate on the *Filioque* has not yet been written, the actual history of its inclusion in the creed is well known. It was in fact adopted in Spain for the first time during the conversion of the Arian Visigoths to orthodox Christianity (589).[68] The need to protect the full divinity and equality of the Son with the Father in the Trinity was, it seems, the objective. For if the Spirit is said to proceed eternally from both the Father and the Son, then the Son could not be inferior to the Father (as the Arians believed) but his co-equal. What was essentially a local weapon against Arianism stuck, and from Spain gradually spread to Gaul as well, where Charlemagne's wide-eyed theologians saw to its rapid dissemination and justification. By the late 700s Charlemagne was using it as propaganda against the Byzantine state—his political adversary at the time. The illicit addition, nevertheless, was disapproved by the papacy. Whenever Carolingian requests for an official endorsement of the extra phrase were made, they were always firmly denied; whereas singing the *Filioque* in the royal chapel at Aachen was apparently permissible, tampering with the authoritative text of the creed in a formal way was not.[69] This neutral position was maintained even during the acrimonious Photian schism in the second half of the ninth century, when Frankish missionaries began to spread the addition in Bulgaria as well. It was in part this activity that prompted patriarch Photius to voice his objections and then write the first detailed Orthodox refutation of the doctrine. Significantly, when peace was restored, Rome explicitly agreed to its condemnation. Hence the formal anathematization during the union council of 879 of those who would attempt to revise the ecumenical creed with "illegitimate words, or additions, or subtractions."[70]

This mutual agreement between Rome and Constantinople, to say it once more, was maintained until the eleventh century, when, during the coronation of the German emperor Henry II (1014), the fateful formula was finally adopted in Rome as well. As a result of this adoption, the altered creed became standard throughout the West. Inevitably, the scope of the debate widened as well. Before long, Rome was justifying the alteration by its own doctrinal authority. As papal apologists were to argue, it was sufficient that

[68] J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (New York, 1981), 361-2.

[69] *PL* 102:971.

[70] Mansi 17:520E.

the Roman pontiff had declared it dogma; by virtue of his Petrine power, he was not subject to conciliar judgment. On the contrary, unlike everyone else, Rome had the right not only to convoke general councils but to amplify and even to revise their decisions.[71] (Evidently, Rome's earlier affirmation of the original text of the creed and its steadfast refusal to fall into line with the Carolingians were not viewed as contradictions.) The Byzantine Church, to be sure, refused to be moved by such logic. As in the case with St Peter's succession in Rome, proof for the papal claim was lacking; like Rome's understanding of primacy, it too was incapable of either historical or biblical confirmation. Characteristically, the Byzantines were to insist that no one part of the Church had the right to modify an ecumenical document by its own judgment: the only competent institution empowered with such authority was another ecumenical council. As the scholarly Theophylact of Ohrid was to note in the twelfth century, no doctrine could be viewed as correct just because it had been declared true by the pope, not even if the Latins "shake the keys of the Kingdom in our faces."[72] Given their understanding of Church structure, in sum, the Orthodox argued that the textual corruption of the creed approved by the papal throne was unlawful. Theological objections aside, the addition lacked both biblical and ecumenical authority.

Suffice it to say, papal conformity with the rest of Latin Christendom in 1014 meant that every subsequent contact with Constantinople became a convenient occasion for raising the issue. That these numerous encounters cannot be discussed at this point goes without saying. Besides, a satisfactory solution was never attained, given the habitual practice of both sides for gathering patristic "proof-texts" to refute their opponent. The defensive nature of this monotonous exercise is all too evident in the extensive literature that survives in both Greek and Latin. It comes as no surprise that the results of these abortive efforts have often been dismissed as worthless polemic. On the other hand, the focus was not always exclusively on the ancient authorities. Overall, Byzantine theologians remained faithful disciples of Photius in objecting not only to the arbitrary addition but to its doctrinal implications. Their intuition that the dispute was above all about two different approaches to the problem of God, was fundamentally Photian. In voicing their grievances they rarely lost sight of the fact that the dual procession impaired the *personal* reality in the Trinity, in which the Father alone "by virtue of his hypostatic character" was the source of deity.[73] But the assumed inability of theologians to advance beyond self-righteous bigotry or redundant polemic is questionable for another reason. Although the assumption may be true for the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is inappropriate for the thirteenth, when attempts to bring the two doctrinal positions into alignment are not lacking. Whereas the Latins rarely went beyond their demands for submission—Rome was the final judge in dogmatic matters—Byzantine theologians of a more speculative bent did try to transcend the deadlock on which previous debate had so often faltered. Despite their commitment to their own tradition, Nicephorus Blemmydes, Gregory of Cyprus, and later Gregory Palamas, were determined to investigate the issue creatively, even if this meant going beyond Photius' arguments. In comparison with earlier discussions, their achievement was of permanent value. Patriarch Gregory's contribution was itself to enter Orthodox tradition through the council of 1285.[74]

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[71] J. Pelikan, "The doctrine of the *Filioque* in Thomas Aquinas and its patristic antecedents," in *St Thomas Aquinas Commemorative Studies* (Toronto, 1974), 1:315-36 (esp. 327).

[72] P. Gautier, ed., *Théophylacte d'Achrida; Discours, traités, poésies* (Thessalonica, 1980), 275; cf. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 44.

To understand Gregory's position, it is necessary to recall briefly the public disputations held at Nicaea in 1234 and 1249. We have already stressed the fact that these were to influence both Beccus and Gregory and, as such, had a direct bearing on Blachernae.[75] Once again, the argument focused on quotations from the fathers and, in particular, on those expressions which described the Holy Spirit as acting "through the Son." According to the participant Blemmydes, the quotations were used by his Latin partners in dialogue to demonstrate the orthodoxy of the western doctrine or, more specifically, to prove that the Spirit proceeds *a Patre Filioque*. Acting "through the Son," they argued, had the same substantial meaning as proceeding "from the Son." Indeed, although the Spirit proceeds from the Father (according to the primitive version of the creed and the witness of Scripture) it also proceeds from the Son, or from both. Characteristically, the papal representatives were to draw identical conclusions from such biblical expressions as "Spirit of God," "Spirit of Truth," and "Spirit of Christ." These, too, according to them, were in harmony with the Latin doctrine since they were meant to convey procession. Blemmydes was doubtless uncomfortable with this essentially contrived and misguided exegesis. In particular, he dismissed the conclusion that the patristic formulas were the

[73] Photius, *PG* 102:293A.

[74] A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289)* (New York, 1983).

[75] See above, notes 50 and 51; D. Wendebourg, *Geist oder Energie zur Frage der innergöttlichen Verankerung des christlichen Lebens in der byzantinischen Theologie* (Munich, 1980), 97.

equivalent of co-causality or *Filioque*. Instead, he was to suggest (correctly) that what they were in effect expressing was the notion of the consubstantiality of the Son and the Spirit or, as St Maximus the Confessor had put it, the "unity and unchangeableness of the divine essence"[76] shared by the Holy Trinity. More specifically, the expressions were not alluding to the eternal hypostatic relationships of the Spirit with the Son (causality) but to the Spirit's activity in the world after the incarnation (consubstantiality). For nowhere do the Greek fathers imply that the Son is a causal or emitting power in the origin of the Spirit. Quite the contrary. Only the Father is the one cause of the Son and the Spirit.

On the other hand, Blemmydes was unwilling to declare the patristic expressions as unimportant as some of his contemporaries were doing. The fathers had indeed used them. As he was later to acknowledge privately in two letters or treatises (written after 1253), it was conceivable that the expressions were meant to denote something more than just consubstantiality or the unity of nature.[77] They could indeed have been used by the fathers as a reference to the eternal life of the Trinity as well, and not just to the temporal sending of the Spirit to men after the coming of Christ. Curiously, Blemmydes failed to draw the necessary conclusions from his post-1253 observations. He never in fact revised or developed his ideas. Some twenty years later, after reading Blemmydes and noting these omissions, John Beccus attempted an expansion. The exercise was to lead to his conversion to unionism and to his subsequent promotion to patriarch by Michael VIII. A determined campaign was then launched to demonstrate to his disbelieving contemporaries that Latin trinitarian theology was in substantial agreement with the thought of the Greek fathers. He was doubtless sincerely convinced that his discovery would have been approved by the Nicaean scholar.

The centerpiece of Beccus theological brief, also used in defending himself later at the council of 1285, was the formula "through the Son." This, he was confident, was the equivalent of the *Filioque* or "from the Son." As used by the Church fathers, the expression was meant to convey the medial position held by the Son in the eternal hypostatic procession of the Spirit. To argue that it was merely meant to reveal the Spirit's activity in time, said to be through or from the incarnate historical Christ, was unacceptable. It was in fact nothing of the kind. *Per Filium* (διά) and *a Filio* (ἐκ) were synonyms used

[76] *PG* 91:136B; G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London, 1977), 253-54.

[77] *De processione Spiritus sancti orationes duae*, *PG* 142:533-84.

to express the same dogmatic truth, namely, that the Spirit has his existence from the essence of the Father and the Son. Any alleged difference between "from the Father through the Son" and "from the Father and the Son," quite simply, was an artificial invention deliberately manufactured by Byzantine theologians to defame the Church of the Romans.[78] Effectively, Beccus was denying all the objections to the *Filioque* marshalled forth in the East since the time of Photius. This included, among others, the arguments that the Father was the cause of the Spirit by reason of his hypostasis and that the procession was the exclusive property of the Father. In the final analysis, "the promoters of schism made them all up."[79] That Beccus had advanced well beyond what Blemmydes had originally said about such formulas in his treatises goes without saying.

The response of the Byzantine Church to this public defense of the *Filioque*, as noted earlier, was enshrined in the *Tomus* of Blachernae composed by patriarch Gregory.[80] Of all the officially-sponsored debates on the subject before 1285 this is, perhaps, the most important. As a detailed *conciliar* examination of the issue—the only one organized and endorsed by the medieval Byzantine Church since the time of Photius—Blachernae is without parallel. Although the conciliar canonization of the patriarchal *Tomus* was in turn to touch off another controversy, prompted primarily by the patriarch's personal rivals and other rigidly conservative theologians and strict Photians, the Church in the end refused to rescind its approval. The original form of the text was never modified. Gregory's conditional resignation in 1289 was in actual fact made only after his critics had openly admitted that his exegesis was in the final analysis faithful to Church teaching. This public acknowledgment "gives the *Tomus* a permanent place in the history of Tradition."[81] In the history of the development of Byzantine theology as a whole its importance is fundamental. Characteristically, the text was later viewed by some theologians as equal in authority to an ecumenical council.[82]

Although Gregory had also read Blemmydes, his spiritual evolution was very different from the Latinizing Beccus and his partisans. He was, to be sure, a careful reader of the Church fathers and in framing his arguments relied heavily on their authority to support his case. This did not transform

[78] Beccus, *De unione ecclesiarum*, *PG* 141:44A; 61D.

[79] *PG* 141:400B.

[80] *PG* 142:233-46; *Regestes*, no.1490; English translation in Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*, 155-65.

[81] J. Meyendorff, *SVQ* 29 (1985), 76.

[82] Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*, 141-2.

him into a blind conservative, however. His synthesis of their teaching is both fresh and creative, in contrast with Beccus' own essentially superficial reading.[83] It also differs significantly from the anti-Latin approach of his Orthodox critics. Gregory fully agrees with patristic tradition, especially Cappadocian, that the unique source of all divinity is the Father—the origin and cause of all divine life within the Trinity. He alone is indeed the θεόγονος θεότης or begetting deity from whom the hypostatic being of both the Spirit and the Son is derived.[84] Whereas one is brought forth through procession, the other is brought forth through generation "before all ages". With this eternal movement toward existence the Father imparts to both the totality of his essence. This full participation in the common divine essence does not include the personal or hypostatic properties of the Father. Because they are inalienable, personal distinctions are not communicated to the other members in the Trinity, to either the Son or the Spirit. This being so, procession *ex Filio* is impossible and inadmissible. On the contrary, insofar as the procession is an act of the hypostasis of the Father and not of the single common essence (as the Latins and Beccus were insisting) the Son cannot participate in the ineffable cause of the Spirit. To paraphrase Gregory, the Spirit's causal derivation—his hypostatic existence—is neither "from" nor "through" the Son, but solely from the Father; on the eternal level there can indeed be no two causes in the one Godhead.[85] The principle of unity and divinity among the three consubstantial divine persons is always the Father. Understandably, patriarch Gregory rejected the western clarification, also embraced by Beccus, that the Father and the Son together bring forth the Spirit as from one principle—*tanquam ab uno principio.*[86] Although dual procession is circumvented by this notion of co-causality, hypostatic diversity in the Holy Trinity is still blurred or combined. Even this exegesis, in sum, violates the axiom that the hypostatic attributes are absolutely unchangeable.

In more general terms, Gregory's approach to theology is ultimately rooted in the biblical doctrine of God the Trinity, and not in any philosophical understanding of divinity as abstract essence. It was the path of the Cappadocian fathers who, in turn, based it on Christian revelation and experience. As we have seen, this biblical trinitarianism necessarily has as its starting point the personal nature of the living God, his self-revelation as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Specifically, the Cappadocian model invariably begins with the distinction between the three divine persons and only then turns to consider their unity of essence or totally unknowable and transcendent nature. Indeed, without the notion of the absolute diversity of the three persons revealed to us in salvation-history, "we would ultimately be unable to conceive at all of their subsisting distinctly as the one God."[87] To summarize, the pronounced emphasis placed by both patriarch Gregory and the Cappadocians on the notion of paternal causality or divine "monarchy," finds its supreme justification in revelation. On the other hand, western theology thrusts the essential unity and simplicity of the Godhead in the foreground. As a consequence, the personalist vision of God favored by the Cappadocians remains in the shadow or, to put it differently, personal diversity is relativized or de-emphasized while essential unity is given priority. Indeed, the one essence becomes the actual basis of the origin of the persons.

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[83] *Ibid.*; cf. also the following shorter summaries: D. Staniloae, *Theology and the Church* (Crestwood, NY, 1980), 16-29; M.A. Orphanos, "The procession of the Holy Spirit according to certain Greek fathers," *Theologia* 50 (1979), 762-78; 51 (1980), 87-107, 276-99, 436-61, 739-42 (esp. 291-99); for a shorter version of this paper, see *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, 21-45; O. Clement, "Grégoire de Chypre 'de l'ekporèse du Saint Esprit,'" *Istina* 3-4 (1972), 443-56; Wendebourg, *Geist oder Energie*, 100-107. For a different view containing little that is new, see B. Schultze, "Patriarch Gregorios II. von Cypern über das *Filioque*," *OCP* 51 (1985), 163-87.

[84] *De Processione Spiritus sancti, PG* 142:271AB; *Apologia, ibid.*, 255B.

[85] *Tomus, ibid.*, 236C.

[86] Cf. *ibid.*, 239D-240A; Beccus, *De unione ecclesiarum, PG* 141:25BC. Alberigo, 290.

Arguably, the Latin model, which is also essentially Augustinian, tends to reduce or replace the primacy of the persons with abstract speculation on the oneness of deity.[88] Overall, whereas the Greek fathers first begin with the agent and then advance to the essence, the Latins turn first to the unity of the divine being or the nature, and then to the agent. If the former approach is in a very real sense biblical, the latter is basically philosophic. Indeed, insofar as the western model eliminates the paradox between the essence and the hypostases, a certain rationalization of the dogma of the Trinity occurs. "One has the impression that the heights of theology have been deserted in order to descend to the level of religious philosophy."[89] That this approach was in the long run able to lend support to the *Filioque* is obvious: insofar as the origin of the persons is the essence shared by the Father and the Son as a unity, then the Spirit may be said to proceed *ab utroque*. To summarize, the clue to the growing disagreement over the *Filioque* is to be found in the different approaches to the trinitarian mystery just outlined. Although the debate has

[87] K. Rahner, *The Trinity* (London, 1969), 111; cited in Meyendorff, *Theology*, 189.

[88] J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrine* (New York, 1978), 272; Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 235-41.

[89] V. Lossky, "The procession of the Holy Spirit in Orthodox trinitarian doctrine," *idem*, *In the Image and Likeness of God* (Crestwood, NY, 1974), 80.

sometimes been reduced to a mere technicality or a self-contained verbal dispute over formulas, the historical reality was quite different. In the final analysis Byzantine intransigence toward the western doctrine was not "the fruit of mere obstinacy, but sprung from an instinctive sense of the deep principle involved. What really divided East and West in their acrimonious and often unsavory quarrel over the *Filioque* was a fundamental difference of approach to the problem of the mystery of the triune Godhead."[90]

By and large, then, Beccus' analysis of the phrase "through the Son" had no place in eastern trinitarianism and its emphasis on the paternal *arche*. For patriarch Gregory, to repeat, the Father eternally remains the ultimate principle of the divinity of the Spirit. For all that, to quote the patriarch, the fathers, "of whom it cannot be said they spoke falsely," must have had a reason for saying that the Spirit also proceeds from the Father through the Son.[91] As we have seen earlier, Blemmydes' contemporaries and, indeed, all Byzantine theology before the thirteenth century, usually viewed expressions of this sort in relation to created being, as an allusion to the sending of the Spirit by the Son in the world. This is to say, in other words, they were a reflection of the Spirit's manifestation within time, and not a reference to his eternal procession in the strict sense.[92] Again and again, theologians would explain that the West had failed to distinguish between "procession" and "mission" (and its synonyms) by supposing "that proceeding (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) is identical with being conferred (μεταδίδοσθαι) because the Spirit is discovered to have been sent and imparted and conferred from the Son."[93] Invariably, scriptural passages referring to the Spirit as the "Spirit of the Son," to his being "given" or "bestowed" by Christ, were equally seen as references to his temporal manifestation rather than to his timeless hypostatic existence. To be short, ultimately, all these phrases in both Scripture and the fathers were meant to designate the spiritual gifts or *charismata* given to man by the Holy Spirit through the incarnate Christ. Be this as it may, Gregory was not content with this restriction of the phrase to the Spirit's historic activity only, any more than he was with Beccus' filioquist interpretation. Instead, like Blemmydes, who had avoided the opposition between eternity and time in his own post-1253 explanation of the formula, Gregory accepted it as a reflection of eternal divine life.

[90] Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 360.

[91] *Apologia*, *PG* 142:253D-254C.

[92] See Photius, *Mystagogia*, *PG* 102:312B; cf. the disputation of 1136 between Anselm of Havelberg and Nicetas of Nicomedia, *PL* 188:1136; W. Russell, "Anselm of Havelberg and the union of the Churches: The problem of the *Filioque*," *Sobornost* 1 (1979), 19-44.

[93] *Théophylacte d'Achrida*, 257.

To explain what he meant the patriarch drew a distinction between God's inaccessible nature and his "eternal manifestation" or 'αΐδιος ἔκφανσις or φανέρωσις, in which he exists and indeed reigns. In brief, within the inner life of the Trinity, besides the mode of subsistence (τρόπος ὑπάρξεως) there is the mode of manifestation (τρόπος δηλωτικός).[94] Whereas the former points to the Spirit's causal derivation or personal existence from the Father alone, the latter points to the manner in which he exists through the Son. In the patriarch's understanding of the triune Godhead, to put it more precisely, the Son is in effect the source in whom the Spirit exists and finds his repose; if the Spirit has his cause of existence in the Father (ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν), he also has his resting place in the Son (ὑπάρχειν), "through" whom and "from" whom he shines forth and is manifested.[95] It is to this permanent eternal relationship, which exists between the Son and the Spirit as divine hypostases, that the fathers were alluding to in their formula. It was equally the meaning of those biblical authors who note that the Spirit is both the "Spirit of the Father" and the "Spirit of the Son." Evidently, patriarch Gregory was convinced that the Son is not a stranger to the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit. To argue, according to the usual textbook theology followed by conservative Photians, that the patristic phrase signified solely the Spirit's temporal or economic sending was insufficient. Quite simply, if the Son "manifests" the Spirit temporally as a result of the incarnation he also does so eternally.[96] In actual fact the external shining forth of the splendor of the divine nature, that which Scripture identifies as the "glory of God," existed from all eternity independently of creation or existing creatures. Suffice it to say that the patriarch's sensitive grasp of the patristic evidence also assumed that the charismata of the Spirit bestowed through or from the Son are *eternal* and not temporal. As divine gifts, they are at once inseparable and distinct from both the essence and the persons. It is worth adding that this exegesis implying a triple distinction in the Godhead between the one unknowable essence, the three hypostases, and the deifying gifts, was also presupposed in the christological discussions of the twelfth century.

But if the patriarch was apprehensive of traditional academic theology, he was no less so of Beccus' counter-argument. Aside from his debatable approach to the untransmissible hypostatic attributes, the ex-patriarch had confused the external φανέρωσις of the Spirit by the intermediary of the Son with the idea of causality. This was an inadmissible error. As we have emphasized, for patriarch Gregory trinitarian existence or hypostatic procession is distinct from God's eternal manifestation. On the other hand, the two movements according to Gregory, were to be conceived concurrently, with one being as it were the continuation of the other. This is to say, if they must not be confused, neither should they be separated. "The formula 'through the Son'... does not designate either, as Beccus affirms, the procession of the all-Holy Spirit through the Son, or the dispensing, sending and giving of him in time, even if elsewhere this is its meaning [traditionally favored by Byzantine theology], but rather his eternal manifestation through the Son himself, which concurs with his procession from the Father and is conceived together with it."[97]

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[94] *Apologia, PG* 142:262D-263A.

[95] *De Processione Spiritus sancti, ibid.*, 275C-276A; 290A.

[96] Cf. *Tomus, ibid*,. 240B-C; 250C.

It is important to note that Gregory's exegesis, eventually approved by the Church in 1285, is identical to the doctrine later defined no less officially at the Palamite councils of the fourteenth century. In effect Gregory anticipates the hesychast Gregory Palamas by some fifty years. His assertions concerning God's external φανέρωσις do not differ from Palamas' own pronouncements about the divine energies and the unknowable essence. Energy and φανέρωσις in fact signify the same thing, namely, that which surrounds God's inaccessible being—τά περί τῆς οὐσίας as Gregory Nazianzus once put it.[98] Indeed, God's "manifestation" is a natural "energetic" procession *ad extra* of the common Godhead, a mode of divine life distinct from both the essence and persons. As Palamas was to elaborate in the 1340s, this "uncreated" divine life is God's gift of "deification" to created man, the means by which he enters into communion with all creatures through the Son in the Holy Spirit. "The Spirit [as energy] pours itself out from the Father through the Son and, if you prefer it, from the Son over all those worthy thereof.... [For] the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, and comes from him, being breathed and sent and manifested by him, but in his very being and his existence, he is the Spirit of Christ, but is not from Christ, but from the Father."[99] There is no need to add that this passage is in all essential respects Gregory's thesis. Although the patriarch is not known for his contributions to monastic piety and spirituality, a basic doctrinal bond unites him to Palamas. The conclusion that the formulations of 1285 opened the way for the later more dogmatically elaborate Palamite synthesis is unavoidable. As a matter of fact the entire

[97] *Homologia, ibid.*, 250C.

[98] *PG* 36:317B.

[99] *Apodictic Treatise* I, edited by B. Bobrinskoy in P. Chrestou, ed., *Gregoriou tou Palama Syggrammata* (Thessalonica, 1962), 1:17, 37; cf. J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959), 315f.

hesychast controversy parallels in a broad way the earlier stormy crisis generated by Gregory's *Tomus*.

Such then, in brief, was the sublime Orthodox vision of the Trinity endorsed by the Church in 1285. Its author, patriarch Gregory of Cyprus, was by no means rigidly or inflexibly anti-Latin. His efforts to understand the western argument, to go beyond the traditional formulas of hypostatic procession and economic mission were exemplary and, as such, contrast sharply with the polemic stand of his critics. His great achievement, in fact, was to show that Latin trinitarianism could be interpreted in terms acceptable to Orthodox patristic tradition. Specifically, he was able to demonstrate that there was a sense in which East and West could agree to say that the Spirit proceeds *ex Filio*! In the end, no reasonable critic can fail to recognize this openness to the West (acknowledged by the Church with its formal commitment to Gregory's theology) as a genuine effort at dogmatic reconciliation. On the other hand, Beccus' literal causal interpretation was nothing of the kind. Despite his ostensible sincerity and intelligence, neither his skillful manipulation of patristic proof-texts nor his juggling of prepositions constitute a "powerful proof" of the *Filioque* or an "approach of the greatest importance."[100] The arguments of this supposed spokesman of ecumenism do not at any rate have any basis in the patristic tradition. On the contrary, Beccus' analysis in the end is no more than a latinizing distortion of the Greek fathers, a pseudo-solution of accommodation to the fundamental problem. That this same sort of settlement failed later at the council of Florence is not surprising.

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[100] See Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 159; Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche*, 203 214. The high-handed dismissal of the council of 1285 in these studies is striking; while Beccus' thought is discussed at length in both, virtually nothing is said of Gregory and the council of Blachernae. On the other hand, the entry "Holy Spirit" in *ODB* 2:941-3 (K.-H. Uthemann) is entirely unaware of Gregory II or of Blachernae.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCHES OF THE BALKANS

In the sixth century, the Roman "dioceses" of Illyricum and Dacia, with their Latin, Illyrian, Thracian and Dacian populations, had been gradually penetrated by Slavic tribes coming from the North. These were followed by Turkic and Finno-Ugrian groups arriving originally from Asia: the Avars in the seventh century, the Bulgars in the eighth, and the Magyars in the ninth. The original populations—as well as the Greeks, who lived in the southern part of the peninsula—were already Christianized when the invaders arrived. The great missionary expansion of the Byzantine Church, which occurred primarily in the ninth century, succeeded in integrating the conquerors. The Slavic language and civilization, introduced by the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, predominated in the new churches. However, the "Vlachs" (later known as Romanians) continued to speak a language based on Latin roots. The Magyars (or Hungarians) and the Illyrians (later known as Albanians) also preserved their original tongues. Throughout the history of Christianization, there was some competition between Western and Eastern missionaries. Before the eighth century, Illyricum, with a papal vicar residing in Thessalonica, was in the jurisdiction of Rome. However, in the post-iconoclastic period, Byzantine influence predominated in the Balkans. Only the Hungarians and the Croats joined the family of Western Christendom.

The religious history of the peninsula was further complicated by the success of the sect known as Bogomilism. Inspired by metaphysical dualism, adopted probably from the Armenian "Paulicians," and rejecting the sacraments and institutions of Orthodoxy, the sect became widespread in the tenth century and survived until the end of the medieval period.

The disciples of Sts Cyril and Methodius who emigrated from Moravia to the Balkans—particularly St Clement and St Naum of Ohrid—made Bulgaria into the real center of Slavic Christian civilization. Bulgaria's talented and ambitious ruler, the great Symeon (893-927), extended his power over the entire Balkan peninsula, assumed the title of "emperor (*tsar*) of the Bulgarians and the Romans" and tried to capture Constantinople itself. Unable to do so, he settled with the establishment of a Bulgarian patriarchate in his capital of Preslav in eastern Bulgaria. The new patriarchate was recognized by Byzantium under the more peacefully-minded son of Symeon, tsar Peter (927-969). The destruction of the Eastern Bulgarian power, first by the Russian prince Svyatoslav, then by Byzantine emperor John Tzimisces in 971, was followed by a resurgence of Bulgarian power in Macedonia under tsar Samuel, with a political capital and a patriarchate in Ohrid. In 1018, however, Byzantine emperor Basil II, the "killer of the Bulgarians" (βουλγαροκτόνος), restored the old Roman *limes* on the Danube, reinstating the direct power of the empire over the entire Balkan peninsula.

The early history of the Christian Slavs, which was spiritually dominated by the great missionary figures of Sts Cyril and Methodius and their disciples, but also shaped by the glories of the empires of Symeon and Samuel, would never be forgotten by their descendants. The large body of Christian literature, either translated from the Greek or composed locally, would be carefully preserved and expanded in centers of Slavic learning surviving under Greek rule. Other writings in Slavic would be imported from Kievan Russia. In the political sphere, the Slavs adopted from the Byzantines the idea of a universal Christian empire centered in Constantinople. However, tsars Symeon and Samuel had established alternate imperial centers in Preslav and Ohrid. These initiatives were not really challenges to imperial universality: indeed, in the past, there were periods when the one Roman empire was ruled by several emperors. But new cultural and national elements were now assumed by the Bulgarian rulers: they retained in their title the designation of *tsar of the Bulgarians*. And since in the Byzantine political scheme the imperial title presupposed the parallel existence of a "patriarch," the new imperial pluralism was leading to the establishment of new *national* patriarchates as well.

The early pre-Constantinian Christian church was indeed a decentralized communion of local churches. The alliance with the universal Roman empire had provided it with structures of universality. Now that the empire had crumbled, were the universal structures to disappear as well? In the West, a new solution was found in the political and spiritual power of the Roman papacy, defined anew as a universal political and religious monarchy by the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century. In the East the unifying factor remained attached to the imperial center of Constantinople, but it took a new form: that of a spiritual family, or "commonwealth" of nations and churches. This was an ingenious, effective and flexible formula, adopted earlier by the disintegrating Western empire in the fifth-sixth centuries in its relations with barbarian kingdoms. Since the reconquest achieved by Basil II did not last more than a century and a half, the south Slavic nations and churches also began to recover their independence by the end of the twelfth century, but the Byzantine commonwealth succeeded in preserving their cultural and religious unity.

1. Bulgarian churches: Ohrid and Trnovo

Already under tsar Peter, the Bulgarian patriarchate, originally established by Symeon in Preslav, was transferred to Dorostolon (or Dristra or Silistria) on the Danube. The incumbent patriarch Damian was dethroned by John Tzimisces, when that city was captured by the Byzantines in 971.[1] Following that date, the Greek sources refuse the title of "patriarch" to the Bulgarian primate, but call him "archbishop." In circumstances not very well known, he resided successively in Sofia (the ancient Serdica, *Slav Triaditsa*), Vodena, Moglena and Prespa, before settling in Ohrid, the capital of tsar Samuel, continuing to use the title of patriarch. Following the conquest of Bulgaria in 1018, emperor Basil II issued three charters which defined the ecclesiastical administration in conquered territories.[2] These documents recognize a direct canonical succession between the "archbishop" of Ohrid and the patriarchate established under Symeon and Peter, but cancel the Bulgarian patriarchal title, and call the primate "most holy archbishop" (ἁγιώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας). However, the archbishop's autocephaly from the patriarch of Constantinople was maintained. His appointment was to be made by the emperor personally. The archbishop's jurisdiction was to extend—according to the charters—over all the territories which were part of Bulgaria under tsars Peter and Samuel, including even clearly Greek-speaking areas, and areas populated by Vlachs (Romanians) and Magyars (called "Turks"). The archbishopric included also most Serbian areas.[3] Basil II was even liberal enough to appoint a native Bulgarian, John, as the first archbishop of Ohrid under Byzantine rule. In fact, the imperially-controlled archbishopric of Ohrid was to cooperate with Basil's military administration of Bulgaria, now transformed into three Byzantine *themes* (military administrative districts). All of John's successors on the see of Ohrid would be Greek ecclesiastics, often closely connected with the court of Constantinople. The archbishopric would survive as an autocephalous church until 1767, when it would be suppressed by the patriarchate of Constantinople.[4] Since this suppression would be a unilateral act, supported by the Turks, the ancient status of Ohrid would be used by the Bulgarians in 1870 to justify the establishment of an independent Bulgarian Exarchate (in defiance of the ecumenical patriarchate) as a restoration, not an innovation.[5]

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[1] H. Gelzer, "Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae episcopatum" in *Abh. bayer. Akad., Wiss. Phil. kl.*, 21 (Munich, 1901), 569.

[2] Text in H. Gelzer, "Ungedruckte und wenig-bekannte Bistumer verzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche," *BZ* 2 (1893), 42-6; also in *Fontes Graecae Historiae Bulgariae*, I (Sofia, 1954), 40-47.

[3] In fact, however, some conquered Bulgarian dioceses, i.e. Dristra, or Silistria, remained under the patriarchate of Constantinople.

Understandably, the period between 1018 and 1204, when Ohrid was under direct Greek administration, is seen by many Bulgarian historians as the darkest period of the "Byzantine yoke." Some historians have noted also that the Greek rule imposed on Bulgaria during that period seems to stand in direct contradiction with the Cyrillo-Methodian ideology, which encouraged the development of national Christian cultures. The Russian historian E. E. Golubinsky makes a strong point in affirming that the archbishopric of Ohrid, after 1018, became a Greek see, identical with any other, and that its history is a history of repression of Bulgarian nationalism.[6] Several Bulgarian revolts against the Byzantine yoke took place during the period. This view can be strengthened by referring to the snobbish utterings found in the correspondence of the most eminent among the Greek archbishops of Bulgaria, Theophylact (c. 1090-c. 1126), who writes to his Constantinopolitan friends about his flock as "unclean barbarians, slaves who smell of sheepskin," and as "monsters."[7]

Notwithstanding the snobbishness of some (perhaps many) Byzantine administrators, there is no evidence that the Slavic culture, brilliantly developed in Ohrid by Sts Clement and Naum, simply disappeared after the Byzantine conquest. Many important Slavic manuscripts were copied in Bulgaria at that time, and Theophylact himself is the author of a *Life of St Clement* in Greek, where the missionary merits of St Cyril and Methodius and of their disciples are fully recognized.[8] One should therefore agree with

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[4] The two authoritative monographs on the archbishopric of Ohrid are by H. Gelzer, *Der Patriarchat von Achrida* (Leipzig, 1902) and I. Snegarov, *Istoriya na Okhridskata arkhiepiskopiya* I (Sofia, 1924).

[5] Cf. T. Sabev, *Uchredyavane i diotsez na Bülgarskata ekzarkhiya do 1878 g.* (Sofia, 1973), 56 ff.; H. S. Krstanov, *Süpoment za drevnata patriarshiya prez vreme na Osmanskoto igo*, in T. Sabev, ed., *Bülgarskata patriarshiya prez vekovete* (Sofia, 1980), 22-20.

[6] *Kratkii ocherk istorii pravoslavnykh tserkvei bolgarskoi, serbskoi i rumynskoi, ili Moldo-Valashskoi* (Moscow, 1871), 106-8.

[7] *Theophylacti Epistulae*, 6, ed. P. Gautier (Thessalonica, 1986), 147; 5, *ed. cit.*, 144.

[8] Some scholars have expressed doubts as to the personal authorship of the *Life* by Theophylact; however, as a Greek document of the late eleventh-twelfth century, the *Life* reflects Byzantine policies of the period (for editions see A. Milev, *Grütskie zhitiya na Kliment Okhridski* [Sofia, 1966]).

D. Obolensky and other scholars, who believe that "the Byzantine authorities, however much they affected to despise the Bulgarians as 'barbarians' and strove constantly to assimilate their country into the Empire's administrative structure, did not pursue therein a policy of systematic hellenization."[9] Actually, the Bulgarian cultural revival could not have been as strong as it was in the late twelfth century, if Slavic civilization had been totally suppressed during the Byzantine rule.[10]

It should be remembered also that, even under tsars Symeon, Peter and Samuel, the patriarchates of Preslav, Silistria and Ohrid—although designated as "Bulgarian" (as was also the empire of these tsars), were multiethnic in their constituency, including not only Bulgarians, but also Greek, Serbian, Wallachian and Hungarian flocks. The charters of Basil II specifically refer to this multiethnic reality, and reestablish territorial organization of the church with local dioceses, uniting all the faithful of a region. Except for a Byzantine leadership at the top, the cultural pluralism, so characteristic of the medieval Balkans—and very distinct from the secularistic national antagonisms of modern times—was the basic rule within the church both before and after the Byzantine conquest of 1018.

The first Greek incumbent to the see of Ohrid, Leo (after 1025), a former *chartophylax* of St Sophia of Constantinople, was closely associated with patriarch Michael Cerularius. He became the patriarch's spokesman when, in a letter to Bishop John of Trani in Italy, he attacked the disciplinary and liturgical practices—clerical celibacy, use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, etc.—being promoted by the Latin clergy in Italy.[11] We know practically nothing about his activities in Bulgaria, except that he was the builder of the church of St Sophia in Ohrid. The record of his successor Theophylact, already mentioned earlier, is better known.[12] After serving as deacon of St Sophia, he became the tutor of Constantine, son of emperor Michael VII. Appointed to Bulgaria, he

[9] "The Byzantine Impact on Eastern Europe" in Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν (Athens, 1980), 148-68 (repr. in *The Byzantine Inheritance in Eastern Europe* [London, 1982]). Cf. also Obolensky's discussion of Theophylact in *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971; repr. Crestwood, NY, 1982), 216-18; and his recent study of Theophylact in *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988).

[10] Cf. I. Dujčev, "Vüstaneto v 1185 i negovata khronologiya," *Izvestiya na Institut za Bülgarska Istoriya*, 6 (1956), 327-56.

[11] Text in Ch. Will, ed., *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae graecae et latinae seculi XI. composita extant* (Leipzig and Marburg, 1861), 52-64 (also *PG* 120:836-44).

[12] P. Gautier, "L'épiscopat de Théophylacte Hephaistos, archevêque de Bulgarie," *REB* 21 (1963), 159-78; cf. also Gautier's detailed introduction to his critical edition of the writings of Theophylact (*Théophylacte d'Achrida. Discours, traités, poésies* [Thessalonica, 1980]).

stood up for his flock against the exactions of imperial tax-collectors, and became probably the most prolific exegete of the medieval Eastern Church in the patristic tradition. His commentaries on New Testament books are often quoted even in modern times. Perhaps in reaction against Leo's association with the powerful Cerularius, Theophylact was a defender of Ohrid's independence from the patriarchate: "What right does the patriarch of Constantinople possess in the land of Bulgaria," he asked, "he who has no power to ordain anyone, nor any other privilege in this land, where there exists an autocephalous archbishop?"[13] Also in contrast with Cerularius and Leo, he adopted a tolerant attitude towards Latin practices and criticized Greeks who were too systematically anti-Latin.[14]

The fact that the archbishop of Ohrid was the recognized head of the Bulgarian Church was the only real justification for his autocephaly, as was clearly stated in the charters of Basil II. However, since the autocephaly was unpopular in the circles of the patriarchate of Constantinople, the defenders of Ohrid's rights thought of another historical argument to justify their claim: in 535 AD, they eventually remembered, emperor Justinian had established an independent archbishopric in the place of his birth, which he named *Justiniana Prima*[15] with jurisdiction over a territory roughly corresponding to that of the archbishopric-patriarchate of Ohrid. Although *Justiniana Prima* disappeared during the invasions of the seventh century, the incumbents of the archbishopric of Ohrid used the title to justify their jurisdictional rights. In 1156, archbishop John Comnenus attended a council in Constantinople and signed the acts as "the humble monk John, by the grace of God archbishop of First Justiniana and all Bulgaria Comnenus."[16] The title was used by all his successors and the identification of Bulgaria with *Justiniana Prima* was acknowledged even by the famous canonist Theodore Balsamon.[17] Historically, however, the archbishopric of Ohrid was a survival not of Justinian's establishment, but of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and of the "first" Bulgarian empire. Its claim to be the continuation of a sixth-century imperial arrangement was entirely fictional and anachronistic.[18] Indeed, the future belonged to other Slavic ecclesiastical centers in the Balkans: Trnovo, where a Bulgarian revival took place, and the Serbian Church.

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[13] *Letter to the metropolitan Michael of Chalcedon*, ed. Gautier, *Theophylacti Epistulae*, 437.

[14] *Reply to Nicholas, deacon of St Sophia*, ed. by Gautier, *Theophylacte d'Achrida*, 247-85.

[15] On Justinian's foundation, see H. D Döpmann, "Zur Problematik von *Justiniana Prima*," *Miscellanea Bulgarica* 5 (Vienna, 1987), 221-32.

[16] " Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς καὶ πάσης Βουλγαρίας ὁ κομνηνός," in A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum* (Rome, 1839-44), 10:89.

[17] *PG* 137:320A. The identification also appears in the so-called "notation of Velbuzhd," found in a MS. of the Escorial; cf. G. Prinzing, "Entstehung und Rezeption der Justiniana Prima-Theorie im Mittelalter," *Byzantinobulgarica* 5 (Sofia, 1978), 365-7.

We have seen earlier that "Turks," i.e., Magyars, or Hungarians, were among the faithful who were placed by Basil II under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ohrid. These were, undoubtedly, Hungarians living within the borders of Basil's widely expanded empire. But political—and therefore religious and ecclesiastical—contacts were also numerous, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—with the kingdom of Hungary itself.[19] Hungarian rulers seem to have long hesitated whether they should belong to the Eastern or the Western Christian culture. In the early days of the eleventh century, the Hungarian prince Ajtony was baptized in Vidin, a city just captured by Basil II and placed under the archbishop of Ohrid. Ajtony founded a Greek monastery in his residence of Marosvár. Further north, Greek and Slavic monasteries were also in existence in Hungary, and belonged to the jurisdiction of Constantinople. Marriages between the Hungarian and the Byzantine ruling families were frequent. The most obvious symbols of these contacts are the "crown of Constantine Monomachus" and the famous "crown of St Stephen," the holiest relic of Hungarian nationhood. The first of these crowns was sent by emperor Constantine IX to king Andrew I (1046-60), who had been baptized in Kiev and married the daughter of the Russian prince Yaroslav. The second was a gift of emperor Michael VII to king Geza I (1074-7). Both crowns carry imperial and kingly portraits emphasizing Hungary's membership in the Byzantine commonwealth. It is the second marriage of king Béla III to Margaret Capet of France (1186) which signified the final adherence of Hungary to Western Christendom. Before his marriage with the French princess, Béla had been a member of the Orthodox Church, and a close ally of Byzantium. His turning to the West was caused by the fact that he was refused the hand of emperor Manuel's sister Theodora, who had preferred taking monastic vows instead.[20]

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[18] No more anachronistic, however, than some claims of contemporary Eastern patriarchs, whose rights are based on the prestige of cities like Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch in imperial times long past.

[19] On this see N. Oikonomides, "A propos des relations ecclésiastiques entre Byzance et la Hongrie au XIe siècle: le Métropolite de Turquie," *Revue des études du Sud-Est européen* 9 (1971), 530 ff.

[20] Cf. Obolensky, *Commonwealth*, 158-63 (and bibliography, 393-4); also Gy. Moravcsik, "The Role of the Byzantine Church in Medieval Hungary," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 6 (1947), 134-51.

This loss of a major opportunity in Hungary was connected with the general weakening of Ohrid's ecclesiastical influence in the late twelfth century, and the internal dynastic rifts which tore the Byzantine government apart. Indeed, almost at the same time, in 1185, Byzantium was unable to prevent a Bulgarian revolt, led by two brothers, Peter and Asen, noblemen of "Vlach" (or Romanian) origin. An independent state was established in northeastern Bulgaria, between the Danube and the Balkan range, with an autocephalous archbishopric in Trnovo.

The consecration of Basil, the first archbishop of Trnovo, was performed by the metropolitan of Vidin, as Asen was also proclaimed tsar "of the Bulgarians and Vlachs." This act was, of course, considered as illegitimate by Constantinople, as well as by Ohrid, but the new state expanded and the new ecclesiastical center was built up, as a successor to Preslav and as an authentically Bulgarian substitute to the Greek-dominated archbishopric of Ohrid. Symbolically, in 1195 the relics of the highly venerated hermit, St John of Rila (c. 880-946), were transferred to Trnovo.

Even more decisive steps—connected with the momentous consequences of the fourth crusade—were taken by Peter and Asen's younger brother, Kaloyan,[21] who succeeded Peter as tsar in 1197. These steps—just as the history of the first Bulgarian empire—cannot be properly understood except in the context of the political and religious ideology which the Slavs had learned from the Byzantines: Christian society is to be led by a diarchy of an emperor and a patriarch. While the legitimate empire was of course "Roman" and universal, secondary or "regional" empires were also justified whenever historical circumstances demanded such a development. However, regional emperors, or *tsars*—as well as the regional patriarchs—had to be legitimized by the supreme, universal, imperial power, since the unity of the Christian *oikoumene* was not to be challenged. As we have seen in the case of Ohrid, these regional empires and patriarchates, although usually designated by the name of a nation, were not strictly "national churches": they always included (particularly in the Balkans) a mixed population, as well as entire dioceses, where the Greek liturgy predominated over the Slavic.

The rules of this political game were taken for granted by Kaloyan as well. However, since he was faced by a blunt refusal of Constantinopolitan authorities to grant him imperial status, or a patriarchal status to his archbishop Basil, he turned to the other universal Christian authority, which in the West had replaced the empire as the source of both the political and ecclesiastical powers: the Roman papacy. His correspondence has come down to us. Whatever the diplomatically subservient language of Kaloyan's letters to pope Innocent III (1198-1216), it is clear that the concerns of the Bulgarian ruler were legal and political, and that his ambiguous contacts with the papacy can hardly be interpreted as a religious "conversion."

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[21] Gr. Καλοϊάννης—popular for "John the Beautiful." He is also referred as "Joannica" in papal letters.

Papal envoys, "archpresbyter" Dominic and the "chaplain" John, visited Bulgaria in 1200. During the negotiations, Kaloyan shrewdly blackmailed the pope by referring to the Byzantine theory of the "diarchy" emperor-patriarch, requesting that Rome sanction it for Bulgaria, to avoid a return of the Bulgarians to Constantinople's rule: "Come to us," the Greeks supposedly promised Kaloyan, "we will crown you as emperor and will make a patriarch for you, since an empire would not stand without a patriarch."[22] On February 25, 1204, the pope entrusted Cardinal Leo of Santa Croce with the mission of crowning Kaloyan as "king," not "emperor," and confirming archbishop Basil as "primate," not "patriarch": "It being understood," wrote the pope, "that these two titles, primate and patriarch, mean practically the same, since primate and patriarch have one function, though the names are different."[23] Furthermore, typically ignorant and distrustful of Eastern Christianity, which does not know the practice of anointment at episcopal and priestly ordinations,[24] Innocent required that Basil and all the Bulgarian bishops be anointed by his legate, because the Catholic church maintains this "by divine precept."[25]

One may doubt that Kaloyan was fully satisfied by the papal attitude. However, as he was crowned by the legate on November 8, 1204, and as archbishop Basil was anointed and established as "primate," he had little choice. A Byzantine imperial legitimization of his ambitions had become impossible: the crusaders had taken Constantinople in April of that year. It appeared for a time that no alternative existed to a universal Latin Christendom, headed

[22] Letter of Kaloyan, *PL* 215:156A.

[23] A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, Berlin, 1875, VII, 2; *PL* 215:281A.

[24] In the Orthodox Church, the anointment following baptism (i.e., chrismation) is the only anointment to the "royal priesthood." Ordinations are performed through laying-on of hands exclusively. In Latin Scholastic theology, the anointment of bishops and priests is, of course, linked with the theory of special *character* of ministerial priesthood. The papal attitude implied doubts as to the very validity of Orthodox priesthood.

[25] A. Potthast, *Reg.* VII, 3, *PL* 215:282A. The text of the correspondence between the pope and Kaloyan can also be found with a commentary in *Latinski izvori za Bŭlgarskata istoriya*, III (Sofia, 1965), 307-378.

by the pope. But Kaloyan was carefully looking for such alternatives. Indeed, he gave shelter to the Orthodox ecumenical patriarch, John Camaterus, who had escaped from the capital held by the Latins, and who died in Bulgarian-held Didymotichus in 1206. Rejecting the suzerainty of the Latin emperor of Constantinople, he attacked the Latins, defeated them, took emperor Baldwin prisoner (1205), and ignored the pope's pleas for peace and submission. When Kaloyan died in 1207, his power dominated the Balkans. He had obtained papal recognition of his power, but he was not at all playing by the rules required from papal subjects. The church of Trnovo was *de facto* an independent patriarchate, and its incumbent was using the patriarchal title, administering territories almost identical with those of Symeon's empire, although the city of Ohrid and its autocephalous archbishopric remained part of the territories controlled by the Greek despot of Epirus.

In 1211, Kaloyan's successor, the usurper tsar Boril (1207-1218), presided in Trnovo over a council of condemning the heresy of the Bogomils. The heresy, with its dualistic roots, its reaction against the institutional church, its hierarchy and its sacraments, is known to have developed in Bulgaria in the tenth century but must have spread also during the many changes and disturbances of the twelfth.[26] The council of 1211, held in Trnovo, seems to have followed the Byzantine pattern for such events: chairmanship by the tsar, concentration on local problems and situations.[27] There is no direct information about contacts with or guidelines coming from Rome. However, it is worth noting that the council of Trnovo is contemporaneous with the repressions against the Albigensians, or Cathars, in southern France. The Albigensians are generally seen as an extension of the same heretical movement as the Balkan Bogomils.

Ambiguous since its very inception in 1204, the dependence of the Bulgarian church upon Rome was formally ended in 1235, as canonical relations were restored between Trnovo and the Orthodox patriarchs. As one might expect, the event was determined by political circumstances. The Bulgarian tsar John (or Ivan) Asen II (1218-41) embraced the dream of Symeon to become emperor in Constantinople. He was successful in humiliating his competitors and enemies. In 1230 at the battle of Klokotnica, he defeated and took prisoner the ruler of Epirus, Theodore, who had assumed the imperial title after taking Thessalonica. Ohrid and its archbishopric fell under John's power, and he took the title of emperor of Bulgarians and Greeks. He also took territories away from Serbia and Hungary. But his project of marrying his daughter to the young Latin emperor Baldwin II and thus becoming regent in Latin-held Constantinople, was opposed by the Latin clergy—a clear indication that Bulgaria's union with Rome was not really effective at the time. He then concluded an alliance with the Greek emperor in Nicaea, John III Ducas Vatatzes (1222-54). A marriage between the children of the two sovereigns was celebrated in Lampsacus, and a church council recognized the patriarchal title of Joachim of Trnovo (1235). According to the Bulgarian account of this event, the tsar also requested the other eastern patriarchs to recognize the Bulgarian patriarchate as equal to their own. Upon the receipt of their positive replies, ecumenical patriarch Germanus II and the members of the council signed an official act establishing the patriarchate.[28]

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[26] Cf. D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils, A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge, 1948).

[27] The *Acts* are known as the *Sinodik Tsarya Borila*, ed. M. G. Popruzhenko (Sofia, 1928).

The size of the new patriarchate corresponded to the extent of the second Bulgarian Empire, and in 1235, included all the dioceses from the lower Danube to Macedonia and from Belgrade to Thrace. It is not quite clear, however, how its jurisdiction was coordinated with that of Ohrid.

The names of sixteen successive patriarchs of Trnovo have come down to us.[29] During the long reign of tsar John (Ivan) Alexander (1331-71), Bulgaria knew a remarkable cultural and literary resurgence, in close intellectual and cultural contact with Byzantium. Although the actual territory of the Bulgarian patriarchate was eventually reduced by Serbian advances, it served as the first step for the remarkable expansion, among all Orthodox Slavs, of the spiritual movement known as hesychasm, discussed in the next chapter. One of the leaders of this movement, St Gregory of Sinai, founded the monastery of Paroria, near the Byzantine border, in southeastern Bulgaria (c. 1330). One of his Bulgarian disciples, St Theodosius of Trnovo, after visiting several Greek monasteries, established the community of Kilifarevo.

Although they were not formally organized as an "order," the hesychast monks kept close contact with each other. Some of them occupied high positions in the hierarchy, particularly after the 1350s, both within the Byzantine empire and in the Slavic lands. Thus, patriarch Callistus of Constantinople was

[28] *Sinodik Tsarya Borila, ed. cit.*, 82, 84-7. On these proceedings see A. E. Tachiaos, "Die Aufhebung des bulgarischen Patriarchats von Tirnovo," *Balkan Studies* 4 (1963), 67-82; G. Tsankova-Petkova, "Vosstanovlenie Bolgarskogo patriarshestva v 1235 g. i mezhdunarodnoe polozhenie Bolgarskogo gosudarstva," *VV* 28 (Moscow, 1968), 136-50; I. Kh. Tarnanides, *Ἡ διαμόρφωσις τοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς ἐκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki, 1976), 132-17.

[29] Nestor Krüstev, "Türnovskata patriarshiya," in *Bülgarskata Patriarshiya prez vekovete* (Sofia, 1980), 20.

a co-disciple, with St Theodosius, of St Gregory of Sinai. Their common ideology was that of unity—cultural and canonical—of the Orthodox world. This ideology, however, was not shared by all. The Bulgarian patriarch Theodosius II, for example, challenged the authority of Constantinople by consecrating in 1352 a metropolitan of Russia, by request of the Lithuanian grand-prince Olgerd, challenging the legitimate metropolitan Alexis.[30] In 1355, Callistus wrote to St Theodosius, calling for the restoration of the liturgical commemoration of the ecumenical patriarch by the patriarch of Trnovo, which patriarch Theodosius II had apparently discontinued.[31] It appears—if one reads the Bulgarian interpretation of Trnovo's position (see above)—that the views of Callistus about a certain dependence of Trnovo upon Constantinople were not accepted in Bulgaria. St Theodosius of Kilifarevo emigrated to Constantinople in 1356 and died there in 1363. The same patriarch Callistus wrote his *Life*.[32] Eventually, however, another co-disciple of St Gregory of Sinai and a friend of St Theodosius became patriarch of Trnovo, St Euthemius (1375-93). His role in the spiritual and literary history of Slavic Orthodoxy was exceptional. Unfortunately, he was the last of the medieval Bulgarian patriarchs: in 1393, Trnovo was conquered by the Ottomans; many inhabitants were massacred; the cathedral was transformed into a mosque. St Euthemius, who led the resistance of the city during the Turkish siege and was taken into captivity, saw Trnovo destroyed.[33] Unlike Ohrid, where a nominal autocephaly (and even the occasional use of the patriarchal title) would be preserved under the Turkish regime, Trnovo was reduced to the position of a simple diocese of the patriarchate of Constantinople, generally occupied by Greek prelates.[34]

2. The Serbian Church: St Sava, Ohrid and the Patriarchate of Peć.

The conversion of the Serbs—living in the mountainous region known as Raška, with a capital in Ras, to the south of Belgrade—is described by emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus as having occurred during the reign of Basil I (867-86). It was followed by the conversion of Dalmatian maritime cities as well. In the tenth century, the region fell under the Bulgarian rule of tsars Symeon and Samuel, but after 1018 it became part of the Byzantine empire of Basil II. The initial conversion placed the Serbs under the direct ecclesiastical rule of Constantinople, but the archbishopric of Ohrid, created later by Samuel and maintained by Basil II, would include the bishopric of Ras within its jurisdiction. The Greek metropolitan see of Dyrrhachium on the Adriatic, which christianized the neighboring Serbian region of Dioclea, or Zeta (known later as Çerna Gora, "black mountain," or Montenegro), acted as another Orthodox canonical center for the coastal region.

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[30] Cf. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), 164-66.

[31] *MM* 1:436-39.

[32] The Slavic version was published by V. I. Zlatarski in *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i Knizhina* 20 (Sofia, 1904), 1-44. The original Greek is lost. On Callistus, see D. V. Gonis, *Τὸ συγγραγικὸν ἔργον τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου Καλλίστου Α´* (Athens, 1980).

[33] The end of Trnovo is dramatically described by Gregory Tsamblak in his *Encomion* of Euthymius (*Pokhvalno Slovo. za Evtimiy*, ed. P. Rusev, *et al.* (Sofia, 1971), 205,

[34] It appears that the formal suppression of the patriarchate took place in 1415; cf. Tachiaos, *Balkan Studies* 4 (1963), 67-82.

The Byzantine rule, both civil and ecclesiastical, centered in Dyrrhachium, was challenged by a succession of princes of Zeta—Stephan Voyislav (c. 1042-1052), Michael (c. 1052-81) and Constantin Bodin (1081-1091)—who submitted their country to the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishopric of Bar (or Antibari). This was connected with the strong papal influence in the Balkans, exercised by the reformed papacy of Gregory VII. The Croatian ruler Demetrius Zvonimir and Michael of Zeta both received royal crowns from papal legates in 1075 and 1077 respectively. Neighboring Croatia fell under Hungarian rule (1102) and also entered Western Christendom forever. Constantin Bodin of Zeta, however, was militarily defeated by Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1085-90), so that the Greek dominance, centered in Dyrrhachium, was restored in Zeta.

A more successful development of Serbian political independence took place in Raška. The prestige of the reformed papacy, the aggressive expansion of Latin Christendom, spearheaded by the crusades, and the weakening of Byzantium, made it inevitable that Raška, as the other new Balkan states, would consider the "Western solution" as practical in the emerging process of national self-determination.

Taking advantage of the anti-Byzantine challenge of Hungary, then of the arrival of the third crusade, headed by Frederick Barbarossa (1189), the ruler ("Grand Župan") of Raška, Stefan Nemanja, a native of Zeta and thus familiar with that country, attempted to expand his territories southward. He included Zeta under his rule and attempted to shake the Byzantine power itself. He was twice defeated: in 1172 by Manuel I Comnenus and in 1190 by Isaac Angelus. Having received a Latin baptism in his youth in Zeta, he was reconciled with the Orthodox Church through chrismation by the Orthodox bishop of Ras. In 1190, his son Stephen received the Byzantine court title of *sebastocrator* and married Eudoxia, niece of Isaac.

It is during this restoration of the Byzantine Orthodox predominance in

Raška, that Nemanja's son, Rastko, aged 18, left his father's court and became a monk, under the name of Sabbas (or Sava) in the Russian monastery on Mount Athos. He later moved to the Greek monastery of Vatopedi. The old Nemanja—that venerable and ruthless warrior and politician—was so impressed by his son's action that he decided to follow him. Abdicating in 1196 in favor of the "sebastocrator" Stephen and giving power over Zeta to his other son, Vukan, he also was tonsured as a monk Symeon at the monastery of Studenica, which he had founded. He then joined his son on Mount Athos, where father and son together established the monastery of Chilandar, which would become a major center of Serbian, but also generally of Slavic, Orthodox spirituality and culture.

The personal historical role of St Sava (1175-1235) as founder and spiritual model of Serbian Orthodoxy has been described—and also debated—many times. The major sources of information about him are two *Lives*: one by his immediate disciple Domentian, and another by an early fourteenth century monk, Theodosius. A dedicated monk, a wise pastor, administrator, churchman and statesman at the same time, St Sava achieved a sober sense of spiritual priorities, which makes him one of the most remarkable personalities of that period of Balkan history. An architect of Serbian ecclesiastical independence, he always kept an acute sense of the universality of the Church, and was at home on Mount Athos, in Trnovo, Constantinople and Jerusalem. He was realistic and occasionally tolerant of the political requirements created by the papal prestige in the Balkans, patiently preparing his basic plan to mold Orthodox Serbia into a prominent position within Orthodoxy.[35]

St Sava remained on Mount Athos for sixteen years (1191-1207). During that time, he journeyed to Constantinople to secure imperial approval for his and his father's foundation of Chilandar (1199). The creation of the monastery was soon followed by the death of St Symeon (1199). During his Athonite period, St Sava also spent time alone in his hermitage (*kellion*) near Karyes, for which he composed a special monastic rule, or *typicon*.

[35] Historical accuracy and authentic respect for the grand figure of St Sava require that we avoid picturing him anachronistically as a rabid anti-Latin, or a Serbian nationalist in the modern, secularized sense: on this point, see the balanced account by Dj. Slijepčević, *Istorija srpske pravoslavne crkve* (Munich, 1962), 56ff.; F. Dvornik, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1962), 96-103; Obolensky, *Commonwealth*, 240-2, and particularly Obolensky's chapter on St Sava in *Six Byzantine Portraits*, 115-72. The most accessible edition of the *Lives* by Domentian and Theodosius is by L. Mirkovic, *Životi Sv. Save i Sv. Simeona* (Belgrade, 1938), in a modern Serbian translation.

His return to Serbia in 1207, where he brought the body of his father, St Symeon, marked the beginning of his direct involvement in the political affairs of Raška. For a time, he headed the monastery of Studenica—which had been founded by his father and where the latter's body was placed, gushing holy oil (hence the veneration of the old Nemanja as "St Symeon the Myrrh-Gushing, *Mirotochivi*). Facing numerous conflicting political pressures, he directed his efforts primarily at securing the unity of the country under the Nemanjid dynasty, of which the relics of St Symeon were now a holy symbol. The two brothers of St Sava—Stephen and Vukan—headed Raška and Zeta respectively, but were in fierce competition for power. Vukan allied himself with king Emmerich of Hungary (1196-1204), and accepted the authority of the pope. The church in Zeta was placed again under the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishop of Antibari. Vukan even succeeded briefly in driving Stephen from power, but the latter was restored through the help of Bulgaria (1202-4). In order to placate his brother and the western powers, Stephen repudiated his Greek wife Eudoxia, daughter of emperor Alexius III, and married the granddaughter of the Venetian doge Dandolo. Vukan and Stephen were, in fact, competing for papal favor.

The first successful task of St Sava, upon his return, was to reconcile his two brothers, but the peace agreement implied that Zeta would remain ecclesiastically under papal jurisdiction. In order to strengthen Raška's power as well, Stephen and Sava agreed to write to pope Honorius III requesting a royal crown for Stephen.[36] The request was granted. A cardinal came to make Stephen the "First-crowned" (*Prvovenchani*) of the Serbian kings (1217). However, the pope was disappointed in his hope—which he undoubtedly nourished—to secure the church of Raška, as he had done for the dioceses of Zeta. As his brother was crowned, St Sava had left Serbia for Mount Athos, planning for the church in Raška a new canonical status within Orthodoxy. The double action, devised by King Stephen and St Sava—to gain political legitimacy from the pope and ecclesiastical legitimacy from the ecumenical patriarch, exiled in Nicaea—reflects the mentality of the times and did not appear strange to contemporaries as it might to us.[37]

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[36] The fact is described by St Sava's biographer Domentian, and there is no reason to doubt its historicity. Contemporaries saw in it an act of political shrewdness, not a betrayal of ecclesial identity.

[37] The Greek clergy, which remained in Constantinople after the capture of the city by the Latins in 1204, also offered to recognize the pope as their *civil* lord, while refusing him ecclesiastical allegiance (cf. J. Meyendorff, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* [Crestwood, NY, 1982] 72).

Canonically, the Orthodox diocese of Ras was in the jurisdiction of Demetrius Chomatianus, archbishop of Ohrid. This learned Greek prelate was politically allied with Theodore Angelus, despot of Epirus, whose territory included Ohrid. Theodore's ambition was to secure the Byzantine imperial crown for himself. He was a bitter competitor for Serbian power in the Balkans, and the archbishop of Ohrid was unlikely to support St Sava's plan for ecclesiastical independence. It is, therefore, against such a complicated background that one understands the meaning of St Sava's master stoke: his success in obtaining from the emperor of Nicaea Theodore I Lascaris (1204-1222) and patriarch Manuel I Sarantenus (1215-1222)[38] the status of an independent, "autocephalous" archbishop of Serbia.

The consecration of St Sava took place in 1219. It raised a series of canonical and political problems. The *canonical* problems involved relationships of the new Serbian archbishopric with Constantinople (or Nicaea) and with Ohrid. The title of "autocephalous archbishop," received by St Sava, was normally used to designate a prelate independent of a regional "metropolitan" and named directly by the emperor (or the patriarch).[39] An archbishop ranked below a metropolitan and had no suffragans of his own. In the late Byzantine period, however, the title began to be used for a greater variety of situations. The archbishop of Ohrid, for example, was appointed by the emperor, but as a successor of Bulgarian "patriarchs," had numerous suffragan-bishops, whereas the "archbishops" of Novgorod and (later) of Rostov were themselves mere suffragans of the metropolitan of Kiev, with no direct right of reporting to Constantinople. The position of St Sava's archbishopric was still different: he was to be totally independent of Constantinople to exercise jurisdiction over the "lands of Serbia and all lands-near-the-sea" (*pomorskikh zemlja*, a clear allusion to Latin-held Zeta), and over "metropolitans and bishops" of the area. The status of the Serbian Church, therefore, was in every way similar to that of a patriarchate, or of our modern autocephalous churches. The only connection with Constantinople was the requirement to mention the patriarch in the eucharistic prayer ("Among the first...").[40] The "autocephalous" status of the Serbian church was, in several senses, a new formula.

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[38] The Serbian sources mistakenly attribute the consecration to patriarch Germanus II (1222-40). The probable reason for this is that Germanus, in his correspondence with Serbia, and particularly with Ohrid, was personally involved in defending and justifying the action of his predecessor.

[39] Cf. literature on the subject in Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, "'Ο τίτλος του ἀρχιεπισκόπου," *Theologia* 13 (Athens, 1935), 289-95; and Beck, *Kirche*, 67-8. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, there were twenty-six "autocephalous archbishops" within the patriarchate of Constantinople.

It also involved conflict between the patriarchate in Nicaea and Ohrid. The new archbishopric was created by the authorities of Nicaea, without approval of the latter. One can understand, therefore, the protest that Demetrius Chomatianus of Ohrid expressed in a letter to St Sava in 1220.[41] The weakness of Ohrid's legal position, however, was that, as seen from Constantinople, Ohrid itself was an *imperial* creation. Since the empire never did recognize the legitimacy of tsar Samuel's "patriarchate" of Ohrid, the real charter of the archbishopric was Basil II's decrees of 1019, and the successor of Basil II was within his rights to amend their provisions. This point was well understood by all the sides in the controversy. Theodosius, biographer of St Sava, reports that the patriarch resisted the plan to consecrate Sava, but that the issue was won upon the insistence by the *emperor* Theodore Lascaris.[42] On the other hand, Chomatianus' protest was based on the fact that he did not recognize the legitimacy of the emperor of Nicaea: "We have no legitimate empire," he wrote to St Sava, "and therefore your ordination lacks legal foundation."[43] In the Byzantine understanding of the relations between church and empire, it was understood that the emperor had the right to establish boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The exercise of this right was constant, as in the case of *Justiniana Prima* created by Justinian (on papal territory), as created by Basil II in the case of Ohrid, and of numerous well-documented examples of emperors establishing, then suppressing, new metropolitanates on Lithuanian and Polish territories at the expense of the metropolitan of Kiev.[44] Theodore Lascaris of Nicaea, a self-proclaimed successor in the Byzantine imperial line after the fall of Constantinople under the Latins (1204), wanted to assert his legitimacy, particularly in establishing the Serbian archbishopric. His main challenger was Theodore Angelus of Epirus, whose imperial claims Chomatianus supported and whom he would soon legitimize by crowning and anointing emperor in Thessalonica (between 1224 and 1227; the date is controverted). This action implied a challenge to the patriarch as well (who had crowned Lascaris in Nicaea in 1208); it was in fact an affirmation of a quasi-patriarchal status of the archbishop of Ohrid, who, being originally an imperial appointee, was claiming to be the source of imperial legitimacy by consecrating holy chrism himself to anoint a new emperor. Whatever the questionable political implications of his actions, the strong point in Chomatianus' argument was that, in the absence of unquestionable imperial power, Constantinople had no right to infringe upon the territorial rights of other primates.[45]

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[40] Domentian, *ed. cit.* 119. A similar requirement existed in the case of the patriarchate of Trnovo: cf. above, 249.

[41] Ed. J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio solesmensi parata* VII (Rome, 1891), 381-90. On this episode see G. Ostrogorsky "Pismo Dimitrija Khomatjana Sv. Savi," *Svetosavski Sbornik* II (Belgrade, 1936), 93; the canonical debates about the meaning of autocephaly in the thirteenth c. are well-discussed by A. Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epirus (1217-1233)*, (Thessalonica, 1973); J. Erickson, "Autocephaly in Orthodox Canonical Literature to the Thirteenth Century," *SVQ* 15 (1971), 1-2, 28-47.

[42] *Ed. cit.*, 183. Cf. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, 161, note 185, who also argues that the integrity of the autocephaly of Ohrid was explicitly recognized by the Byzantine patriarchate.

[43] *Ed. cit.*, 384.

[44] Cf. the discussion of such examples in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 86-89, 96, 160-1, etc.

But *political* acumen and the future were on the side of Nicaea and Serbia. Indeed, Nicaea was in the process of winning recognition of its legitimacy, with the Church playing a decisive role in its struggle. It would have been unwise for the exiled Nicaean patriarch to adopt towards the Slavic churches the harsh centralizing policy of his predecessors in the heyday of the Byzantine empire. Challenged by the Latins and by Greek competition in Epirus, he needed to be recognized by the Slavic daughter-churches, and was therefore wise enough to be liberal towards them. Thus, he won the support of the rich and growing kingdom of the Serbian Nemanjids by establishing an independent archbishopric for St Sava, the king's brother. In 1235, he also recognized the patriarchate of Trnovo, presiding over a wedding between Nicaean and Bulgarian dynasties. Later in 1246, he appointed a Russian, Cyril, as metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, which allowed Cyril's sponsor, the powerful grand-prince Daniel of Galicia, to maintain ties with Orthodox Byzantium.[46]

The establishment of Serbian ecclesiastical independence denotes a subtle but significant evolution of the concept of "autocephaly." In the past—with the sole exception of distant Georgia—"the autocephalous churches...were part of one empire and achieved juridical confirmation of their status by the unilateral decree of an emperor, or an ecumenical council. The new foundations [i.e., Serbia and Bulgaria] came into existence as parts of bilateral treaties between two civil governments. This reflects a tendency to regard autocephaly chiefly as the sign of an independent national state."[47] This obviously served as precedent for developments in the modern period, where much more virulent nationalistic policies—in the Balkans and elsewhere—would turn the struggle for national autocephalies into what we call today ecclesiastical "phyletism."[48]

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[45] For the interesting ecclesiological debates generated by those events, see the studies by Karpozilos and Erickson, cited above, as well as Meyendorff, *Byzantine Legacy*, 73-6.

[46] Cf. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise*, 39-42; also below 333-4; cf. also *idem*, "Ideological crises, 1071-1261," in *XV Congrès des études byzantines. Rapports et co-Rapports, IV. Pensée philosophie, histoire des idées, I. Crises idéologiques* (Athens, 1976); repr. in *The Byzantine Legacy*, 72-77.

It would be anachronistic, however, to detect "phyletism" in the mentality of the thirteenth century. St Sava, in particular, was conscious—more than anyone else—of the need for Orthodox unity and canonical order. We do not hear him responding to the polemics begun by Chomatianus. Returning from Nicaea, he visited not only Mount Athos again, but also Latin-held Thessalonica, where he stayed at the monastery of the Philokales. The Greek metropolitan of Thessalonica, Constantine Mesopotamites, was St Sava's old and close friend, whose company and advice the Serbian archbishop enjoyed. Constantine had been expelled from Thessalonica by the Latins in 1204, and would not return to his see before 1224, but a meeting between him and St Sava is attested by the latter's biographers.[49] Obviously, St Sava needed advice, especially in his dealings with the Latin presence within the borders of Serbia. Latin archbishops were residing in the Adriatic cities of Kotor, Antibari, Dubrovnik and Ragusa (the latter two under Venetian suzerainty).

Returning to Serbia, St Sava established his archdiocese in the "great church" of Zica, although, in 1253, the archbishop's seat would be transferred to the monastery of Peć. The Serbian kingdom did not include major urban regions (the royal court itself travelled from place to place, in rather simple apparel), and new diocesan centers, organized by St Sava, were primarily located in monasteries, which provided the bishops with economic stability and residential facilities.[50] The archbishop's concern for ecclesiastical order and organization is illustrated by the legal and canonical materials he obtained during his stay in Thessalonica (as reported by Domentian); he also translated the Byzantine *Nomocanon* into Slavic, under the title of *Kormchaya Kniga* ("Book of the Rudder").

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[47] J. Erickson, *op. cit.*, 40.

[48] The term designates the trend which identifies church and nation, and accepts no form of ecclesiastical polity except the one based on national origin. "Phyletism" was condemned as a heresy by the council of Constantinople in 1872.

[49] On Mesopotamites, see V. Laurent, "La succession épiscopole de la métropole de Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIII^{e} s.," *BZ* 56 (1963), 285-6, 288-92. Very much involved with the affairs of the Byzantine court before 1204 (cf. A. Kazhdan, *Studies in Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* [Cambridge, 1984], 224-55), Mesopotamites was opposed to the claims of Theodore Angelus, and therefore was an ally of Serbia.

[50] Cf. Sljepčević, *op. cit.*, 99.

Throughout his tenure as archbishop, St Sava pursued contacts with all the major centers of the Orthodox world. Following the death of king Stephen (1228), his son and successor, Radoslav, was married to Anna, the daughter of Theodore of Epirus. Friendly relations were established between the Serbian court and archbishop Demetrius Chomatianus of Ohrid, who now even gave advice to the Serbian king. Such contacts implied a reconciliation between Chomatianus and St Sava.[51]

In 1229-30, the Serbian archbishop travelled to Jerusalem and visited the Holy Places. It probably was then that he brought back to Serbia the *Typicon* of St Sabbas of Palestine, which was being accepted gradually as the standard liturgical order in the Byzantine Orthodox world. St Sava also made protracted visits to Nicaea and Mount Athos on his way home.

In the midst of his diplomatic and pastoral activities, St Sava remained primarily a monk, seeking prayer and solitude. At least such is the interpretation given by his biographers to his sudden resignation from the archiepiscopal throne in 1234. Before leaving, he took the unusual step of personally consecrating a successor, his disciple Arsenije,[52] and left for another visit to Jerusalem, Alexandria, Mount Sinai and Constantinople. His ultimate destination, according to Domentian, was Mount Athos, but he made a last stop in Trnovo,[53] where he died on January 14, 1236. His body was brought back to Serbia and buried at the monastery of Mileševa (1237).[54] Greatly venerated as "the teacher of the Serbs" *(uchitel' srbskyi)*, St Sava was one of the most enlightened and dynamic spiritual personalities of the Orthodox Church in the thirteenth century.

Greatly expanded under powerful leaders like King Stephen Uroš Milutin

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[51] This is the opinion of Obolensky (*Six Byzantine Portraits*, 163). The view according to which St Sava protested Radoslav's contacts with Ohrid has no documentary basis.

[52] The appointment of successors by incumbent bishops is strictly forbidden by canons. Since Domentian indicates that a council was held on the occasion of St Sava's resignation, one can surmise that a formal election also took place.

[53] St Stanojevic expressed the hypothesis that St Sava, during his trip, acted as an emissary of the Bulgarian tsar John Asen, arranging for the recognition of the Bulgarian patriarchate by the Eastern patriarchs ("Sv. Sava i proglas bulgarski patrjarshije," *Glasnik srpske akademi* 156 (Belgrade, 1933), 171ff.

[54] In 1595, the Turkish authorities had the relics of St Sava removed from Mileševa and burnt. The exact date of St Sava's death (1235 or 1236) is disputed. For the more probable date (1236), see Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, 168, note 218.

(1282-1321), and particularly Stephen Dušan (1331-55), the Serbian kingdom annexed traditionally Byzantine territories in Macedonia and northern Greece. In fact, Stephen Dušan dominated the entire Balkan peninsula. It was inevitable that, like Symeon of Bulgaria in the tenth century, he would dream of taking Constantinople itself and assume the "Roman" imperial title. In the expectation of achieving this goal, he called himself—provisionally—"emperor and autocrat of Serbia and Romania" (1345), and raised the archbishop of Peć to the rank of "patriarch of the Serbs and the Greeks." The important city of Skoplje, captured by Milutin, had, more than the other, smaller cities of the Serbian realm, the appearance of an imperial capital. There on April 16, 1346, Dušan was crowned emperor by his newly-established patriarch Ioannikije.

The Serbian patriarchate was immediately recognized and supported by the patriarch of Trnovo and the archbishop of Ohrid (the latter was now controlled by Serbian power), as well as the monasteries of Mount Athos.[55] It included within its realm a number of Greek dioceses, located on territories conquered by Dušan.[56] In the circumstances, it is understandable that the establishment of such a patriarchate was challenged in Constantinople: on December 1349, ecumenical patriarch Callistus anathematized the Serbian Church.

Fortunately, the schism was not a lasting one. The political situation changed radically following the death of tsar Dušan (1355). The Serbian empire was split into several independent principalities, none of which could cherish further ambitions at the expense of Byzantium. Furthermore, the patriarchate of Constantinople, following the official victory of hesychasm and palamite theology (1347), was governed, almost exclusively, by former Athonite monks, disciples of St Gregory of Sinai and St Gregory Palamas. Spiritual, emotional and economic contacts were close between Athos and the Serbian Church. The common ideology of the monks, who now occupied the highest position in the Byzantine ecclesiastical hierarchy, included a strong reaffirmation of patriarchal prestige and power, upon which the entire spiritual legacy of Constantinople could rely, rather than upon the power of the crumbling empire.[57] They were concerned about having the Slavic churches acknowledge that prestige, but they were also aware of the fact that Byzantium could not impose anything by force anymore. Furthermore, the Turkish advance was recognized by all as a common threat.

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[55] Dušan made a personal visit there following his coronation, accompanied by his wife, whom he refused to leave behind. This is the only known case of a woman officially stepping upon the sacred soil of the monastic republic (1347).

[56] Melnik, Philippi, Christoupolis, Serres, Drama, Berroea, Larissa, Naupactus, Ioannina: cf. V. Moshin, "Sv. patriarkh Kallist i srpska tsrkva" in *Glasnik srpskoi patriarshije* 9 (1946), 196.

[57] Cf. the discussion of this new exaltation of the ecumenical patriarchate by the hesychasts in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 112-8, 177-81; also below, 307-8.

Greek dioceses, over which the Serbian patriarchate had usurped jurisdiction in 1346, found themselves, after Dušan's death, within the borders of the principality of Serres, headed by the despot John Uglješa. Patriarch Callistus himself travelled there in 1364, but died in Serbia without seeing the results of his mission. These took the form of a formal return of the diocese in Uglješa territory to the jurisdiction of Constantinople, under patriarch Philotheus in 1368.[58]

But the reconciliation did not yet concern the patriarchate of Peć itself. That major problem was solved seven years later, following the disastrous defeat of the Serbs by the armies of Sultan Murad I on the river Maritsa (1371). The role of intermediary was played by a delegation of Slavic monks from Mount Athos, including the abbot of the Russian monastery, Isaiah, and Nicodemus, a relative of prince Lazar of Serbia. The presence of another former Athonite, Philotheus, on the throne of Constantinople, must have helped matters greatly. Receiving the monks in Constantinople, patriarch Philotheus sent his own plenipotentiaries to Serbia, the monks Matthew and Moses, who solemnly lifted the anathemas against Dušan, standing at his tomb in Prizren. They also concelebrated with the Serbian clergy in Peć, and announced the recognition of Sava IV as patriarch of Serbia.[59]

The several Serbian principalities were conquered successively by the Turks. The famous battle of Kosovo Polje (1389), during which Sultan Murad I was killed by a Serbian warrior and prince Lazar was taken prisoner, to be executed, together with other Serbian nobles, by Murad's son and successor Bayezid I (1389-1427), was the last—tragically unsuccessful—attempt at stopping the Turkish advance. However, the Serbian despots Stephen Lazarević (1389-1427) and George Branković (1427-56), being Turkish vassals, were still able to patronize arts and culture. Finally, in 1459, sultan Mehmed II suppressed the last vestiges of Serbian autonomy. The Serbian patriarchate of Peć survived under the Turks until 1766, when it was formally suppressed—as was also the autocephalous archbishopric of Ohrid—by ecumenical patriarch Samuel I (1763-8). Greek bishops were appointed to Serbian sees.

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[58] Cf. *MM* 1:553-5.

[59] These events are described in the *Life* of patriarch Sava IV by a disciple of archbishop Danilo II: Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi, *Zivoti Kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*, ed. by Dj. Daničić (Zagreb, 1866), repr. Variorum (London, 1972), 380-3; cf. also V. Laurent, "L'archevêque de Peć et le titre de patriarche après l'union de 1375," *Balcania* 8, 2 (Bucharest, 1944), 303-10.

3. The Church in Romanian Lands

Before the Hungarian and Slavic invasions, part of the Balkan peninsula was inhabited by Dacians, and also by Roman colonists, among whom Christianity had penetrated very early. In the early fifth century, St Nicetas, bishop of Remesiana (medieval and modern Niš), was a well-known missionary and poet in the Latin language. Since the fourth century, a diocese and ecclesiastical center existed in Tomi, in the Roman province of Scythia (modern Dobrudja). The so-called "Scythian monks"—bilingual in Latin and Greek—played a role in the controversies on "theopaschism" in the sixth century. They must have originally belonged to the flock of the archbishopric of *Justiniana Prima*, created by emperor Justinian.[60] Descending from those Romanized Dacians and Roman colonists, a large population, speaking a language based on Latin, survived for centuries throughout the Balkans, but particularly in areas north of the Danube, known as Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia. Often retreating to mountainous areas, it preserved its language, but borrowed the Slavonic liturgy, inherited from the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition; it was also ruled politically by foreigners: the Hungarians, the Serbs, and particularly the Bulgarians. These is evidence that "Vlachs"—as the future Romanians were called—played a significant role at the courts of the Bulgarian emperors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Actually, the Asens, creators of the second Bulgarian empire—and many members of their high ecclesiastical and civil administrations—may have been of Vlach background.

As Bulgarian dominance of the lands beyond the Danube weakened following the death of Tsar John Asen II (1241), independent *voevodas* assumed leadership in Wallachia, or *Ouggrovlachia,* as it is called in Greek sources, i.e., the country between the Transylvanian Alps and the lower Danube.

As these first steps toward Romanian independence were taking place, the patriarchate of Constantinople was able to use two ecclesiastical bridgeheads which it possessed beyond the Danube: the metropolitanate of Vicinia, near the Danube delta (first mentioned in 1264), and the bishopric of Belgorod, or Akkerman (Gr. 'Ασπρόκαστρον) near the estuary of the Dniester. The latter in the past had been a suffragan of the metropolitan of Kiev. The hesychast patriarchs Callistus (1350-3, 1354-63) and Philotheus (1353-4, 1364-76), who were pursuing active centralizing policies and had been repeatedly challenged by the contemporary patriarchs of Trnovo,[61] were happy to expand the jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarchate over Romanian lands, at the expense of the Bulgarians. In 1359, the *voevoda* Nicholas Alexander Basarab requested the erection of a metropolitan see in Argeš, and promised adherence to the ecumenical patriarchate. The metropolitan Hyacinthus of Vicina was duly appointed "metropolitan of all Ouggvrovlachia" with residence in Argeš and the honorary rank of *hypertimos.*[62] It is the year 1359, therefore, which marks the beginning of a properly Romanian ecclesiastical organization, under the patriarch of Constantinople, which preserved, nevertheless, Church Slavonic as its liturgical language.[63] In August 1370, patriarch Philotheus and his synod issued a decree splitting the metropolitanate into two parts: the western part of Wallachia was placed under a separate "metropolitan of Severin."[64] It is probable that the measure was designed to strengthen the Orthodox presence in western Wallachia, which was under strong Hungarian Roman Catholic pressure.[65] The neighboring Bulgarian city of Vidin had been captured in 1365-66 by the Hungarian king Louis the Great, which forced the Bulgarian tsar Stracimir and thousands of Bulgarians to accept rebaptism.[66] Eventually, the metropolitanate of Severin was demoted into a simple episcopate (of Rimnic—"new Severin"). It is interesting to note that the same patriarch Philotheus, less than a year later, took a similar measure under similar Polish pressure, by establishing a metropolitanate of Galicia, separate from the metropolitanate of Kiev.[67]

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[60] Cf. J. Meyendorff, *The Church in History* II. *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*, 218.

In Moldavia, between the Carpathian mountains and the river Pruth—a country also referred to as "Mavrovlachia" or "Rossovlachia"[68]—the ecclesiastical situation was not stabilized until the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Orthodox Romanian population of the region first received a political leadership in the person of the *voevoda* Bogdan (1359-65), who resided in

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[61] We have seen earlier (p. 250) that, in 1352, the patriarch of Trnovo had consecrated a metropolitan of Russia, Theodoret, by request of Olgerd of Lithuania, challenging the authority of the legitimate metropolitan, Alexis, and that, in 1355, the name of the patriarchate of Constantinople had been dropped from liturgical commemoration in Trnovo.

[62] *MM* 1:383-5.

[63] Written and spoken Romanian began to be used liturgically only in the seventeenth century, in Transylvania.

[64] *MM* 1:532-5.

[65] Cf. *Istoria Bisericii Romani,* I (Bucharest, 1957), 153-62.

[66] Cf. L. Wadding, ed., *Annales Minorum* VII (Rome, 1783), 196-7; also J. Meyendorff, "Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367," *DOP* 14 (1960), 149-77.

[67] Cf. below, 263 and 339.

[68] *Istoria Bisericii Romani* I, 183, note 1.

Suceava, but the country remained under strong Roman Catholic pressure coming from Hungary and Poland. In 1370, when this pressure was at its height—as we saw earlier—a Roman Catholic diocese was erected in Siret, and Bogdan's son, Latsko Voda (1365-74), became a Roman Catholic. There was no Orthodox bishop in the country, and Orthodox priests were ordained by the bishop of Halich in neighboring Galicia. This was a natural development, since Galicia had been annexed by Poland (1349); also since the late 1380s Polish political and cultural influence had been extended to Moldavia as well.[69] As Galicia and Moldavia were thus both under the pressure of a militantly Roman Catholic monarchy, the cause of Orthodoxy required new cooperation and new administrative arrangements. Succeeding Latsko in 1374, the Moldavian prince Peter Mušat assumed the role of active protector of Orthodoxy, although some time elapsed before Constantinople recognized this role officially. Since, in any case, King Casimir of Poland would not admit that the bishop of Halich could be consecrated by the distant metropolitan of Kiev (now residing in Moscow), patriarch Philotheus of Constantinople established a separate metropolitan of Galicia in May 1371. The incumbent, Anthony, was the only Orthodox bishop in Polish-controlled areas, and was instructed by the patriarch to call upon the cooperation of the metropolitan of Ouggrovlachia whenever he needed to perform episcopal consecrations in empty dioceses.[70] This applied *de facto* to Moldavia. In fact, the metropolitan of Halich had become head of the Orthodox Church in both Poland and Moldavia.

Sources are scarce for the ecclesiastical history of the region, and it is difficult to ascertain whether the arrangement was sufficient to counteract King Jagiello's patronizing of Roman Catholicism. In 1375, metropolitan Anthony was forced to leave Halich, where a Latin bishop was installed in his place.[71] Apparently, the see was vacant in 1376-8, because it was metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev who performed the consecration of a bishop for Vladimir-in-Volhynia, a suffragan of the metropolitan of Halich. A successor to Anthony was appointed by Constantinople in 1381.[72]

[69] Some sources speak of Polish suzerainty over Moldavia in the late 1380s (G. S. Pascu and others, *Istoria Medie a Romaniei* I [Bucharest, 1966], 159-61), but there was also a pledge by Polish king Jagiello—in exchange for a large sum of money lent to him by the *voevoda* Peter Mušat—to transfer Galicia to the Moldavian prince (cf. D. Nastasi, "Imperial claims in the Romanian Principalities" in L. Clucas, ed., *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, East. European Monographs, 230 [Boulder, CO, 1988], 200).

[70] *MM* 1:383-5. According to canon law, an episcopal consecration requires the participation of "two or three" bishops.

[71] Cf. sources quoted in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 193, note 60.

[72] Cf. Cyprian's letter to St Sergius (*RIB* VI, col. 181; English tr. in Meyendorff, *op. cit.*, 297); cf.

Seeking to stabilize the ecclesiastical situation, this new metropolitan of Halich—the successor of Anthony—consecrated two bishops for Moldavia, Joseph Mušat and Meletius. The first was a relative of the Orthodox Romanian *voevoda* Peter I Mušat (c. 1374-92) who—most probably—requested the consecration. For reasons which are not immediately clear, the patriarchate objected. Furthermore, the metropolitanate of Halich became vacant again in 1391.

King Jagiello unilaterally appointed the bishop of Lutsk, John Baba, as metropolitan of Halich. The move was protested by the bishop of Vladimir-in-Volhynia, by Cyprian of Kiev and by the patriarchate of Constantinople, which recognized neither Baba nor the bishops Joseph and Meletius. It appointed a hieromonk, Symeon, as administrator of the metropolitanate of Halich, hoping to balance the arbitrary acts of Jagiello. Constantinople also requested the two minor Romanian *voevodas*, Balitsa and Dragas of Mazamures, to act as protectors of the church both in Galicia and in Moldavia, and not to entrust the mission—more realistically—to the more powerful *voevoda* of Suceava, Peter I Mušat. The situation was further—and dramatically—complicated by the intervention of an adventurer, Paul Tagaris, who claimed to be patriarch of Constantinople.[73] The bogus patriarch consecrated Symeon "bishop," for which the latter had to repent later.

A senior patriarchal envoy, Michael, archbishop of Bethlehem, travelled to the region in 1393 with the difficult mission of establishing canonical order. He was unsuccessful in Galicia, where Jagiello continued to support John Baba, and where Cyprian of Kiev was in partial control, consecrating a new bishop of Lutsk. In Moldavia, presumably upon Michael's recommendation, and after a visit of another patriarchal envoy, Theodosius, a separate metropolitanate was erected in 1394 with a Greek, Jeremiah, appointed to the see.[74] However, the Moldavian princes—who preferred to receive bishops of their own nationality, consecrated by the metropolitan of Galicia—refused to accept him, with the result that Jeremiah placed an interdict upon the Moldavians. The interdict was confirmed by Constantinople.

Rhalles-Potles, 5:305; P. Sokolov, *Russkii Arkhierei iz Vizantii* (Kiev, 1913), 536. Most authors assume—wrongly, I think—that Anthony kept his see until 1391.

[73] His travels included Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Georgia and the Balkans, where he was ordaining "bishops." On his career, see R.-J. Loenertz, "Cardinal Morosini et Paul Paléologue Tagaris, patriarches," *REB* 24 (1966), 224-56; D. M. Nicol, "The confessions of a bogus Patriarch: Paul Tagaris Palaiologos, Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and Catholic Patriarch of Constantinople in the Fourteenth Century," *JEH* 21 (1970), 289-99 (repr. in *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World* [London: Variorum, 1972]).

[74] *MM* 2:528-32.

There were several attempts to heal the schism. Peter's successor, the *voevoda* Stephen I Mušat (1394-9) sent a possible Romanian candidate, the archpriest (*protopop*) Peter, to Constantinople for consecration, but patriarch Anthony imposed a condition—that the "pseudo-bishops" Joseph Mušat (the prince's relative) and Meletius be removed.[75] On the other hand, metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev, who maintained close ties with king Jagiello and travelled in the kingdom of Poland in 1396-7, making plans for an ecumenical council to be held there. He also offered his services in restoring order in the region, by including Mavrovlachia within his jurisdiction. In 1395, another Greek envoy, the metropolitan of Mytilene, was pursuing further negotiations in Moldavia.[76] Finally, a new patriarchal mission was entrusted again to the same Michael of Bethlehem. The patriarch in a letter rebuked metropolitan Cyprian, reminding him that neither Galicia nor Moldavia were to be annexed by the metropolitanate of Kiev, but administered by separate metropolitans, appointed by the patriarchate.[77]

But Constantinople's centralizing intransigence was met again with failure. Ecclesiastical peace was restored only in 1401. The Christian forces had been defeated by the Turks at Nicopolis (1396). Constantinople, besieged by sultan Bayezid, was begging for help. This was the goal of a third embassy of Michael of Bethlehem to Russia.[78] But Byzantium had to pay a price for Russian financial support. The metropolitanate of Galicia was suppressed and placed again under Kiev (as it was before 1370), which undoubtedly pleased Cyprian. Joseph Mušat, the Galician appointee, was finally recognized as metropolitan of "Mavrovlachia." This result, agreeable to the new Moldavian ruler, Alexander the Good—a friend and ally of prince Mircea the Elder of Wallachia—was sanctioned by patriarch Matthew I (1397-1410).[79] Henceforth, the Romanian lands were ruled ecclesiastically by the two metropolitans of "Ouggrovlachia" (in

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[75] *MM* 2:243-4.

[76] *MM* 2:256-7.

[77] *MM* 2:283-4.

[78] Cf. Obolensky, "A Byzantine grand embassy to Russia in 1400," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978), 123-32 (repr. in *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* [London: Variorum, 1982]).

[79] For a more detailed history of these events, see *Istoria Bisericii Romani* I, 144-62, 171-90; Arseny, *Izsledovaniya i monografii po istorii Moldavskoi tserkvi* (St Petersburg, 1904); D. Obolensky, "A late fourteenth-century Byzantine diplomat: Michael, archbishop of Bethlehem," *Byzance et les Slaves. Mélanges Ivan Dujčev*, ed. S. Dufrenne (Paris, 1970), 299-315 (repr. in *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* [London: Variorum, 1982]); E. Stanescu, "Byzance et les pays roumains aux IX^{e}-XV^{e} ss." in *Actes du XIV Congrès International des Etudes byzantines* I (Bucharest, 1974), 419-20. For the connections with Galicia, see also Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 249-51.

Argeš) and of "Mavrovlachia," or "Rosovlachia" (in Suceava). Surviving as independent—later, semi-independent—principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia remained for long Byzantine in character. The relatively rich courts of the *voevodas* acted as generous patrons of Orthodoxy within the Ottoman empire, and as supporters of monasteries and promoters of literature and culture. They continued until the seventeenth century to use not their vernacular Romanian, but Church Slavonic, as the language of both state and church.

It was natural, of course, that the two principalities also served as points of attraction for the Orthodox population of the Transylvanian mountains, which had served as the original refuge of the Romanians following the invasions by Hungarians and Slavs. The continuing survival of this Orthodox Romanian population in Transylvania under the rule of the Hungarian kings is well attested throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. No Orthodox bishops were admitted into the region, but Orthodox priests were ordained in Serbia, Wallachia or Moldavia to serve in Transylvania. Also, there is information about the existence of "stavropegial" monasteries, under the direct jurisdiction of Constantinople. In the seventeenth century this Orthodox survival in Transylvania eventually produced the first publications in the Romanian language and led to the introduction of that language into liturgical practice.

4. *Literary, Artistic and Spiritual Movements*

The Orthodox churches of the Balkans were born as a direct result of the missionary and translating achievements of Sts Cyril and Methodius, which were continued, in Ohrid, by their disciples St Clement, St Naum, and others. Most of the scriptures and liturgical texts needed for worship were translated in the ninth and tenth centuries. Some original Slavic texts also appeared at that time, notably the writings of St Clement of Ohrid. Translations, sermons and lives of saints continued to be produced even under the Byzantine reoccupation of the peninsula in the eleventh century. These translations and original writings were, almost exclusively, religious and ecclesiastical in character. The development of medieval Slavic civilization was determined, essentially, by the needs of the Church. On the other hand, since few Slavs knew Greek or Latin, classical secular Hellenism penetrated only through the prism of patristic theology and liturgical hymnography, translated from Greek into Slavic. A Greek ecclesiastic, or monk, had direct access—if he so desired—to the writings of Plato, Aristotle, or Homer. His Slavic brothers read only translations of liturgical and theological texts. These, however, reflected the spirit and content of Christian Hellenism, so that the Slavs were conquered by the beauty of Byzantine liturgical poetry. The "Church Slavonic" language created by Cyril and Methodius and developed within the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was exceptionally successful in serving as instrument of "cultural diffusion." In general, the translations tended to be literal, with syntax and vocabulary borrowed from the Greek prototypes. Of course, local conditions and creativity influenced the development of the language as well. "In this process," writes Dimitri Obolensky, "the translated works not only acquired new traits, but also stimulated, by a kind of cultural osmosis, the growth of 'original' literature in different parts of the Slavonic world."[80]

Although the medieval period witnessed the emergence of several states and churches in the Balkans, Slavic Orthodox literature was very much a single transnational phenomenon. Until about 1100, "so uniform was this literary tradition that it is often exceedingly difficult to identify on linguistic grounds the origin of Old Church Slavonic texts written during this period in these various countries."[81] By the end of the twelfth century, however, local dialectical traits—Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian—became much more apparent. It is difficult to pass judgment as to which of these Slavic Orthodox traditions made the greatest contribution to the common cause of Christian expansion in Eastern Europe. It has been argued, however, that sixty percent of all the translations made from the Greek and circulating in Russia by the end of the fourteenth century had been made in Bulgaria.[82] In the field of art and architecture, however, as far as one can judge by the preserved monuments, the Byzantine tradition was wonderfully expressed in a most extraordinary way in the monastery churches of Slavic Macedonia and Serbia, like Nerezi (1164), Mileševa (1234), Sopćani (1268), Studenica (1313-14), Staro-Nagoričino (1317), Gračaniça (1318-21), Dečani (1335-50), and later, at Ravanica (1378), Kalenić (1413-7), and Manasija (1406-18). In Bulgaria, the leading examples are the frescoes at Boyana (1259) and the newly discovered chapel of the Transfiguration at Rila (ca. 1335). The high quality of monumental painting and iconography in the Balkan countries during what has been called the "Palaeologan Renaissance" is the best illustration of the spiritual unity which tied together Slavs and Greeks, and of the achieve-

[80] *Commonwealth*, 331.

[81] *Ibid.*, 325.

[82] Cf. K. Ivanova, "Bolgarskaya perevodnaya literatura X-XIV vv. v kontekste Slavia orthodoxa," in *Studia Slavica Mediaevalia et Humanistica Ricardo Picchio dicata*, M. Colucci, G. Dell'Agata, H. Goldblatt, eds. (Rome, 1986), II, 362; see also Yu. K. Begunov, "Akademik N. K. Nikolsky o Grigorii Tsamblake," *ibid.* I, 19-21.

ments of Slavic Christian civilization within the Byzantine "Commonwealth."

The fact that most of this art served to decorate monastic churches, and that a very large proportion of the translated literature also expressed monastic spirituality, point to the particular role of monasticism as a culturally unifying element. Monasteries were the main centers of cultural diffusion, of international fellowship, and of manuscript distribution. The great monastic center of Mount Athos played the most active role in all these respects.[83] In the thirteenth century, three Athonite monasteries were predominantly Slavic communities: St Panteleimon (mainly Russian, since 1169), Chilandar (mainly Serbian, since 1199) and Zographou (mainly Bulgarian).

Practically all of the leading personalities of spirituality and literature in the Balkans in the late medieval period were monks. The great St Sava of Serbia, whose historical role as founder of the Serbian church we have discussed earlier, was by vocation an Athonite monk. His literary contributions include a celebrated *Life* of his father, Stephen Nemanja, who, by entering monastic life, became the venerated St Symeon, the "Myrrh-gushing." This *Life* created a pattern followed by others: biographies of Nemanja's heirs were written by several of St Sava's successors. In addition to creating a socially important mystique of the "holy king," these *Lives* established the specifically Serbian veneration of the Nemanjid dynasty, the incarnation of the Christian and Orthodox legacy in Serbia. Somewhat parallel to the king's *Lives*, the Serbian archbishop Danilo II composed biographies of the successive heads of the Serbian church, beginning with St Arsenije, St Sava's first successor. The second most important contribution of St Sava was his translation and editing of the *Kormchaya Kniga*, a Slavic version of the Byzantine *Nomocanon*, or collection of church law combined with state legislation on the church. Designed as a guide or "pilot" (*kormchy*) for the newly-established Serbian Church, this work was adopted, as a basic resource, in Bulgaria and Russia as well.[84]

The role of monasticism in the life of the South Slavic churches became even more decisive following the victory of Byzantine hesychasts over their critics by the middle of the fourteenth century. In the abundant scholarly literature about social and religious life in Eastern Europe in the fourteenth century, it has become customary to use the term hesychast very widely, to designate all those who identified themselves, directly or indirectly, with that victory. In fact, this term, which is well-known since the fourth century, has a narrower meaning: it applies to monks seeking *hesychia* ("quietude"), i.e., hermits and solitaries, devoted to "ceaseless prayer." There was a strong revival of this tradition, beginning in the thirteenth century. A new factor, which appeared in the fourteenth century, was that some theological statements by Byzantine hesychasts, formulated by St Gregory Palamas—essentially, the statement that God himself becomes really accessible to the faithful in his "energies"—were challenged by some theologians, but were eventually solemnly approved by the Church at the councils of 1341, 1347 and 1351. These events gave a strong new impetus to the hesychast tradition, to the prestige and leadership of monastic personalities. It has become customary to use the term "hesychasm" to designate them all. One should remember, however, the somewhat conventional character of the term, which points symbolically at the spiritual origins of a movement that exercised a very extensive influence on many aspects of social and intellectual life in Eastern Europe as a whole.[85]

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[83] Cf. J. Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy," *DOP* 42 (1988), 157-65; N. Oikonomides, "Mount Athos: Levels of Literacy," *ibid.*, 167-78. R. Taft, "Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite," *ibid.*, 179-94.

[84] On the context and history of the *Kormchaya*, see I. Žužek, *Kormchaya Kniga. Studies on the Chief Code of Russian Canon Law* (*OCA* 168, Rome, 1964).

The personality of St Sava possesses already many of the traits which dominated the hesychast movement in the second half of the fourteenth century:[86] a sense of supranational Orthodox unity (with the patriarch of Constantinople somehow substituting for the unifying role played earlier by the emperor); an unshakable commitment to Orthodoxy with enough openness to Western Christendom to make a realistic dialogue possible; and a continuing recognition of spiritual monastic leadership within society.

The same ideology inspired the Bulgarian hesychasts. Around 1330, a major Greek spiritual writer, St Gregory of Sinai,[87] established himself in Paroria in

[85] Such terms as "political hesychasm" have also been used by scholars (cf. G. M. Prokhorov, "Isikhasm; obshchestvennaya mysl' v Vostochnoii Evrope," *Akademiya nauk SSSR, Otdel drevne russkoii literatury, Trudy* 23 [1968], 86-108). R. Picchio makes use of the much wider concept of *slavia orthodoxa* (cf. "On Russian humanism: The philological revival," *Slavia* 44 [1975], 2, 161-71). Cf. J. Meyendorff's discussion of the problem, "Is 'Hesychasm' the right word? Remarks on religious ideology in the fourteenth century," in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* VII (1983) (=*Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko*), 447-51; also *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 96-118. See also the next chapter for Palamas and especially pp. 284-86 for the term hesychasm and the Palamite movement.

[86] Cf. A. Tachiaos, "Le Monachisme serbe de Saint Sava et le tradition hesychaste athonite," *Hilandarski Sbornik* I (Belgrade, 1966), 883-9.

[87] His writings on the Jesus Prayer were included in the *Philokalia* of St Nicodemus the Hagiorite, and repr. in *PG* 150:1239-1345; cf. A. Tachiaos, "Gregory Sinaites' Legacy to the Slavs: Preliminary Remarks," *Cyrillomethodianum* 7 (1983), 113-65.

southeastern Bulgaria. The group of his disciples included Callistus, the future patriarch of Constantinople—whose involvement in the affairs of the Balkan churches was discussed earlier—and the Bulgarian St Theodosius, founder of the monastery of Kilifarevo, which gathered not only Bulgarian, but also Serbian, Hungarian, Romanian and Greek monks.[88] Among the monks of Kilifarevo was also St Euthymius, who became the last patriarch of Trnovo (1375-93). The name of St Euthymius is associated with a major liturgical and linguistic reform, which influenced the entire Slavic Orthodox world.

The cooperation between Greek and Slavic monks in the service of a common goal—the maintenance of Orthodox unity and identity in the face of the Turkish advance, the Latin challenge and the Bogomil sectarian propaganda[89]—led them to be concerned with textual divergences and variety, which raised the question of "authoritative" texts. The variety was due to different factors, the principal ones being the changes in Greek liturgical practice, the linguistic differences which had become apparent between the Bulgarian, the Serbian and the Russian recensions of Church Slavonic, and the numerous copyists' mistakes in the existing manuscripts.[90] Thus the quest for textual authenticity led to the creation of a veritable school of textual criticism. Since, on the other hand, the solution adopted in correcting books was the restoration of conformity with Greek originals, direct cooperation was established with the patriarchate of Constantinople in matters of liturgical reform. We know for sure that such direct contacts existed between patriarchs Philotheus and Euthymius. Furthermore, the desire to follow Byzantine models led to the adoption (in Slavic original writings) of the flowering rhetorical style of the Byzantines, which was interpreted by the Slavs as an expression of "divine beauty." This style, known in Russia as *pletenie sloves* ("weaving of words") is one of the characteristics of what is sometimes called the "second South-Slavic" influence on Russia, and which in fact was a renewed Byzantine impact upon all the Slavic literatures.

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[88] Cf. *Life* of St Theodosius by Callistus, ed. V. N. Zlatarski (Sofia, 1904), 22-3.

[89] The hesychast revival was certainly behind this new commitment to Orthodox unity, but no particular hesychast doctrine was needed for that.

[90] Cf. the pioneering work of P. Syrku, *K istorii ispravleniya knig v Bolgarii, I. Vremya i zhizn' Evfimiya Ternovskago. II. Liturgicheskie trudy patriarkha Evfimiya Ternovskago* (St Petersburg, 1898-90; repr. London, 1972). The "Trnovo School" has since been studied in great detail by many specialists of early Slavic literature: cf. recently the papers of two international symposia on the subject published as *Turnovska knizhovna shkola* I-II (Sofia, 1974-80). For the changes in liturgical practice within the Church of Constantinople, see below, 310-17.

Two of St Euthymius' disciples—both Bulgarians—were instrumental, more than anyone, in transmitting the results of the work done in Trnovo to other Slavic lands. The first was St Cyprian, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia (1376-1408). His activities as copyist and hagiographer, liturgical reformer, and unifier of the dismembered Russian Church will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. The second was Gregory Tsamblak, who left a rich literary legacy, but whose extraordinary biography is not yet known in detail.[91] Having studied at Trnovo and probably on Mount Athos, he travelled to Constantinople and eventually became a preacher and teacher ("didaskal") at the newly established metropolitanate of Moldovlachia in Suceava (1401). Later he was called to Russia by metropolitan Cyprian. Following the latter's death (1406), he accepted to lead a rebellion of western Russian bishops against Cyprian's successor, Photius, who resided in Moscow. Indeed, in 1415, he was uncanonically consecrated metropolitan of Kiev, establishing a *de facto* autocephalous church in Lithuanian-held territories. Although excommunicated by Photius and patriarch Joseph II, he attended the council of Constance (1417-8), having been sent there by his protector, grand-prince Vitovt of Lithuania.[92] Leaving Lithuania by 1419, he spent some time as abbot of the monasteries of Decani (Serbia) and Neamts (Moldavia). As the most prominent of all the writers in the "Trnovo style," he composed numerous *Lives* (of the Serbian king Uroš III Decanski, of St Cyprian of Kiev, of patriarch Euthymius), elaborate sermons and liturgical hymnography.[93]

Tsamblak's career illustrates the international character of the "Trnovo school." The same appears in the life of Constantine Kostenecki, also known as the "philosopher" and "teacher of the Serbs." Trained at the monastery of Bachkovo, where St Euthymius had died, Constantine fled Bulgaria around 1410 and spent the rest of his life in the still surviving Serbian despotate of Stefan Lazarevic. From there he travelled to Jerusalem. We do not hear of him after 1431. Together with a *Life* of his protector, the despot Stefan, he is the author of a famous *Treatise on the Letters* (*Skazanie o pismenekh*) which is a systematic presentation of the principles which governed the liturgical and linguistic reforms of St Euthymius and his school. Accuracy of translation and linguistic

[91] On Tsamblak, see A. I. Yatsimirsky, *Grigorii Tsamblak* (St Petersburg, 1904), and, for more recent bibliography, Yu. K. Begunov, article quoted above in note 82. Also M. Heppell, *The Ecclesiastical Career of Gregory Camblak* (London, 1979).

[92] On this episode see Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 266-7. See also below, 348-9.

[93] Most complete list in Begunov, *op. cit.*, 26-30.

coherence are understood as expressions of doctrinal and ethical orthodoxy.[94] For Constantine, Church Slavonic became a sacred icon of truth itself, a written incarnation of holy tradition, distinct from the languages spoken by the various Slavic peoples. This approach to Church Slavonic reflects a new concept of the *sacred language,* guarantor of the true faith and instrument of church unity. Clearly distinct from the Cyrillo-Methodian missionary concept of language as a tool of mission, it contributed to the literal conservatism prevalent among Orthodox Slavs, particularly the Russians, and to some of the problems which faced later book correctors, less competent and flexible than St Euthymius of Trnovo, in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

The theory of language expressed by Constantine provides, at least partially, an explanation why Church Slavonic remained the language of the Church in Romanian lands until the seventeenth century, although it was not understood by the people. Indeed, the Romanian principalities situated to the north of the Danube were under the direct cultural influence of Bulgaria and Galicia,[95] though the two Romanian metropolitanates were ecclesiastically dependent upon Constantinople. In the end Slavonic became the language of the Romanian church and of the princely courts, and, in fact, paralleled the status occupied by Latin in medieval Western Europe.[96]

The hesychast monastic revival and the personal links which it created between Greek and Slavic monastic centers were extended to Wallachia and Moldavia. The Athonite monastery of Kutlumus was patronized by Wallachian princes, and the community included many Romanians. St Nicodemus of Tismana, born in Macedonia of a Greek father and a Serbian mother, and a relative of the Serbian despot Lazar, embraced monastic life at Chilandar on Mount Athos. This princely connection, as well as his ability to act as interpreter, made him a natural member of the Athonite delegation, headed by the "elder" Isaiah, which visited another former Athonite, the patriarch Philotheus of Constantinople, in 1375 at the request of the Serbian authorities, to obtain the recognition of the patriarchate of Peć. Following this successful mission, Nicodemus founded two monasteries in Serbia, before moving to Wallachia. Greatly venerated as an ascetic, a copyist and a monas-

[94] On Constantine, see H. Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy. Constantine Kostenecki's Treatise on the Letters* (Florence, 1987).

[95] Cf. E. Turdeanu, *La littérature bulgare du XIVe siècle et sa diffusion dans les pays roumains* (Paris, 1947).

[96] Cf. V. Gr. Chelaru, "Les coordonnées de la culture roumaine et l'école littéraire de Tarnovo (XIV-XVIe siècles)," *Trnovska knizhovna shkola* II (Sofia, 1980), 104-8.

tic leader, he became the founder of the monasteries of Voditsa, Tismana and Prislop, with support coming from the princes of Serbia and Wallachia. His correspondence with St Euthymius of Trnovo, on theological and disciplinary matters, is a witness to the spiritual interests of the period. He died at Tismana in 1406, refusing to assume the bishoprics offered to him both in Serbia and in Wallachia.[97]

Numerous monasteries were also founded in Moldavia. The oldest is that of Neamt, founded by monks fleeing the Turks (1407). Patronage was provided by metropolitan Joseph Mušat. This marked the beginning of a real flowering of monasticism in Moldavia during the following centuries,[98] providing a historical link between the hesychast revival of the fourteenth century and modern developments of the monastic tradition in Eastern Europe.

Among the translations from the Greek which inspired the Slavic monastic movement, the purely theological materials were relatively scarce. Classics of patristic literature—i.e., some writings of Athanasius and the Cappadocians, as well as the *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* of St John of Damascus—had already been translated in Bulgaria in the tenth century. In the fourteenth century, the bulk of translated materials were ascetic treatises, *Lives* of saints and sermons. However, the hesychast controversies spurred interest in Palamite theology, and some writings of St Gregory Palamas appeared in Slavonic translation.[99] An even more difficult task was performed by the Serbian monk Isaiah of Serres, whom Stephan Dušan had made abbot of the Russian monastery of St Panteleimon and whom we have seen at the head of the mission of reconciliation, in 1375, between the Serbian Church and Constantinople. In 1371, Isaiah completed the Slavic translation of the writings ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite.[100] In a preface to his work, he implicitly recognized the difficulty which he faced: the Greek language was "skillful" (*khudozhen*) and "refined" (*ukhishtren*), because many philosophers had used it, whereas "our Slavic language," though made "good" by God, lacked the technical refinement (*khytrosti*) necessary for translating the texts of Dionysius.[101]

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[97] See I. D. Laudat, "Nicodème élève et continuateur spirituel d'Euthyme de Tarnovo," *Trnovska knizhovna shkola* II (Sofia, 1980), 169-76.

[98] *Istoria Bisericii Romani* I, 212-5.

[99] Cf. K. Ivanova-Konstantinova, "Nyakoi momenti na Bulgaro-Vizantiiskite svyazi," *Starobulgarska literatura* I (Sofia, 1971), 209-42.

[100] On Isaiah, see V. Moshin, "Zhitie igumena Isaiia, igumena russkago monastyra na Afone," *Sbornik russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestva v Yugoslavii* 3 (1940), 125-67; B. Angelov, *Starata bulgarska, ruska i srbska literatura* II (Sofia, 1967), 148-61.

[101] Cf. Goldblatt, *op. cit.*, 23.

The Slavic disciples of the Athonite hesychasts were able to inherit from moribund Byzantium the "one thing necessary": a humble devotion to the Christian experience. On that basis, they equalled their masters in the field of religious art, and also acquired the spiritual strength necessary for survival under Muslim rule and for a later spiritual renaissance.

CHAPTER VII

THE HESYCHAST CONTROVERSY

Although the Byzantine empire occasionally exhibited some vitality after 1261, the age of the Palaeologoi was anything but a restoration or a resurrection.[1] On the threshold of the fourteenth century its weaknesses were all too obvious. By then Asia Minor had been written off as a virtual loss by the state, as Turkish expansionism increasingly replaced the Angevin menace. Equally threatening at the time was the growth of Serbian power under Stephen Dušan (1331-55). By doubling its size (with the conquest of Macedonia, Thessaly, and Albania) Orthodox Serbia was in fact to become the dominant power in the Balkans by the 1340s. The simultaneous outbreak of bubonic plague and the earlier devastation caused by the Catalan Company only added to the disarray. Finally, internally, the age was dominated by domestic disasters; dynastic rebellion, factionalism and intrigue, gradually led to a series of civil wars depriving the Byzantine government of most of its strength and influence. The debilitating war of 1341-47 even became intertwined with social revolution and class strife, as merchants, artisans and the poor, joined the struggle against the "feudal" landholding aristocracy waged by the state.

A further source of unrest was religious strife. The hesychast controversy, which first began in the last years of the reign of Andronicus III (1328-41), was no doubt divisive. Still, its overall contribution to the anarchy and confusion has probably been overemphasized, even exaggerated. Doctrinal in-fighting cannot be equated with the empire's internal convulsive struggles. Besides, there is every reason to believe that the controversy would have ended quickly had political circumstances been different. On the other hand, this does not mean that it lacked importance. The confrontation between Gregory Palamas and Barlaam the Calabrian was in fact the single most important theological debate of the late Byzantine period. Earlier discussions by comparison pale in importance; they also lacked the characteristic monastic complexion of the fourteenth century crisis. The attack on the Athonite hieromonk, Gregory Palamas, was also in general an assault on the contemplative life practiced on Mount Athos.

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[1] P. Lemerle, *Histoire de Byzance* (Paris, 1969), 125: "L'époque des Paléologues ne fut qu'une survie, une agonie prolongée, avec quelques beaux retours de vitalité: ce ne fut pas une résurrection."

1. Monasticism in late Byzantium

Throughout the medieval period the Byzantine cloister remained an integral and important feature of the religious landscape. It was in the monastery above all that the summons to holiness and *hesychia*, "quietude" or "silence," was worked out and perfected. Its role as a place of withdrawal was crucial and in part explains the strong feelings of respect and approval it so often garnered. And yet, the monks and nuns, recruited from virtually every social milieu of the empire, were also capable of exerting an active influence on the social environment, the economy and the state. Their decisive contributions to the defense of the catholic faith, the defeat of heresy, to spirituality and liturgy, are also well known, even if a full and detailed history of the spiritual and institutional evolution of Byzantine monasticism has not yet been written.[2] In the period under review, the ideals of Byzantine asceticism were identical to those first enunciated by Sts Antony, Pachomius and Basil, in the course of the fourth century. The two main traditions of eremitism and cenobitism—hermits living in solitude and monks living in community—were to continue without interruption to the end of the empire. As St Gregory of Sinai was to note in the fourteenth century, "the work of silence is one thing and that of the cenobite another; but each abiding in that which he has been called shall be saved."[3] Although the more rigorous life of extreme asceticism was viewed as being more suitable for the disciplined and experienced solitary, the two ideals were evidently never held to be antithetical or entirely separate. Flexibility in the main was the normal practice and the two forms usually coexisted side by side. On the Athonite peninsula it was actually rare for a cenobitic community not to have one or two *hesychasteria* of its own nearby.

But if the primitive monastic nurseries of the fourth century proved decisive in the evolution of eastern monasticism, so did the contribution of the monastery of St John Studios in Constantinople. It was in this disciplined community, during the tenure of its famous abbot, St Theodore the Studite (759-926), that Byzantine cenobitism acquired its definitive shape. The detailed rule of this house, described by its author, St Theodore, as "the best and most royal rule which indeed avoids both extravagance and inadequacy," was to have a lasting impact on the Orthodox monastery.[4] Before long it became the preferred constitution for old and new foundations partly no doubt because of its moderation in asceticism and its traditional emphasis on corporate worship and manual labor. The first cenobitic community on Mount Athos, the Great Laura, was actually of the Studite type. The *Hypotyposis* of its founder, St Athanasius, is, in all essential respects, based on Theodore's text. But the dissemination of the Studite rule was not confined to Byzantium proper. In the late eleventh century St Theodosius, "the father of Russian monasticism," was to adopt a modified version of the text (by the Studite patriarch Alexius, 1025-43) for his Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. In the following century St Sava was similarly responsible for linking Serbian monasticism firmly to the cenobitic tradition by introducing a variant of St Theodore's constitution, first at Chilandar and then at Studeniça. In time, the latter community (where the saint was himself abbot for a while) became the model for all the royal foundations in Serbia. Although the structure, discipline, and spirituality of monasticism within the Orthodox commonwealth was in general modeled on the Byzantine pattern, the role of the Studite tradition was clearly decisive. On the whole, it was to become a genuine stabilizing factor in eastern monasticism, much like St Basil's cenobitic community at Annesi four centuries earlier.

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[2] Cf. A. Papadakis, "Byzantine monasticism reconsidered," *BS* 47 (1986), 34-46; its canonical status has been exhaustively examined by Pl. de Meester, *De monachico statu juxta disciplinam byzantinam* (Vatican, 1942).

[3] *PG* 150:1333D.

Broadly speaking, after its victory over imperial iconoclasm, Byzantine monasticism was to enjoy a golden age involving both physical and spiritual growth; it was then, in a very real sense, that Byzantium's strong clericalized culture was monasticized. In contrast with the pre-iconoclastic period, monasticism in the late Middle Ages became more independent and wealthy; monastic establishments acting as landed proprietors with slaves and dependent peasants were at any rate rare in the early medieval period. Monasticism also experienced an increase in numbers and thus spread more widely, especially in urban areas. This proliferation was in part sustained by the generosity of the imperial government, although private patronage was probably equally lavish.[5] The Comnenoi dynasty was especially generous in this respect since its endowed foundations and philanthropic institutions were also used as burial-places and family shrines. The large Pantocrator community in Constantinople with its remarkable hospital annex actually became the dynastic mausoleum of the family.[6] The despots of Mistra and the Palaeologoi, though not quite as generous, were no less eager to become founders of monastic churches. The principal religious monuments of Mistra with their stunning pictorial repertories were virtually all monasteries. The same was true of Thessalonica. Significantly, this trend can also be seen in varying degrees elsewhere in Orthodox Eastern Europe. In Serbia, a country where monasticism was to play an important role in national life, most if not all of the monasteries were richly endowed royal foundations. To suggest that more monastic churches were constructed than secular churches during the late Middle Ages would not be an exaggeration. Ecclesiastical architecture became in fact increasingly more monastic and intimate "as the parochial church gave way to the monastic church."[7]

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[4] *Ibid.*, 99:1704B.

[5] J. Leroy, "Monachisme oriental aux X^{e}-XIII^{e} siècles," *Cahiers d'histoire* 20 (1957), 303-31; A. Failler, "Le monachisme byzantin aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles. Aspects sociaux et économiques," *ibid.*, 171-94; and K.A. Manaphes, *Μοναστηριακά Τυπικά-Διαθήκαι* (Athens, 1970).

As more than one historian has pointed out, this change was to affect the iconographic scheme of church buildings as well. Briefly, once the monumental architecture of the proto-Byzantine period began to yield to the humbler construction of the post-iconoclastic age, the decorative programs of churches, depicting the Christian economy of salvation in Christ, became thematically more dynamic and unified. Representational depiction henceforth focused almost exclusively on salvation history. For the history of the liturgy, the change was no less fundamental. "As churches became smaller, liturgical life became more compressed, more private. The splendors of the urban stational and basilical rites of Late Antiquity, destined for a liturgical space that encompassed the city and tailored to the majestic dimensions of a Hagia Sophia, were henceforth played out in a greatly reduced arena."[8] This may explain, if only partially, the gradual wide diffusion of the monastic liturgical *ordo* of Palestine discussed below. Indeed, after the Latin conquest, Orthodox liturgical life could no longer be modeled or shaped exclusively by the brilliance and magnificence of the Byzantine capital. After 1204 it was destined, on the whole, to become more intimate and was celebrated in much smaller churches with a new sense of divine transcendence and a new emphasis on mystery. The increasingly important role assumed by monasticism in every one of these developments is undeniable.

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[6] G. Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1948), 10-19; T.S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore, 1985), 12-29; P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974), 1-145.

[7] C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), 197.

[8] R.F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite, A Short History* (Collegeville, Minn, 1992), 72.

Not surprisingly, monasticism's traditional role in Byzantine society increased in proportion to its new urban expansion, prosperity and importance. This was especially evident during the dramatic advance of Latin military power in the thirteenth century. After the Latin conquest, in many localities where there was no hierarchy or a strong secular clergy (including Constantinople) the monks were often Orthodoxy's only spokesmen and its only resistance. That this same role was also actively assumed later by the semi-monastic Arsenite movement has already been emphasized. Monks, finally, played a crucial role in the opposition to the religious diplomacy of Michael VIII and the union of Lyons. Indeed, by the late thirteenth century the cloister had become a powerful religious and political force and could not be ignored or antagonized by the state. To do so was both dangerous and unwise. This increase in prestige and influence was by no means always to the good. "To imagine that the institution of monasticism could have persisted through so many centuries and in so many different lands, without any signs of weakness or decline, would be to put too great a confidence in human nature."[9] In this respect the ideal picture presented by the numerous monastic *typica* of this period cannot always be trusted. Such evidence has its limits, since it ignores or omits as a rule the existence of abuse and decline. For irregularities or decay we must look elsewhere. The divisive Arsenite movement, for instance, displayed irresponsibility in its opposition to the hierarchical magisterium. Its leaders were clearly in the wrong in losing sight of the fact that monasticism's legitimate charismatic role in the Church cannot replace the canonical authority of the hierarchy. Their excessive individualism, quite simply, was an unacceptable ecclesial norm. Evidence for irresponsibility and institutional decline, however, is also available for the twelfth century. Contemporary denunciations and accusations of existing irregularities are particularly stinging.[10] (In the following century, problems were to appear in Russia as well, although these were due in the main to the Tatar invasion of 1240.) It goes without saying that the accumulation of estates and landed wealth was frequently, though not exclusively, a major cause of decadence and decline. For it has always been difficult to reconcile the life of

[9] H. Delehaye, "Byzantine monasticism," in N.H. Baynes and H.St.L.B. Moss, *Byzantium* (Oxford, 1953), 154-5.

[10] See Eustathius of Thessalonica, *De emendanda vita monachica*, *PG* 135:729-909; and the satire of Pseudo-Prodromus, in E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire* (Paris, 1880), 1:52-76. Beck, *Kirche*, 634-35. The criticism by Eustathius is also discussed by C. Mpones, "The ideals of the monastic life in Byzantium during the eleventh century," (in Greek) *Theologia* 16 (1938), 362-4.

seclusion with the burdens and complications that the acquisition of material wealth implies. Whenever monasteries became economically independent agricultural units spiritual stagnation often followed.

Occasionally, to be sure, difficulties and irregularities also arose when a community was not actually directly involved in administering its estates or dependent labor. Since monks were normally unprepared by vocation and experience in estate management or in business matters, the administration of a foundation was often assigned in *charistike* to a prominent layman. This arrangement was always temporary, or more precisely, limited to two lifetime tenancies; it did not evidently involve rights of ownership—these were not modified or adjusted in any way. What was an essentially state-sponsored scheme was not without its benefits, especially if the lay-protector or *charisticarius* governed honestly and wisely. Unfortunately, however, the system did not always work in this way; widespread financial exploitation by a greedy patron bent on administering the community in his charge for his personal profit was more frequently the accepted pattern. The goal of conserving the community's goods and its revenues was, as such, seriously undermined. Diversion and diminution of monastic wealth was in reality the result. Indeed, the system, designed originally to eliminate under-productivity of poor or run-down establishments, was only a pretext, since before long perfectly healthy communities were also being granted in the same way to laymen. For example, the ancient monastery of St Mamas in Constantinople fell victim to the system shortly after St Symeon the New Theologian had successfully worked for its restoration during his long tenure as abbot. By the twelfth century the community had lost most of its property to the greed and extortion of its various lay-protectors. Considerable effort was then required on the part of several individuals, including emperor Manuel I Comnenus, to rebuild and reconstitute the foundation.[11]

But treating the monastery as private property was only part of the problem. As the sources bluntly note, many cloisters became in effect worldly dwellings, κοσμικά καταγώγια, because the servants and retainers of the lay patron were allowed to settle permanently on the monastery's property. The moral effect of this secularization on the spiritual life of the community as a whole and on the abbot's broad disciplinary and administrative powers was of course considerable. The relaxation of discipline soon became normal. This evolution also affected the bishop's canonical authority over monasteries within his diocese. Indeed, even the local poor and the homeless were often victims of the system, since they depended frequently on the alms and the food traditionally reserved for them by the cloister. To be sure, not all the great cenobitic communities were exploited by this program of profitable private management. The so-called new self-governing and independent foundations in Constantinople and elsewhere, were often models of monastic efficiency and good order.[12] Eventually, moreover, reforms involving the comprehensive restriction of the rights of laymen and the registration of monastic properties in the patriarchal chancery were introduced. The bold denunciations of John the Oxite, patriarch of Antioch, and the metropolitan Leo of Chalcedon, were largely responsible for launching such change. It is true, the *charistike* was never officially suppressed or forbidden by either the patriarchate or the state. Given the non-hereditary character and unpopularity of the office of private monastic patron, nonetheless, "the emperor and the hierarchy may simply have stopped making new donations while allowing existing grants to lapse without renewal."[13]

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[11] P. Lemerle, "Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: Les monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charisticaires," in the author's *Le monde de Byzance: Histoire et Institutions* (London, 1978), no.15; H. Ahrweiler, "Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux X^{e}-XI^{e} siècles," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 10 (1967), 1-27; J. Moutzoures, " Τά χαριστικά καί ἐλεύθερα μοναστήρια," *Theologia* 34 (1963), 536-69; 35 (1964), 87-123, 217-304. On St Mamas, see *ODB* 2:1278 (Alice Mary Talbot).

Few developments in this period were perhaps as important for monasticism as the growth of Mount Athos. Although solitary ascetics had long been attracted to its rich wooded hills and its groves, it was not until 963 that the first cenobitic community of the Great Laura—Gregory Palamas' own alma mater—was founded. This highly organized foundation of the Studite type, the work of St Athanasius of Trebizond, was soon followed by Iveron, Esphigmenou, Dochiariou and Vatopedi. The remote peninsula suddenly became a new "holy mountain." In time, in fact, additional colonies of Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Italian monks (Panteleimon, Chilandar, Zographou, and the Amalfitan Benedictine houses respectively) were to transform the Athonite wilderness, with its strong Studite roots, into an international monastic center.[14] Organization necessarily arrived early. Before long a sort of monastic federation with a council consisting of all the abbots (sitting at the administrative capital at Karyes) was in place. Although supreme authority was vested in this body (headed by a *protos*) each monastery was in actual fact independent. Once again, assistance and protection was provided by the emperors and by other Orthodox sovereigns. Such patronage and largess was doubtless initially crucial for both growth and survival and, in part, explains why the peninsula in due course became the center of all Orthodox monasticism. Then again, it is worth adding that the once vigorous settlements of Bithynia (where Theodore of Studios centuries before had begun his own career) were in decline by this time largely as a result of Turkish expansion. The decay of the older "holy mountains" in Asia Minor—Olympus, Galesius, and Auxentius—was in other words also a factor in the westward shift of monasticism to the Athonite peninsula. The savagery of the Turkish conquests clearly had grave consequences for monasticism.

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[12] J.P. Thomas, "The rise of the independent and self-governing monasteries as reflected in the monastic typica," *GOTR* 30 (1985), 21-30.

[13] J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), 212; *Regestes*, no.931; John Oxite, *Oratio de monasteriis laicis non tradendis*, ed. P. Gautier, "Requisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975), 77-131; J.P. Thomas, "A Byzantine ecclesiastical reform movement," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1984), 1-16.

[14] For the origins of Athonite monasticism, see the rich bibliography in Beck, *Kirche*, 218-22; E. Amand de Mendieta, *La presqu'île des Caloyers: Le Mont Athos* (Bruges, 1955); also P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894); and *Actes de Protaton* ed. D. Papachryssanthou (=Archives de l'Athos, 7; Paris, 1975).

As the largest multi-ethnic monastic settlement in Orthodox Eastern Europe, Mount Athos was to be without equal. Although Studite cenobitism managed to survive as the preeminent urban monastic model well into the thirteenth century, the Athonite peninsula soon in fact became the spiritual and cultural center for both Greek and non-Greek speaking monastics within the Orthodox world. That it also became the focal center of the mystical and ascetical renewal that swept Byzantine monasticism in the course of the thirteenth century (preceding the hesychast controversy proper) is not surprising. This remarkable revival was to spread first to the Balkans, and then to the forests or "deserts" of northern Russia where, in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, hundreds of new monasteries were established. The extraordinary personality and career of St Sergius of Radonezh (1314-92), the patriarch of this Russian renewal, is incomprehensible outside its Byzantine-Athonite context. In its unity of ideology and inspiration, the renewal was to transcend all national allegiances and political boundaries. The label "hesychast international" recently used to identify the range of its membership and extent of its progress is by no means an exaggeration.[15] Within decades the movement had in fact stretched from the chestnut groves of Mount Athos to the cold confines of the Arctic Ocean.

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[15] A. Elian, "Byzance et les Roumains à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (London, 1967), 199; A.E. Tachiaos, "Le mouvement hesychaste pendant les dernières décenies du XIV^e siècle," *Kleronomia* 6 (1974), 113-30; see also J. Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the fourteenth century: Spiritual and intellectual legacy," *DOP* 42 (1988), 157-65; for north Russia and St Sergius, see the next chapter, p. 341f.

In the main, this renewal of monastic life was a reaction to the general decline that had characterized the preceding century. Perhaps it was also a response to the chaotic situation created by the Latin conquest. The dislocation experienced by monasticism everywhere has already been emphasized. Whatever the case, the renewal is usually identified with perpetual prayer or, more specifically, with the constant repetition of the Jesus prayer, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me (a sinner)." This invocation of the divine name was often associated with special useful techniques involving the fixing of the eyes on the middle of the body or the heart, as well as the regulation of one's breathing. In their writings, influential ascetics, such as Nicephorus the Hesychast (†*c* 1280) and St Gregory of Sinai (†*c* 1346), often linked these exercises to the words of the brief invocation. The anonymous treatise, *Method on Holy Attention*, and Nicephorus' own *Guarding of the Heart*, were very popular and as such influential.[16] Although the essential goal was obviously prayer, monks often claimed to attain a vision of the divine light of God as well. This "light-mysticism"[17] or its experience, was identified frequently with the vision of light observed by the disciples at the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor. Even if this revival has sometimes been described as a movement imported to Athos from Sinai by St Gregory, the fact remains that there was nothing original or unusual about it. The theory and practice of pure "mental prayer" and the hesychast tradition are traceable back to primitive monasticism itself. The Jesus prayer had indeed been the focus of Orthodox spirituality for centuries. Nor was the vision of the divine light entirely unknown. The writings of St Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022), to mention only one witness, are an especially powerful testimony to this mystical vision.[18] In the final analysis, it was this ancient monastic tradition that St Gregory Palamas was called to defend in the 1330s, and not some novelty or a new school of spirituality brought from the outside.

On the other hand, the derivation and invention of the bodily techniques recommended by the ascetic manuals of the thirteenth century is a more complex issue. They may not be earlier than the thirteenth century. It is likely, nevertheless, that John Climacus (†*c* 649), the abbot of the monastery of

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[16] Nicephorus the Hesychast, *De sobrietate cordis custodia*, *PG* 147:945-966; I. Hausherr, *La méthode d'oraison hésychaste* (Rome, 1927); on the influence of Gregory of Sinai see J. Darrouzès, "Grégoire le Sinaite," *DS* 6 (1965), 1011-14; and above, pp. 249, 270.

[17] A Monk of the Eastern Church, *Orthodox Spirituality* (Crestwood, NY, 1978), 42.

[18] Cf. *Catechesis* 22, ed. B. Krivocheine (=*SC*, 104; Paris, 1964), 372. I. Hausherr, "L'Hésychasme, étude de spiritualité," *OCP* 22 (1956), 5-40, 247-85; *idem*, *The Name of Jesus* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1978).

St Catherine's on Mount Sinai, among others, was familiar with some aspects of the discipline. His recommendation that the "memory" of Jesus should be so paced that it becomes one with our breathing seems to point in this direction.[19] Whatever the case, the question is ultimately secondary. As it happens, the method was at best viewed as a useful subsidiary accessory to the life of interior prayer. Its only purpose was to assist the monk in the solitude and seclusion of the cloister to maintain concentration and self-recollection.[20] The essential element was always the repeated invocation of the name. It was, as such, never understood as an automatic or infallible means for acquiring the gift of grace. Neither the physical posture recommended for prayer, nor the rhythmical repetition of its words and their blending with breathing, were endowed with magical powers. On the contrary, there is nothing mechanical about the secrets of hesychast christocentric piety. It was on the whole for these reasons that the later anti-Palamites refused to make this nonessential feature of the interior life a target of their polemic. Barlaam the Calabrian was alone scandalized by it and, as such, alone responsible for bringing it into the spotlight by his criticism and sarcasm.

It is important to emphasize that the ascetical awakening just outlined was not identical with the fourteenth century Palamite controversy. Spiritually, of course, Palamas' synthesis is rooted in hesychasm. As a result of his confrontation with Barlaam the christocentric mysticism of pure prayer practiced on Mount Athos and elsewhere acquired a permanent place in the spirituality and theology of the Orthodox Church. It was explicitly endorsed by the Palamite councils. Be this as it may, equating the controversy narrowly with monasticism or individual mysticism is inaccurate and misleading.[21] Hesychasm was by no means the only issue raised by the crisis. The religious agenda of the Palamite movement was much broader. As it happens, its immediate antecedents are to be found in the general renewal of the late thirteenth century Byzantine Church rather than in monasticism exclusively. It was then that the speculative theology of Gregory II, for example, was approved and endorsed by the Church at Blachernae (1285). That this

[19] PG 88:1112C (Step 27). Cf. the introduction by K. Ware in John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (New York, 1982), 48-54.

[20] T. Špidlík, *The Spirituality of the Christian East. A Systematic Handbook* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1986), 318-20; J. Meyendorff, *St Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality* (Crestwood, NY, 1974), 62: "The psycho-physical method is only one means among many others to achieve *attention* or *custody* of the heart which, although a necessary condition for true prayer, is neither its essence nor its ultimate goal."

[21] Cf. above, p. 269 note 85.

theology was later to have a direct impact on Palamas' own formulations has already been emphasized. The relationship between the two is quite clear. Otherwise, Palamas' adversaries would not have tried to defame both. Then again, spiritual renewal and social activism were also characteristic features of Church life at the time. In this respect the careers of two churchmen, patriarch Athanasius I and Theoleptus of Philadelphia, are typical and instructive. Both, it is true, were monastics, even hesychasts, familiar with the practice of mental prayer and the corporal psycho-somatic method.[22] Still, neither of these reformist ecclesiastics could be described as stern solitaries living in eremitic isolation. Their commitment to social justice, clerical discipline, Church unity, reform and renewal, is well documented.

Theoleptus' interest in these matters, for instance, is clearly revealed by his staunch opposition to the Arsenites. His strong sense of religious vocation was to make it impossible for him to compromise with these zealots. He was equally involved in the controversy surrounding the *Tomus* of 1285 and the subsequent resignation of Gregory II. Here, too, the problem of ecclesiastical order and unity was an issue. Most important, he was a prolific author bent on emphasizing the central role of both the sacramental and the spiritual life in the Church.[23] His numerous publications, in a very real sense, anticipate the later revival in sacramental spirituality and liturgical theology under the Palamites. Both Nicholas Cabasilas and Palamas were to take up the same concerns that had absorbed Theoleptus' own career. In their writings both were to achieve the same equilibrium between liturgical piety, individual devotion, and hesychast mysticism found in Theoleptus' own vision of the spiritual life. It is, finally, significant that Theoleptus was actually Palamas' spiritual father and was, as such, responsible for initiating him (as a young disciple before his departure for Athos) in the hesychast tradition.[24]

[22] Cf. *Triads*, I,2,12,p.99; II,2,2,p.323; and pp. XXXIX-XLII (Introduction); J. Meyendorff, "Spiritual trends in Byzantium in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century," *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971), 55-71.

[23] V. Laurent, "Les crises religieuses à Byzance: Le schisme antiarsénite du métropolite de Philadelphie Théolepte," *REB* 18 (1960), 45-54; J. Gouillard, "Théolepte, métropolite de Philadelphie," *DTC* 15 (Paris, 1946), 339-41; and S. Salaville, "Une lettre et un discours inédits de Théolepte de Philadelphie," *REB* 5 (1947), 101-15; *idem*, "Deux documents inédits sur les dissensions religieuses byzantines entre 1275 et 1310," *ibid.*, 116-36; *idem*, "Un directeur spirituel à Byzance au début du XIV^e siècle: Théolepte de Philadelphie," *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck*, (Gembloux, 1951), 2:877-87. R.E. Sinkewicz, "A critical edition of the anti-Arsenite discourses of Theoleptus of Philadelphia," *Medieval Studies* 50 (1988), 46-95.

[24] Cf. Gregory Palamas, *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, ed. R.E. Sinkewicz (Toronto, 1985), 33-34.

Patriarch Athanasius, on the other hand, is best known for his all-embracing understanding of his responsibility as a Christian pastor.[25] His concern for the contemporary social problems facing the destitute refugees, the neglected poor and the oppressed of the Byzantine capital, allowed him to criticize everyone in charge of such problems. Nor did this rugged ascetic fail, as an austere guardian of Church life, to denounce the established clergy for its infraction of canon law and assorted improprieties. Questions regarding monastic irregularities and the then pressing problem of absentee bishops (caused by the ever-changing political boundaries) were also relentlessly pursued and corrected. Moreover, although himself an ascetic, Athanasius did not fail to display his dislike of the Arsenites and the harm they had done to Church order with their extremism. Finally, the patriarch was (like Theoleptus) sympathetic to his immediate predecessor, the humanist patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus. (This endorsement significantly also shows that the hesychasts were not systematically anti-intellectualist in their leanings as has often been charged.) Needless to say, all this tireless dedication to duty was to earn Athanasius numerous enemies during his tenure as patriarch. On the other hand, his preoccupation with the spiritual and material welfare of his flock was to be a characteristic concern of the later Palamites. The pastoral content of Palamas' own homilies, preached during his tenure as metropolitan of Thessalonica, is in this respect very revealing, as is the personal commitment to the poor shown by some of the hesychast patriarchs, such as Isidore Boukharis.[26] There is indeed little doubt that Athanasius' unassuming humility, great moral authority, and devotion to duty, were used as a guide and indeed model by subsequent hesychast churchmen. As a matter of plain fact, all of the active reformers and theologians of the late thirteenth century were explicitly eulogized by Palamas and his circle as being their own immediate spiritual authorities and main inspiration. Their broad emphasis on religious issues, reform and renewal, were as much a part of the later Palamite movement as the Athonite revival of the interior life. This is without doubt one of the most cogent arguments, to say it once more, why Palamism cannot be confined or identified narrowly or exclusively with hesychasm. The movement's priorities and concerns were neither esoteric nor obscurantist.

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[25] A.-M.M. Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington, D.C.,1975); J. Boojamra, *Church Reform in the Later Byzantine Empire: A Study of the Patriarchate of Athanasius of Constantinople* (Thessalonica, 1982).

[26] *MM*, 1:287-94.

2. *The historical background*

In contrast with Barlaam the Calabrian's "foreign" background, Gregory Palamas was born in Constantinople (1296) and, being the son of a nobleman-senator, grew up at the court of Andronicus II.[27] It was here that he was actually educated in preparation for a career in state service; the emperor's own advisor, the philosopher-statesman, Theodore Metochites, was in fact his tutor. At the same time, however, Palamas placed himself under the direction of his spiritual father, Theoleptus of Philadelphia. The latter's advice and instruction was to prove more decisive and the young Palamas eventually decided to receive the monastic tonsure and leave for Mount Athos (1316). His secular education, which included instruction in Aristotle (for which Metochites had praised him), was evidently not as attractive as the monastic profession. Even the emperor's own attempts to dissuade him were to prove fruitless. Except for brief sojourns to nearby Berrhoia and Thessalonica, Palamas was to live on the Holy Mountain for almost twenty years. It was during this period that he was also ordained to the priesthood. From the outset, however, he was partial to the desert ideal and often preferred to live in a hermitage. This meant a life of near total solitude, a disciplined life of prayer and asceticism, broken only on Saturdays and Sundays for fellowship and communal worship. As it happened, however, Palamas also lived the common life at the Great Laura for several years and later even served as abbot of the large cenobitic foundation of Esphigmenou. As noted earlier, the barrier between the contemplative and the active life was not absolute. Increasingly, Palamas' personal piety and asceticism became known and he soon gained numerous friends and disciples, including the future patriarchs Philotheus, Callistus, and Isidore. Curiously little is known about his relations, if any, with St Gregory of Sinai, who was then also living on Athos.

But if Palamas had become a leading advocate of Orthodox spirituality by the 1330s, Barlaam had also attained prominence with his scholarship and his erudition. Although before arriving in the Byzantine capital he had lived as a monk in southern Italy where he was born, his devotion to the Eastern

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[27] See Palamas' biography written by patriarch Philotheus, *Encomium*, *PG* 151:551-656. In Palamite historiography J. Meyendorff's *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959) occupies a commanding position (English translation, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* [London, 1964]); *idem*, *Byzantine Hesychasm. Historical, Cultural and Theological Problems* (London, 1974); *idem*, "Palamas, Grégoire," *DS* 12 (1983), 81-107; D. Stiernon, "Bulletin sur le Palamisme," *REB* 30 (1972), 231-341. A critical edition of all of Palamas' writings is currently being published under the direction of Prof. P. Chrestou, *Gregoriou tou Palama Syggrammata*, 4 vols. (Thessalonica, 1962-88).

Church was not in doubt. His writings were solid evidence of his orthodoxy. As a result, eventually this rather touchy monk was entrusted with a professorship at the university of Constantinople and later with an embassy to the papal court at Avignon (1339). Palamas, nevertheless, came away with a somewhat different opinion of his future adversary after reading his anti-Latin treatises on the western Thomistic use of logical demonstration in theology. The Athonite hermit was, above all, startled by the thesis that in the world of theological debate demonstrative proof was not really possible. According to Barlaam, the deity, insofar as he is both inaccessible and beyond reason, can only be known indirectly. To argue as the Latins did, for example, that through Aristotelian syllogisms one can prove "apodictically" the procession of the Spirit (*Filioque*), or that one can possess knowledge of God, was simply pretentious. On the contrary, the role of all human logic in theology was limited. Suffice it to say, this line or reasoning, in which theological debate is viewed primarily as an intellectual exercise, was no less applicable to the East: the Byzantine Church was just as incapable of declaring absolute apodictic victory in such matters. In addition to this thesis, Palamas was struck by Barlaam's approach to ancient Greek philosophy and its achievements. The Calabrian monk saw no significant difference on the whole between Christians enlightened by grace and the great pagan thinkers of antiquity. They, too, according to him, "were sometimes illumined by God and raised above ordinary men."[28] In what sense these ideas were inadmissible for Palamas will be discussed shortly. It is enough to emphasize only that Barlaam's conception of both the context and nature of Christian epistemology ran counter to his own observations as an Orthodox monk and ascetic. By stressing the inadequacy of human theological reasoning Barlaam was in fact implying that knowledge of God, understood as a real personal experience of the divine, was impossible. Equally unacceptable for Palamas was Barlaam's view of Greek philosophy, at least insofar as this signified that some forms of Hellenic wisdom were compatible with revealed wisdom, the fathers, and Scripture.

Given Barlaam's sense of his own importance and vanity, the challenge from Mount Athos was not welcome. He was too impressed with his own scholarship to ignore it and he soon sought to find out more about his antagonist and the Athonite world in particular. A vigorous frontal assault, laced with sarcasm, was then launched against hesychast mysticism. It marks the transition to the hesychast controversy proper. According to Barlaam, the vision of God experienced by some monks during prayer was a temporal phenomenon and not a divine or "uncreated" light as was claimed. After all, God alone was divine and eternal. Besides, a vision of divinity was impossible insofar as God is ultimately unapproachable and invisible to the senses. No less offensive for Barlaam were the bodily exercises employed by the monks to promote concentration. The idea that the body could assist in pure prayer was simply rejected and he labeled the exterior discipline as "navel-watching." For good measure, Barlaam was to expressly identify Athonite spirituality with Messalianism, the "bogomil" heresy then current in parts of the Balkan peninsula. It was a serious accusation, to be sure, since the Church had repeatedly censured this movement for its anti-sacramentalism, extreme dualism and asceticism. Numerous councils in the past had also condemned its grossly materialistic claim that the very essence of God could be seen with one's own visible eyes.

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[28] Barlaam Calabro, *Epistole greche i primordi episodici e dottrinari delle lotte esicate*, ed. G. Schirò (Palermo, 1954), 262, 298. See also R.E. Sinkewicz, "The doctrine of the knowledge of God in the early writings of Barlaam the Calabrian," *Medieval Studies* 44 (1982), 181-242; G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich, 1977), 126-50; on Barlaam's writings, see *Triads*, XXIV-XXVIII (Introduction).

Palamas was of course quick to respond to these charges. A series of nine treatises, arranged in groups of three and, hence, known as the *Triads for the Defense of the Holy Hesychasts*, were published between 1338 and 1341.[29] Although designed as a refutation of Barlaam's polemic, the texts were also in fact a remarkable summary statement of both the meaning and message of Orthodox monastic spirituality. They are as such an indispensable tool for understanding the controversy and, in particular, Palamism. To this important theological statement must be added the *Hagioretic Tomus* of 1340.[30] Though it was drafted by Palamas, it was also signed by a number of ascetics from Mount Athos. As a public display of solidarity and acknowledgment of Palamas' teaching (the text declared Palamism to be consonant with "the tradition of the saints"), the *Tomus* was to play an important role in the resolution of the controversy. Its anathematization of Barlaam as a heretic pressed in fact for a verdict, as did of course the accusations of Messalianism leveled by Barlaam himself against Athonite monasticism.

Predictably, both the Church and the state were anxious to avoid dissension. Indeed, by 1340, putting an end to this sudden bitter public exchange,

[29] *Ibid.* See also the useful partial English translation of N. Gendle, *Gregory Palamas: The Triads* (New York, 1983); also edited by Chrestou, *Gregoriou tou Palama Syggrammata*, 1:358-694.

[30] *Ibid.*, 2:567-78; and in *PG* 150:1225-36.

concerning the philosophical and theological foundations of hesychast doctrine, had become urgent. Although the synod of 10 June 1341 held in Constantinople will remain controversial in its details, there is little doubt about its assessment of the crisis. In effect, the assembly, chaired by patriarch John XIV Calecas and emperor Andronicus III, censured and condemned the opinions of Barlaam in a single session. On the other hand, the christocentric spirituality and method of prayer of the hesychasts were declared orthodox. At the same time, the council moved to approve the essence-energy distinction dealing in part with Palamas' doctrinal response to the accusations of Messalianism. As we should expect, the significance of this vindication of both hesychasm and Palamism was not lost on Barlaam. He soon left for Italy, where, before long, he became a convert to the Roman Church and then bishop. The controversy was not yet over, however. The emigrant Barlaam was replaced almost at once by Gregory Akindynus, a friend of both parties, who had been trying until then to mediate in the conflict. This new adversary, unlike Barlaam, was in the main opposed to the Palamite essence-energy distinction endorsed on 10 June, rather than to the spirituality of the Athonites. To complicate matters further, the emperor died immediately after the council before he could sign its formal decree. In the event, a second synod was summoned in August, in which Akindynus was condemned and the *Tomus* of June was officially published.[31] John Cantacuzenus, the former grand domestic under Andronicus, chaired its meetings. By then Cantacuzenus had also become a member of the regency council, created after the emperor's death by the dowager empress Anne of Savoy for her young son John V Palaeologus.

There is little doubt that the religious crisis would have ended at this point had it not been for the political factionalism existing between the defenders of John V and the Byzantine nobility led by the aristocrat John Cantacuzenus.[32] The fact that the latter had presided over the synod in August aggravated the situation. The move, quite simply, was seen by the "legitimist" party and its representative in the regency council, patriarch John Calecas, as a usurpation of an imperial prerogative. Unfortunately, this mounting rivalry between the dynasty and the aristocracy, between members of the same ruling class in other words, was never resolved. As a result, civil war broke out two months later, after the patriarch and the grand duke John Apocaucus had usurped power. Cantacuzenus in turn was acclaimed emperor by his own partisans. Given Cantacuzenus' championship of Palamas in both June and August, the patriarch was to adopt an anti-hesychast position during the long conflict that followed (1341-47). For political purposes, Calecas was to exploit the theological controversy by misleadingly identifying it with the aristocracy's struggle against the regency and the government of Anne of Savoy. Indeed, on the whole, evidence linking the landowning nobility and its political agenda to the essentially religious concerns of the Palamites does not exist. Converting the strife between Palamites and anti-Palamites into a social or political conflict is not really possible. Although many of Cantacuzenus' followers were doubtless doctrinally sympathetic to the hesychast movement, it is by no means true to argue that all of them were also automatically inclined towards Palamism. Correspondingly, many members of the patriarch's own circle, despite their loyalty to the young emperor and the regent-empress, were openly sympathetic to Palamas, including the grand duke John Apocaucus.[33] To an unusual degree, to put it otherwise, the equation "Palamas-Cantacuzenus" has little basis in fact. Rather, the connection was invented by the patriarch for political reasons; the need to strengthen his authority in the struggle against his rival was the determining factor.

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[31] *PG* 151:679-92 (endorsement of the essence-energy distinction: 680B and 688C); *Regestes*, nos.2210, 2213-14. Akindynus' correspondence was recently published by A.C. Hero, *Letters of Gregory Akindynos* (Washington, D.C., 1983).

[32] G. Weiss, *Johannes Kantakouzenos: Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch* (Wiesbaden, 1969).

That this strategy was responsible for Palamas' arrest and censure as a heretic during the war is certain.[34] It was also responsible for Akindynus' continued propaganda against Palamas and his followers; he was in fact encouraged to do so and was even ordained, despite his condemnation in 1341. And yet these developments were in the end all a miscalculation. Before long, the patriarch's power collapsed, particularly after Cantacuzenus' armies began pressing slowly towards the capital. In a belated move to appease the opposition and, perhaps, to rescue the situation, Anne of Savoy released Gregory Palamas from his prison. This was followed by the patriarch's deposition on the canonical grounds that he had promoted Akindynus to the priesthood; the hesychast monk Isidore was then elected to replace him (synod of February 1347).[35] By then Cantacuzenus had entered the capital and was crowned senior emperor with John Palaeologus. The long civil war was finally over. Ratification of the decisions of August 1341 and February 1347 followed promptly as did the promotion of numerous hesychast candidates to the episcopal dignity. Gregory Palamas was himself elected metropolitan of Thessalonica. Significantly, the *Tomus* of the February synod, issued later in the year, was to place responsibility for the civil war on the patriarch's shoulders.[36]

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[33] Cf. *ibid.*, 103-37.

[34] *Regestes*, no.2249.

[35] *Ibid.*, no.2270; G.T. Dennis, "The deposition of the patriarch John Calecas," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesselschaft* 9 (1960), 51-55.

Once again, however, this victory of Palamas was not total. To start with, the anti-aristocratic "Zealots," opposed to the wealthy landowners aligned with Cantacuzenus, were to remain in control of Thessalonica for some time. Actually it was not until 1350 that these revolutionaries (who were neither anti-hesychast nor anti-Palamite) were defeated, and Palamas was able to enter his see and assume his duties as the city's bishop. But trouble was to surface in the capital as well, with the formation of yet another anti-Palamite party. Although these dissidents were a tiny force, consisting of a handful of humanist intellectuals led by the philosopher Nicephorus Gregoras[37] and a few bishops, another council was deemed necessary. This final Palamite assembly was convened on 28 May 1351 at the palace of Blachernae. All parties were invited by Cantacuzenus' government to attend and defend their opinions, openly and in person. Both Gregoras and Palamas were therefore in attendance. Nevertheless, the dissidents failed to convince anyone except themselves and, as a consequence, a new detailed dogmatic definition was issued on 15 August.[38] It contained solemn excommunications not only of Barlaam and Akindynus but of all their successors. On the other hand, the disgraced and discredited former patriarch was not mentioned. He had after all signed the decree of 1341 which had condemned Palamas' initial adversaries. Besides, his opposition was as we have seen political in its aim. Although sporadic dissent was expressed by some Byzantine Thomists in the decades that followed, anti-Palamite theologians were on the whole isolated after 1351. Indeed, Palamite opposition had always been a closed minority circle. Arguably it would have remained in the shadows from the beginning had the unstable political situation in 1341 not intervened in its favor. Akindynus' polemic after all was possible for just this reason.

There is no doubt that the council of 1351 marks the final official canonization of hesychast doctrine. Its decisions were actually subsequently also entered into the *Synodicon*, a further indication that they were both binding and authoritative.[39] All in all, it was Palamas' greatest theological victory, at once definitive and conclusive. It was no longer possible in fact to view his theology as a disputable *theologoumenon*. It was henceforth dogma and was accepted as such (as binding and authoritative, that is) throughout the Orthodox world by the end of the century. A final endorsement was to follow in 1368 when the Church decided to canonize Palamas as well.[40] He had died eight years earlier (14 November 1359).

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[36] J. Meyendorff, "Le Tome synodal de 1347," *Zbornik Radova* 8 (1963), 209-227.

[37] H.-V. Beyer, "Nikephoros Gregoras als Theolog und sein erstes Auftreten gegen die Hesychasten," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 20 (1971), 171-88.

[38] *Tomus*, *PG* 151:717-63; *Regestes*, nos.2323-28.

3. *The theology of living communion with God*

To an unusual degree, Byzantine intellectual history was not a struggle between philosophy and theology proper. A sustained and intense interest in antiquity after all was always at the center of the so-called Byzantine "renaissances." To put it otherwise, Hellenic learning was never rejected by the Church or by Byzantium's literate circles. Throughout the Middle Ages the rich legacy of antiquity was an essential component of the Byzantine school curriculum. Palamas himself was to excel in such study; Aristotelian logic was often part of his intellectual arsenal and was used openly against his opponents. His early secular training at the court of Andronicus II was as such not in vain. On the other hand, this permanent Byzantine fascination with antiquity did not mean that the precise role Greek philosophy should play in the exposition of Christian theology and spirituality was not a recurring question, especially among theologians. In general, Church circles were unprepared to use philosophy in the formulation of religious truth. Neither the minimizing of the "pagan" implications inherent in ancient wisdom nor the creation of metaphysical systems independent of Christian revelation was in fact acceptable practice. The general resurgence of Neoplatonism during the Comnenian period, as we have seen, was to force the Church to make its position official. The numerous sanctions added to the *Synodicon* in the course of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries were meant to discourage such pursuits among intellectuals.

To be sure, these liturgical sanctions were not a permanent solution to the problem. Although would-be philosophers after the trial of John Italus were more cautious, discussion was by no means suppressed entirely. On the whole, this delicate arrangement between churchmen and humanists was maintained until the early stages of Barlaam's violent quarrel with Palamas in the 1330s. It was then for the first time since the Comnenian age that the importance of Greek wisdom for theology was once again raised publicly in debate. Arguably there is even an identity of thought between John Italus and Barlaam the Calabrian; the doctrine of the knowledge of God and "illumination" expounded by the eleventh century philosopher actually resembles Barlaam's viewpoint. Barlaam, however, also went well beyond the acceptable equilibrium that had until then obtained within Byzantium's elite intellectual circles. By giving the deciding vote to philosophy in his debate with Palamas, "Barlaam was practically promoting the idea of an *autonomous* realm of thought, where human knowledge could develop itself without the transforming power of grace and without any religious sanction."[41] His opponents were to find this essentially humanist approach to both theology and philosophy indefensible.

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[39] *Synodicon*, 80-91; 242-46.

[40] *PG* 151:693-715; *Regestes*, no.2540.

Of course Barlaam's approach was by no means divorced altogether from theology. Apophatic theology, the so-called way of negation used by the Church fathers, was its basis. In the final analysis, Barlaam agreed with the Greek patristic tradition that the biblical doctrine of divine transcendence prohibits us from speaking of God in positive terms. Or, to put it otherwise, if God was ultimately incomprehensible and inaccessible to the human mind, affirmative qualifications were to be avoided; negative language was in fact less misleading or inaccurate. Doubtless, Barlaam's argument that divine reality or truth was not subject to the rational methods of human scientific analysis had its genesis in these ideas. Indeed, as a consequence of these very principles Barlaam was led to conclude that knowledge of God was at best relative or symbolic; the divine was approachable only through symbols. To say that Palamas' opponent pressed apophaticism to extremes in order to uphold the limits of the human mind is reasonably certain.[42] In general, however, he was also to take his arguments from philosophy. In particular, his syllogistic reasoning draws inspiration from Aristotle's theory of gnosis, in which direct sense experience alone is the path to knowledge. This in the end convinced Barlaam that direct knowledge of God was not possible at least insofar as the divine is not susceptible to the senses. Accordingly, the light of Tabor, described by Byzantine mystics as being a direct vision of God, could only be a "symbol of deity."[43] As this summary statement of the symbolical and indeed philosophical theology of Barlaam indicates, his conflict with

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[41] Meyendorff, "Spiritual trends in Byzantium," 65.

[42] Cf. K. Ware, "Christian theology in the East, 600-1453," in H. Cunliffe-Jones and B. Drewery, eds., *A History of Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh, 1978), 216-19.

[43] *Triads*, III,1,11, p.577 (σύμβολον θεότης).

Palamas and, eventually, with the Church, involved more than just hesychasm. Theological evidence and its limits, how God is revealed and is known, the problem of Greek wisdom, as well as the mystical and theological tradition of Orthodox monasticism, were all in varying degree to come under scrutiny in the course of the debate. All of these complex and diverse issues were dealt with thoroughly (though not necessarily systematically) in what has come to be known as the Palamite synthesis.

To begin with, Palamas was fully aware of the importance of the way of negation in patristic literature and was rigorously faithful to its apophatic vocabulary as a result. Pseudo-Dionysius, who is especially known for his apophaticism, is actually the most frequently quoted author in the entire Palamite dossier. Together with the fathers, Palamas believed that the inability to know or see the divine essence—it is never an object of knowledge or of vision—is the logical consequence of man's finite origin; being a creature, man simply lacks the capacity to penetrate the darkness in which the deity is hidden. "Not one of all created beings possesses or will possess any communion in, or affinity to, the supreme nature."[44] Indeed, not only is the divine "beyond knowing but also beyond unknowing."[45] Clearly, God can only be conceived indirectly by the human mind. Up to this point Palamas is in full agreement with his opponent: the necessary point of departure for all discussion about theology is indeed the way of exclusion. At the same time, however, Palamas insists that man's knowledge of God cannot be confined solely to the negations of apophaticism. To do so is to ignore all the saving acts of God in the incarnation, through which man is redeemed and saved. It is in fact to lose sight of the genuine experience of the divine granted to all Christians by baptism and their incorporation into Christ's Body. In particular, through the sacraments man is admitted to an eminently real union with the divine and, in a genuine sense, to knowledge of God.[46] To put it otherwise, the incarnation is positive proof that the divine darkness in which God is concealed is not altogether obscure or unknown. After all, if God had intended to remain eternally beyond man's reach, Christ would not have bothered to come. Quite simply, to argue that God voluntarily communicates and reveals himself to his creatures directly, even while remaining eternally invisible in his essence, is to state the obvious. As the *Triads* repeatedly emphasize, God is at once imminent and transcendent. Otherwise, the

[44] *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, ed. Sinkewicz, 175 (chapter 78).

[45] *Triads*, I,3,4, p.113-15.

[46] *Ibid.*, I,3,17, p.145.

mystery of man's salvation in Christ, that which patristic literature designates as deification or *theosis*, would be meaningless. Indeed, a direct encounter with the divine in this present life, implied by the gift of deification, would be impossible. Suffice it to say, Palamas' theology, unlike Barlaam's or Gregoras' symbolism and "agnosticism," is emphatically anti-symbolic.

Although the biblical argument concerning God's self-revelation was used to disprove Barlaam's extreme apophaticism and crude symbolism, its function was multi-faceted. It was in part an equally cogent counter-argument to Barlaam's understanding of theological demonstration and Greek wisdom. Quite simply, Palamas' response to the first of these problems, which as we have seen precipitated the fierce controversy, was that both dialectic and apodictic proof in theology is possible. Given the nature of the life in Christ, truth is not only philosophical or intellectual but supernatural. This latter truth proclaimed by the Christian experience, is actually knowledge granted to man by Christ independent of sense perception. It is the result of both the incarnation and the direct intervention of God's Spirit in man's life. For the Spirit not only teaches all truth but abides in the Church as the Scriptures note. In the event, to describe theology exclusively as a conceptual exercise or a mere web of dialectical conclusions derived from sense experience and revealed premises will not do. It is obviously much more than that. Not surprising, Palamas links this line of reasoning to the second issue concerning the authority and importance of Hellenic learning. His exposition is remarkably forthright: "I hold that among God's gifts some are natural; they are granted indiscriminately to all, before the law, under the law, and after the law. Others are supernatural and full of mystery. These latter gifts I hold to be higher than the former, as those who have been judged worthy to receive the wisdom of the Spirit are superior to the whole tribe of Hellenists. I hold also that philosophy is one of the natural gifts of God, as are also the discoveries of human reason, the sciences... I give each the honor it merits."[47] Evidently, Palamas has no difficulty acknowledging the natural abilities of pagan thinkers; their accomplishments are by no means marginalized. Nevertheless, he refused on the whole to regard them as absolute. There are limits to natural knowledge. For the gifts of the Holy Spirit—the wisdom of Christ by which the Church lives and survives—is "superior" to the philosophy of the "Hellenists." This is indeed the only true wisdom. Besides, this knowledge which illumines and transfigures Christians was not accessible to individuals such as

[47] *Ibid.*, II,1,25, p.275-77.

Plato or Aristotle before the incarnation. As a matter of fact all of humanity was excluded from this truth before the advent of Christ. To claim with Barlaam that certain pagan thinkers had attained to the vision of God—the highest degree of illumination prior to the coming of grace—is to eliminate virtually every distinction between the Christian gospel and natural pagan philosophy.

It is worth adding that Palamas' guarded but generous attitude towards Greek wisdom is, to an unusual degree, also a response to those modern critics who contend that he was a monastic obscurantist. Occasionally, as we have seen, the entire hesychast movement has been qualified as "markedly anti-intellectual" in tone,[48] as though it was nothing more than unenlightened mysticism or monastic ignorance masquerading as theology. To say it once more, this narrow and naive identification of the controversy with hesychasm is unacceptable. The recognition that it was part of a broader movement of spiritual renewal militates against such an interpretation. Moreover, Palamas personally was not systematically anti-humanist in his approach. Nor is it possible to describe him as an illiterate monk. As Palamas' own words above illustrate, he was in no sense opting for an absolute rejection of philosophy or of secular studies. To the contrary, he found inadmissible only the degree of authority assigned to the profane science of philosophy—no more and no less. It is the pretentious claims made for secular philosophy by his opponents that was at issue and not its intrinsic merit or value. In this respect, Palamism cannot be characterized as anti-humanist mysticism. As it happens Palamas "had something very positive to say about man and the human endeavor...[And] in his advocacy of the high dignity of man he must certainly be considered one of the great humanists of the Palaeologan renaissance."[49]

It should be obvious from our survey thus far that the notion that God is at once imminent and transcendent is an essential affirmation of Palamite thought. The vigor with which Palamas argued his case stemmed from his conviction that Barlaam's peculiar interpretation of the apophatic doctrine of God the unapproachable was depriving man completely of all participation in divine life. This, he was convinced, was a contradiction of both the biblical and patristic evidence with its frequent open affirmation that the goal and purpose of human existence is a deified humanity. As Gregory of Nyssa boldly proclaimed: "Man escapes from his own nature, becoming an immortal from a mortal that he is, and from one who has a price on his head to a priceless one, being man becoming wholly god... For if that which is by nature, his property, is given by grace to man, then, what else but a certain equality of honor is professed by virtue of the relation?"[50] Predictably, Palamas' initial imminence-transcendence equation was to be the basis of his famous essence-energy distinction used to explain man's deification. The official endorsement of this formulation of the uncreated energies of God by a succession of councils, including the most important of all (1351), is conclusive evidence of its pivotal role in the Palamite synthesis. It is characteristically frequently identified with so-called "Palamism" itself. It is, however, more accurate to describe it quite simply as Palamas' formulation of the Christian experience itself, as a theological explanation of how divine life is made accessible to the creature.

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[48] R. Browning, *The Byzantine Empire* (New York, 1980), 171.

[49] R.E. Sinkewicz, "Christian theology and the renewal of philosophical and scientific studies in the early fourteenth century: The Capita 150 of Gregory Palamas," *Medieval Studies* 48 (1986), 335, 351; D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Church and Hellenic learning in the fourteenth century," *Studies in Church History* 5 (1969), 23-57 (esp. 49-51).

Briefly put, in order to remain faithful to the saving paradox of his initial equation, Gregory found it necessary to draw a distinction between, on the one hand, what God is in his essence and, on the other, what he is in his deifying activity or energy. "Since one can participate in God and since the superessential essence of God is absolutely above participation, there exists something between the essence that cannot be participated and those who participate, to make participation in God possible for them... In one word, we must seek a God in whom we can participate in one way or another, so that participating, each of us, in the manner proper to each and by analogy of participation, may receive being, life, and deification."[51] This "something" which communicates incorruption and immortality or "life and deification" as Palamas puts it, is God's energy or his gift of grace. It may be defined as divine existence itself, as God himself in action as he reveals himself—outside of his transcendent essence—towards his creation. Since this energy is God's own divine presence, it is itself eternal and uncreated. It does not in fact exist apart from divinity. On the contrary, insofar as "God is wholly present in each of his divine energies,"[52] there is no such thing as created grace. It bears emphasizing that in defining this uncreated power and source of salvation as God himself in action, Palamas was referring to the living and acting God of

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[50] *De beatitudinibus*, *PG* 44:1280CD; cited in C. Yannaras, "The distinction between essence and energies and its importance for theology," *SVQ* 19 (1975), 242.

[51] *Triads*, III,2,24, p.687.

[52] *Ibid.*, III,2,7, p.657: ἀλλά καί ὡς ὅλον ἐν ἑκάστῃ ὄντα τῶν θεοπρεπῶν 'ενεργειων.

Scripture, who personally sanctifies and redeems both the world and his creatures. In contrast with his adversary's understanding of deity, the God of the Bible who has graciously disclosed himself in the person of Christ, is open to "participation." A divinity who does not possess these characteristics and who is identified exclusively with transcendent essence, is no more than a philosophical abstraction. To put it otherwise, as far as Palamas was concerned, an impersonal divinity who is approachable only by symbols belongs to pure speculation rather than to Christian theology and revealed religion.

It is important to emphasize that God's self-revelation *ad extra* does not in any way compromise the essential sovereignty of the divine nature. For Gregory, the latter remains always "absolutely above participation." Even in his own revelation, God never ceases to be totally and, indeed, permanently inaccessible. "God remains wholly within himself and yet dwells in his entirety within us, granting us to share, not in his own essence but in his own glory and brightness.... [Indeed] one and the same God is both imparticipable and participable."[53] As a result, it is by the uncreated grace or energy of God and never by essence that we become "gods." Confusion between creator and creature does not as such exist; the radical difference between the two is always maintained. This is to say, in other words, sharing in God's own "glory"—so far as this is possible to the creature—does not constitute absorption or identification with the divine. Actually, according to Palamas, if the latter option of communion or merger with the essence (or even with the divine hypostases) were possible, then, God himself would automatically become both non-transcendent and multi-hypostatic.[54] As the late George Florovsky memorably put it, it was in personal rather than in ontological categories that the Church fathers were thinking when describing human deification. To them, "*theosis* meant a personal encounter...that intimate intercourse of man with God in which the whole of human existence is, as it were, permeated by the divine presence."[55]

To demonstrate the contention that deification never means that man becomes "God by nature," Palamas placed his doctrine within the christological framework of the hypostatic union.[56] He drew in effect an analogy between human *theosis* and Christ's two distinct but inseparable natures.

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[53] *Ibid.*, I, 3, 23, p. 159; III, 2, 25, p.689.

[54] Cf. *Theophanes*, *PG* 150:941A.

[55] G. Florovsky, "Saint Gregory Palamas and the tradition of the fathers," *GOTR* 5 (1959-60), 127.

[56] Actually Palamas considered his doctrine to be a development of the sixth ecumenical council (680-81) and its well-known insistence that Christ has two natures and two wills. Cf. the synodal *Tomus* of 1351, *PG* 151:722B.

Specifically, although united hypostatically to divinity at the incarnation, the humanity of the Lord did not become God by essence. Rather, the flesh was penetrated with divine energy and divine life and "the glory of the divinity became also the glory of the body."[57] In the final analysis, this is what was revealed to the apostles at the mount of the transfiguration. The luminous splendor which surrounded the Lord on that occasion was precisely the uncreated divine glory or light (belonging by nature to God) shining through his humanity; what was until then invisible to most men, was for a moment made manifest to the three disciples. In the event, Palamas argued that what is true of Christ's humanity, deified by hypostatic union with the divine nature, is no less true of human deification; in neither case is there a confusion. Invariably, we always "remain creatures while becoming god by grace, as Christ remained God when becoming man by the incarnation."[58] Characteristically, Palamas was to use this important christological insight to affirm that it is through Christ's assumed humanity that man has access to God's uncreated energies. Both the transfiguration of Jesus "glorified" and the hypostatic union have a deeper soteriological significance. As the preeminent modern authority on St Gregory gracefully notes: "The hypostasis of the Logos, through which divine life opens up to creation, acquires the character of humanity in addition to its natural divine properties, and thus—*in this personal opening up*—becomes the source of life, deification and divine communion for humanity and the entire cosmos."[59]

No less typical and suggestive is Palamas' successful linking of sacramental theology to christology and soteriology. He maintains in fact that God's "openness" toward creation is sacramentally experienced in liturgical life. The eucharistic sacrifice, quite simply, is interpreted as communion in Christ's deified humanity, as the fullness of eternal life and divine presence. It is indeed in the material reality of the eucharistic meal, to put it otherwise, that divine love is concretely revealed and realized. "Since the Son of God in his incomparable love for man, not only united his divine hypostasis with our nature...but also with the human hypostases themselves, in mingling himself with each of the faithful by communion with his holy body...how should he not illuminate those who commune worthily with the divine ray of his body which is within us, lightening their souls, as he illumined the very bodies of the disciples on Mount Tabor."[60] Needless to say, although the illumination of the saints with the uncreated light of Tabor is an inward experience and results occasionally from solitary prayer, it is never detached by Palamas from the historic community of the Church and its sacraments. Despite the mystical nature of the spiritual life "hidden with Christ in God," the redemptive grace of the sacraments can never in fact be suppressed or replaced. This remarkable sacramental realism of the Palamites is, doubtless, one of the most important ways be which they and, indeed, all Orthodox Athonite spirituality, are distinguished from the Messalian sectarians and their legendary anti-sacramentalism. Barlaam's accusations were at best irresponsible and imaginary.

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[57] *Triads*, III,1,19, p.595 (quoting John of Damascus).

[58] V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1957), 87.

[59] J. Meyendorff, "The Holy Trinity in Palamite thought," in M.A. Fahey and J. Meyendorff, *Trinitarian Thought, East and West* (Brookline, MA, 1977), 38.

Anyone familiar with the polemic used by Barlaam and Akindynus against Palamism also knows the arguments of its modern critics. Undisguised confessional concerns and western scholasticism have often formed the context of this recent opposition. Its argument (familiar also to fourteenth century anti-Palamites) has as a rule focused on the divine simplicity and unity of God. It has in actual fact been claimed that the essence-energy distinction introduces division, even multiplicity, in the divine being, thereby transforming God into a composite subject. Like their medieval predecessors, modern critics find it difficult to reconcile the Latin understanding of the Godhead, usually identified with the philosophical concept of simple essence, with Palamas' own authentically biblical explanation of God as personal. Strict Thomism, it is argued, is incompatible with Gregory's "innovations." What human philosophy says of the divine simplicity is here pitted against the witness of divine revelation. It is to be sure a familiar argument; in an earlier chapter we have seen that these two opposing systems of thought—the essentialist and the personalist approach to trinitarian theology—were also at the root of the *Filioque* debate. Broadly speaking, such doctrinal reservations are always rejected categorically by Palamas. The absolute simplicity and essential unity of God is in no sense impaired by the energies. Since the latter are a direct revelation of divine life, and not some subdivision or emanation of the deity, neither the unity nor the simplicity of God is actually compromised. To say it in another way, if both the essence and the manifesting operations or energies are alike attributed to *one* personal, living and acting subject—to the same simple triune deity—the argument from complexity or plurality is unjustified. Only if the essence-energy distinction was a reference to two parts of God, as opposed to different modes of the

[60] *Triads*, I,3,38, p.193.

existence of God within his nature and outside his nature, would such an argument be permissible.[61] Finally, it is necessary to emphasize that Palamite thought is directly linked to patristic terminology and evidence (especially Cappadocian and Maximus the Confessor) and to Constantinople III (680).[62] In its totality, its vision of God corresponds to that of the Greek fathers and has as its content the distinction in God between the one unparticipable essence, the three hypostases, and the grace or energy. Without this distinction the biblical understanding of God as both transcendent and personal makes no sense. Nor would the conscious sharing in divine life by man be possible.[63] To summarize, despite the charges and concerns of its critics, the Palamite synthesis was not some heretical or irrational innovation. In canonizing this theology the Church was evidently at the same time reaffirming its authentic anchorage in the fathers.

The polemic of Barlaam as we have seen earlier also included the accusation of Messalianism and the denial of the reality of the hesychast vision. The Calabrian monk had in fact spoken dismissively of the hesychasts' vision as a simple product of the imagination or, at best, as a created physical phenomenon circumscribed in both space and time. Additionally, he had likened it to the materialism of the Messalians who indeed claimed that the divine essence was perceivable by the human senses. In the event, demonstrating the authentic theological and patristic content of Byzantine contemplative monasticism became an urgent priority for the Athonites.[64] We have already stressed the fact that for their spokesman, the light seen during the transfiguration of Jesus, when he was "glorified" before his disciples, was indistinguishable from God's saving energies.[65] Palamas went on to emphasize that this radiance of God's glory is what is revealed in unceasing prayer in the form of ineffable light. As the culmination of pure contemplation, the vision is accessible primarily to those already purified and transfigured by grace or, as

[61] V. Lossky, *The Vision of God* (London, 1963), 127.

[62] See above note 56.

[63] Cf. Lossky, *The Vision of God*, 124-37.

[64] Meyendorff, *St Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality*, 108: "This was a crucial test indeed, and its results show how deeply the fourteenth century hesychasts were rooted in the tradition of the Greek fathers and the early church."

[65] Matt.17:1-9; Mark 9:2-9; Luke 9:28-36; 2 Pet.1:17-21. See especially the section on "the uncreated divine light" in B. Krivosheine, *The Ascetic and Theological Teaching of Gregory Palamas* (London, 1954), 33-46 (=reprint from *The Eastern Churches Quarterly* 3 [1938] 26-33, 71-84, 138-150, 193-214); and V. Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness of God* (Crestwood, NY, 1974), 45-69 ("the theology of light in the thought of St Gregory Palamas"); *idem*, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, 217-35.

the *Hagioritic Tomus* puts it, "the light is known only to God and to those who have experienced grace."[66] In other words, it is the way by which God makes himself known to contemplatives or his saints. For "the pure in heart shall see God" (Matt.5:8). The two experiences, the apostolic and the hesychastic, are as such analogous. The hesychast's "glorification" is, simply put, the practical application of the transfiguration to the spiritual life.[67]

In the end, it is these considerations which explain why Palamas was compelled to dismiss the idea that the Taboric light was an "apparition...a symbol which now is and now is not and has no real being."[68] If the light belongs by nature to God, if it exists outside of created being and transcends both matter and spirit, if it is, therefore, neither sensible nor intelligible, it cannot be defined in a material way as a created effect.[69] On the contrary, the rare glimpse of ineffable realities granted to both the apostles and saints is a contemplation of the divine *presence* itself, a real immaterial vision of God the imparticipable in his *uncreated* energies. This being so, neither the symbolism of Barlaam nor the materialism of the Messalians was defensible. As Gregory eloquently was to note: "How can we still have symbols, again mirrors, again enigmas? How can a face-to-face vision become again an object of hope? If [the Kingdom of heaven] is made again of symbols, of mirrors, and of enigmas, it means that our hopes were deceived, that we were outwitted by fallacies: hoping to acquire divinity through the promise, we are not even allowed to see the divinity, but only a sensible light, a nature absolutely foreign to divinity."[70]

In conformity with patristic interpretation, Palamas understandably was also to insist that the Taboric light has an eschatological significance insofar as it is a revelation of the same ineffable splendor that will shine forth from the Son of Man at his second coming. Those who are presently given a glimpse of this uncreated glory during prayer, are indeed already sharing in the eschatological fulfillment of history and the blessings of the "eighth day," when the final deification and transfiguration will be accomplished.[71] The hesychast vision is in a genuine sense a pledge of the parousia, a foreshadowing or foretaste of the fullness of the Kingdom in which "the just shall shine as the sun" at the end of time (Matt. 13:43). "They will be light and they will see light, a blessed and sacred vision, that is the portion of the purified heart alone. Today this light shines out in part, a pledge given those who by impassibility have left behind all that is forbidden, and by pure and immaterial prayer have passed beyond all that is pure. But on that day the splendor of this light will deify 'the sons of the resurrection' (Luke 20:36) who will rejoice in eternity and glory in communion with the One who has given our nature divine glory and radiance."[72] Significantly enough, patristic exegesis parallels broadly speaking modern biblical explanations of the epiphany on Mount Tabor. It too sees the transfigured Jesus as a messianic revelation of the Son of Man as he will be on the last day. To the evangelist-authors the event was another confirmation of the truth about Jesus and the mystery of his coming in glory, when man shall see God πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον (1 Cor. 13:12).

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[66] *PG* 150:1233D.

[67] Cf. A Monk of the Eastern Church, *Orthodox Spirituality*, 97.

[68] *Hagioritic Tomus*, *PG* 150:1232B.

[69] *Ibid.*, 1233; Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, 222.

[70] *Triads*, III,1,11, p.579. Cf. Symeon the New Theologian: "Do not say that God does not manifest himself to man. Do not say that men cannot perceive the divine light, or that it is impossible in this age! Never is it found to be impossible, my friends. On the contrary, it is entirely possible when one desires it—but only to those whose life has been purified of passion and whose eye of the mind has been cleansed." Cited in B. Krivocheine, *In the Light of Christ, Saint Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022)* (Crestwood, NY, 1986), 26.

[71] *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, ed. Sinkewicz, 251 (chs.146-7). Cf. *Homily 34, PG*

Predictably, Palamas' biblical and patristic approach to the hesychast vision was also the basis of his response to Barlaam's assault on the exterior psycho-somatic method used by Byzantine solitaries. Barlaam's attack notwithstanding, the technique of ascetic watchfulness (to repeat) was considered by virtually all of its practitioners primarily as an aid to achieve concentration or interior recollection. Palamas himself often openly criticized it, knowing that it was not an infallible "short-cut" to contemplation. At the same time, however, he refused to accept the Platonizing anthropology on which Barlaam's criticism was based. The non-biblical Platonic view of humanity which insists that man is primarily an immaterial being, rather than an integral human composite or unity of soul and body, Palamas dismissed as unacceptable. For his part, contempt for the body was not a doctrinal option for Christian theology. For salvation concerns man's total sanctification, as the assumption of human nature by Christ illustrates. In fact, it is man in his totality, as an indivisible entity who receives grace, who is saved and redeemed in Christ, and not any one part of him taken separately. "If in the age to come, the body will share with the soul in unspeakable blessings, it must certainly share in them, so far as is possible, even now."[73] It was in the end

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151:428AD and the recent English translation of this sermon on the transfiguration by D. Rogish, *GOTR* 33 (1988), 135-66.

[72] *Triads*, II,3,66, p.525; cited in Meyendorff, *St Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality*, 116-17.

[73] *Hagioritic Tomus*, *PG* 150:1233C.

this understanding that was to lead Palamas to defend the body's participation in prayer. As "the temple of the Holy Spirit which is in us" (1 Cor 6:19) it cannot be viewed as an obstacle to pure intellectual prayer. It is in fact admissible, even necessary. In the final analysis, Barlaam's intellectualized dualistic anthropology was irreconcilable with Palamas' own biblical understanding of the whole man sanctified by divine grace. Like so many other ascetics and mystics in their ascent toward holiness, Palamas was fully aware that "no doctrine has done more harm to Christian piety than the Platonic dualism that conceives man as a spirit (or "soul") imprisoned in matter, naturally immortal, aspiring to a supra-material existence of which the historic community of the Church is only a pale reflection."[74]

Summarizing Palamite theology is rarely an effortless exercise, given its technical terminology, its involved setting, its broad scope and its sundry topics. Besides, Palamas developed his doctrinal and anthropological synthesis "in conscious opposition to alternative positions"[75] and this was not always systematic. It was by no means a doctrinal *summa*. And yet in its totality, it is not really complex, for it is primarily at its most profound, a theology of communion with God, in which the notion of human deification in Christ through the Holy Spirit, always holds center stage. Even the more technical issues, such as the famous essence-energy distinction, focus attention on this same topic. As Palamas repeatedly affirms with such magisterial authority, this theology of participation must be understood realistically, as an actual sharing in divine life and, thus, as the only admissible context for a Christian epistemology. Indeed, this personal and direct knowledge of God is available in this present life, that is, in both the sacramental life of the Christian community and the life of prayer in general. It was both sacramental and christological. In all this Palamas was not asserting anything novel. Human *theosis* or deifying communion with God, conceived as man's ultimate destiny, was also after all at the center of the entire patristic tradition. For "whether one deals with trinitarian or christological dogma, or whether one examines ecclesiology and sacramental doctrine, the main stream of Byzantine theology uncovers the same vision of man, called to 'know' God, to 'participate' in his life, to be 'saved' not simply through an extrinsic action of God's or through the rational cognition of propositional truths, but by 'becoming God.'"[76] Palamas' origi-

[74] Meyendorff, *St Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality*, 173.

[75] J. Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)* vol.2 of *The Christian Tradition* (Chicago, 1974), 263.

[76] Meyendorff, *Theology*, 3.

nality and importance ultimately lies in his skillful integration of this vision of the fathers with his own understanding and experience of Orthodox doctrine and spirituality.

4. On the aftermath of the Palamite victory

In the internal life of the late Byzantine Church few trends were perhaps as important as the gradual rise of monastics to positions of leadership and authority in the course of the fourteenth century. Most of the higher clerical ranks during this period actually become the monopoly of a succession of hesychast Palamites. The thirty-two bishops (including Palamas) consecrated by the new patriarch Isidore after the end of the civil war in 1347 were for the most part members of this same circle. It was a veritable "takeover"[77] by the hesychast party, by Palamas' friends and disciples. This change, it is true, was not altogether sudden. The promotion to patriarch of the inexperienced monk Athanasius had actually occurred long before the Palamite controversy (1289). In fact, with the exception of John Glykys (1315-19) and John Calecas (1334-47), all patriarchs after Athanasius were in truth monastics. Significantly, it was during this period as well that the Holy Mountain was removed from imperial control and placed under the direct jurisdiction of the patriarch by Andronicus II (1312). In sum, it would appear that monastics and ecclesiastics had begun to work concertedly towards the same goals before the Palamite victory of 1347. Even so, it was not until the accession of such prominent hesychast patriarchs as Isidore (1347-50), Callistus I (1350-53; 1355-63), and Philotheus Coccinus (1353-54; 1364-76), that the trend was to reach full momentum.

Once again this seemingly total control of the Church by monastics was not a usurpation by contemplative zealots. Actually, their goals (to repeat) often paralleled the concrete and specific concerns of an earlier era, the age of Athanasius and Theoleptus. That they also stressed the interior life and spiritual values is of course undeniable. Still, what often stands out about these conscientious churchmen is their attempt to increase the Church's sphere of influence and their emphasis on the moral and spiritual authority of the patriarchate, both within and without the decaying empire. No less important is their creation of a more consistent administrative structure and a genuine interest in liturgical unification. In no sense evidently was their monastic hegemony a simple matter of reactionary hesychast zealotry at the expense of Church life or pan-Orthodoxy. In the final analysis, ordinary practical responsibility, ecclesial unity and solidarity (common commitment to the Church as a whole, in other words) governed their prudent policies and decisions. On purely historical grounds, it is misleading to assume that the new Palamite leadership of the fourteenth century abjured its ecclesial obligations.

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[77] J. Meyendorff, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* (Crestwood, NY, 1982), 129; cf. F. Tinnefeld, "Factoren des Aufstieges zur Patriarchenwürde im späten Byzanz," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinistik* 36 (1986), 89-114.

This monastic or hesychast-inspired movement in the life of the fourteenth century Church bears a remarkable resemblance to the Cluniac revival in the West during the tenth and eleventh centuries. "Although the ideological positions and the historical conditioning of the two movements were clearly different, a monastic leadership, progressively monopolizing hierarchical positions in the Church, succeeded in both cases in establishing a set of priorities that placed spiritual values ahead of social and political contingencies."[78] The comparison may perhaps seem unusual, if only because Byzantine monasticism is not known for its activism, its separate religious orders and congregations (of which Cluny is a prime example) or for the growth of "daughter" monasteries subject to the sovereign rule of a single center. These phenomena were as a rule unknown in the more contemplative Christian East. Unlike the Latin West, Byzantium knew only a single monastic society in which *hesychia* was invariably the ideal. The positive social involvement characteristic of most western monasticism, particularly after the eleventh century, quite simply, was a purely western development. Nevertheless, in the period between 1350 and 1450 Mount Athos was to become the spiritual home of a veritable international movement with numerous hesychast nurseries beyond its own borders. The hesychast tradition of this great center of contemplative prayer, with its religious priorities and its activism, did not in fact confine itself exclusively to its Greek-speaking hermitages and cenobia. By the end of the fourteenth century the practice and theology of Byzantine hesychasm was actually observed throughout Orthodox Eastern Europe, in such distant regions as Moscow, Kilifarevo and Ohrid, Peć and Paroria, Tismana and Trnovo, to mention only a few centers. In recent years historians have also emphasized the rich cosmopolitan culture of this development as well. Many members of this hesychast movement were in fact well-informed, well-read and urbane. Frequently they were also linked together by either friendship or discipleship, especially if they had received their monastic training at the same time on Mount Athos. That they continued to maintain these contacts and connections on leaving Mount Athos is well documented. The end result was of course the creation of an extended network of hesychast agents throughout the wider Orthodox world, bound by a common championship of Athonite spirituality and a pro-Byzantine policy. As the careers of such hesychasts as metropolitan Cyprian of Russia, Euthymius of Bulgaria, and Nicodemus of Tismana graphically illustrate, the spiritual fruits of this devotion to the Palamite-controlled ecumenical patriarchate were often remarkable.[79] Arguably, without their spirited loyalty and unity, the notable accomplishments of the fourteenth century patriarchate would have been very different.

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[78] J. Meyendorff, "Two visions of the Church; East and West on the eve of modern times," in J. Raitt, ed., *Christian Spirituality II: High Middle Ages and Reformation* (New York, 1987), 440; *idem*, *DS* 12 (1983), 100-101.

The ecclesiastical policy of the patriarchs after 1347, as noted above, was primarily devoted to consolidation and centralization, especially outside the shrinking borders of the empire where the local forces of ecclesiastical nationalism and separatism were usually stronger. It was in fact designed to prevent the unity of the Orthodox commonwealth from collapsing. In this respect, broadly speaking, these efforts were a continuation of the policy begun in Nicaea over a century earlier. On the other hand, there were certain changes. It was not unusual for patriarchal incumbents after 1350, for instance, to describe themselves as acting on behalf of Christ or, to borrow the phrase of patriarch Anthony IV (1389-90; 1391-97), as sitting on "the very throne of the Master."[80] As one of his predecessors, Philotheus, was to note in 1370, "solicitude for all"—κηδεμονία πάντων—belonged to the patriarch, as universal pastor of Orthodox Christians everywhere.

> Since God has appointed our humility as leader of all Christians found anywhere in the inhabited earth, as solicitor and guardian of their souls, all of them depend on me, the father and teacher of them all.... Since it is beyond the possibility of one weak and mightless man to walk around the entire inhabited earth, our humility chooses the best among men, the most eminent in virtue, establishes and ordains them as pastors, teachers and high-priests, and sends them to the ends of the universe. One of these goes to your great country, to the multitudes which inhabit it, another reaches other areas of the earth, and still another goes elsewhere, so that each one, in the country and place which was appointed for him, enjoys territorial rights, an episcopal chair and all the rights of our humility.[81]

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[79] See D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 173-200 (Cyprian of Kiev); see also chapters VI (p. 259, 269-70) and VIII.

[80] *MM*, 2:189 (letter dated 1393).

[81] *Ibid.*, 1:521 (letter to the princes of Russia); trans. in J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), 283-84 (Appendix 2); 112-18, 177-81 (analysis and discussion of the text); *idem*, *DOP* 42 (1988), 160.

Although these forceful affirmations are reminiscent of western papism, the resemblance is unintentional. The patriarchs were by no means attempting to redefine or change their *ecclesiological* position. None of their claims was inspired by either Orthodox ecclesiology or by conciliar legislation. For the Orthodox Church the nature of episcopal power was vastly different, as its repeated condemnation of the papacy's extreme claims to universal dominion indicate. As one Orthodox prelate was to note, all titles of precedence, including that of "patriarch," were common to the entire episcopate, "since all bishops are fathers, shepherds and leaders, and it is clear that there are no special canons for metropolitans distinct from those which apply to archbishops or bishops. For the laying on of hands is the same for all, and their participation in the divine liturgy is identical and all pronounce the same prayers."[82] To be short, the statements of the patriarchate, unlike those issued by the Roman curia, cannot be interpreted literally or ecclesiologically. The immutable and infallible jurisdictional hegemony claimed by the Roman pontiffs was unknown to the East.

To be properly understood, the grandiose pronouncements of the patriarchal chancery actually must be placed within the wider political context of late Byzantium beginning with the dramatic changes triggered in large part by the fourth crusade. This age of territorial dismemberment determined Byzantium's final elimination nearly three centuries later. By 1300, despite the valiant efforts of Michael Palaeologus to the contrary, Byzantium was in actual fact no longer a great power. Although Angevin aggression had collapsed and Constantinople had again reverted to the Byzantines (in 1261), the old frontiers of the empire were never restored. Moreover, in part as a result of Michael's neglect of the former Nicaean territories, virtually all of Asia Minor had by 1300 come under Turkish control. The empire was rapidly becoming a small Balkan state. The internal situation was itself just as gloomy. The growing impotence of the central government actually reached new heights. The quasi-feudal tendencies of an earlier age, involving the erosion and devolution of state power, had by the late 1200s become the accepted pattern. In the course of the fourteenth century the situation became even more precarious. The self-destructive civil wars, the social strife, and the disarray caused by the Serbian domination emphasized earlier in this chapter, were to reduce the state to complete exhaustion. More distressing still was the main military development of the century—the systematic colo-

[82] Nicetas of Ancyra in J. Darrouzès, ed., *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966), 224.

nization of the Balkan peninsula by the Turkish armies. The Turks were in fact to pitch camp permanently on European territory by March 1354. Before long Adrianople was transformed into the residence of the Turkish sultan, Murad I (1365). It was the first decisive step to the conquests that followed. The Ottoman victories at Thessalonica (1387), Kosovo Polje (1389), and Trnovo (1393), were distinct turning points. Both the second Bulgarian empire and Dušan's vast domain vanished as a result. The Byzantine emperor, on the other hand, was forced formally to become vassal to the Turkish sultan.

Remarkably, unlike the embattled state facing certain ruin, the Church at the same time was becoming more stable and self-confident, even powerful. Despite the grim background of impotence and isolation, historians have emphasized that the Church was still able to exercise jurisdiction and authority far beyond the political boundaries of the empire, and even to extend itself in new territories. It was actually during these decades that new metropolitan thrones in the Romanian principalities (in both Wallachia and Moldavia) were established.[83] Moreover, the policies and the claims, the territorial and canonical rights of the Church, continued to be respected throughout most of the Orthodox world. In effect, the patriarchate was replacing the empire as the focus of unity among the Orthodox nations of Eastern Europe. Such activity was obviously not the result of a weak or dependent body. In the final analysis, it was this mounting disparity in authority, unity and stability, between the Church and the empire, that accounts for the pronouncements of the patriarchs. Since the state was no longer capable of supporting its "meta-political"[84] claims to jurisdiction over the Orthodox Christian community, either through its foreign policy or its ancient claims to universal sovereignty, responsibility for doing so fell on the far more confident and vigorous ecumenical patriarchate. The Church, quite simply, became the empire's ideological spokesman, the champion of its political theory of Christian universalism. Although its ecumenical claims to κηδεμονία appear to be ecclesiological in content, they were in reality largely diplomatic rhetoric used to shore up the emperor's symbolic authority as head of the Christian *oikoumene.*

The practical steps taken by the patriarchate to reinforce its moral and spiritual pre-eminence within Orthodox Christendom parallels in some ways its simultaneous attempts to unify and codify Orthodox liturgical practice. As with its territorial and canonical claims, its liturgical activity was to attain in the end widespread diffusion. In its totality, Byzantine worship developed gradually, often imperceptibly, achieving its definitive shape in the late Middle Ages during the hesychast takeover. The long and involved evolution of the Byzantine rite reached in fact its dénouement—its final resolution—only under Palamism. That it was conditioned culturally and historically by its medieval environment is of course obvious. Remarkably, all the same, this "most splendid, complex, highly ceremonialized worship in the whole of Christendom"[85] was also, above all, the result of a living liturgical tradition. Until the tenth century two distinct and often competitive offices are discernible within the patriarchate: the so-called "cathedral" service of the city churches and the "monastic" non-secular service of the monasteries. In the Byzantine capital itself, these were represented by the two rival *typica* of the great cathedral church of the Holy Wisdom and the monastery of St John Studios. Actually, both rites had existed concurrently since the early Middle Ages. With the growth of hymnography and external ceremonial solemnity during the post-Constantinian period both had also become more complex. Liturgical creativity was especially characteristic of the Studite monastery. By the tenth century the community had, in fact, synthesized into its own office material borrowed from both the cathedral service of Constantinople and from the liturgy of the monastery of St Sabbas, located in the Judean desert between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. The spread of the Studite rule together with its crucial impact on eastern monasticism as a whole has already been emphasized. It is worth adding only that this popular cenobitic rule did not circulate independently of the Studite office. The earliest Athonite liturgy undoubtedly followed Studite usage. As a matter of fact before long the Studite synthesis was being used beyond Athos as well, in Georgia and Russia, southern Italy and the Balkans.

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[83] See above, p. 261-6.

[84] D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971), 201. See also below, p. 346).

The parallel cultivation of liturgical symbolism was apparently another decisive development of the early medieval period. This was basically an interpretive tool by which the eucharistic liturgy was perceived almost entirely as a series of symbols depicting the earthly life and ministry of Jesus. Nearly every part of the central liturgical act of the Church was made to fit into an essentially artificial system of images symbolizing Christ's redemptive economy. By the eighth century this rather literal "economic" exegesis was united to the so-called "cosmic" typology which was actually until then the

[85] R. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Washington, DC, 1984), 116.

dominant tradition of liturgical explanation. In contrast to the economic salvation-history approach, this earlier cosmic typology conceived the liturgy of the Church as an image of the heavenly worship. The earthly eucharistic celebration was in fact seen as being in a very real sense a "concelebration" in the eternal heavenly liturgy offered before the throne of God. As a consequence of this accommodation between the two levels of interpretation, most liturgical action was soon burdened with diverse meanings. For example, the solemn ritual involved in the Great Entrance before long was explained not only in purely cosmic terms, as a procession of all the angelic powers and saints before Christ, but also as an imitation of the historic deposition and burial of the Lord by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. The altar, on which the gifts of bread and wine were placed during the entrance, itself became the holy sepulchre, while the veil or *aer* covering them, signified the stone rolled over the door of Christ's tomb. The same symbolism transformed the *eileton* or consecrated corporal spread on the altar table as the new winding-sheet in which Jesus was buried.[86] Evidently, the link between the liturgical action symbolized and the symbol itself was often arbitrarily abstruse, if not altogether confusing. Worse yet, this explosion of symbolism also frequently could disguise and obscure the ultimate significance of the sacrament.

Although until the tenth century the two liturgical traditions of the cathedral and the monastery were still clearly separate, both were nevertheless also moving closer (as the Studite synthesis mentioned above itself implies). Convergence was doubtless helped by the urbanization of monasticism and by the shift towards greater symbolization and ritual elaboration. As it turned out, their segregation was to end in the following century outside the empire itself, in Palestine. The unification of the two rites, in part the responsibility of the monks of the monastery of St Sabbas in Palestine, was to result in the so-called *Typicon* of Jerusalem.[87] Gradually the new Sabaitic rite was adopted in Constantinople as well. Although the decline of Studios (caused in part by the rise of Athonite monasticism) and the Latin occupation of 1204 hastened its endorsement by the Byzantine patriarchate, "no scholar has, so far, given an exhaustive explanation of the remarkable fact that, already in the twelfth century, the Church of Constantinople, then at the peak of its prestige and influence, acquiesced in the replacement of the existing orders of its liturgy (the *Typicon* of the Great Church, the *Typicon* of St John Studios) with the Order of the monastery of St Sabbas in Palestine."[88] Be this as it may, the end result was a substantial monasticization of the rule of prayer of the Church. The new Byzantine liturgical synthesis—the usage destined to become the rite of world Orthodoxy—was, in the words of one scholar, formulated by monasticism and can rightly be called "monastic both in its form and content," even if it was not "a simple victory of monastic liturgical piety over secular piety."[89] Indeed, it was at this time also that the originally monastic practice of having a solid icon screen (*iconostasis*), separating altar and congregation, became practically universal.

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[86] R. Bornett, *Les Commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1966). On the Great Entrance, Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 37, 45-8, 74; *idem, The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom* (Rome, 1978), (=OCA, 200), 467f. H. Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy. The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite* (London, 1989), 123-28.

[87] See above, p. 258.

Characteristically, the acceptance of the integrated *Typicon* of the monastery of St Sabbas by the ecumenical patriarchate was in turn to facilitate its popularization practically everywhere. St Sava of Serbia was one of its earliest supporters and, as such, was instrumental for its introduction at the royal foundation of Studeniça. The wider diffusion of Sabaitic usage among the Slavs however, occurred under the hesychast patriarchs in the late fourteenth century, when it was gradually adopted in both Kiev and Moscow; by 1429 it had indeed reached the Laura of St Sergius north of Moscow. Liturgical uniformity within Eastern Christendom involving a standard pattern of worship for both secular and monastic churches was due primarily to this active patriarchal encouragement. As in so many other areas, the part played by patriarch Philotheus in this promotion was particularly crucial. Above all, he was to contribute to the systematization of the liturgical rules governing the actual celebration of the eucharist and the daily office. In the fourteenth century instruction manuals regulating ceremonial were by no means unknown. It was Philotheus, however, who was to canonize Sabaitic usage by codifying its rubrics in a short study known as the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy*. A second manual, dealing with the divine office, including Vespers and Matins, was also his composition. Both of these liturgical ceremonials were written on Mount Athos when Philotheus was still abbot of the Great Laura of St Athanasius. During his patriarchate, predictably, they were to attain widespread distribution. With the subsequent translation into Church Slavonic of the *Diataxis* for the liturgy in Bulgaria, from where it was eventually transmitted to Russia, a rudimentary uniformity in liturgical practice was established throughout Orthodox Christendom.[90] Remarkably, contemporary Orthodox liturgical celebration is still determined by these Philothean rubrics. When printed editions of the Byzantine rite first appeared in the sixteenth century, they were indeed governed by the Sabaitic arrangement endorsed earlier by the Palamite patriarch Philotheus.

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[88] Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 122.

[89] A. Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (London, 1966), 153.

By and large, the systematization of liturgical practice achieved by the patriarchate in the fourteenth century marks the end of liturgical development in Byzantium. The modern text of the liturgy along with its rubrics (to repeat) is in all essential respects identical with the Sabaitic synthesis sanctioned by the Church of Constantinople in the late Middle Ages. It is worth adding, all the same, that this evolution was not the result of any deliberate plan on the part of the patriarchate. Unlike the western papacy, which in general discouraged liturgical diversity and the use of the vernacular in public worship by promoting Romanization, there is no evidence that liturgical standardization was ever imposed by formal declaration or legislation in the Orthodox world. True, the canonist Theodore Balsamon on occasion could insist that the rite of the Church of Constantinople was alone lawful and that everyone should follow its custom. All the same, this rigid view did not gain currency. The near-absolute western equation between liturgical uniformity and ecclesial institutional loyalty, at any rate, never really prevailed in the Christian East. Rather, the prestige and influence of the patriarchate was such that its own usage was progressively adopted everywhere as the only admissible yardstick. It was of course crucial as a development, given the liturgy's decisive role in maintaining both the identity of the Orthodox Church and the spirit of "Byzance après Byzance" long after the fall of Constantinople.[91]

Inevitably the Palamite victory of 1347 and 1351 was to affect intellectuals and theologians as well. Its impact was by no means confined to the leadership of the Church or to monastic circles. An important group of pro-Palamite authors (many of whom were also personal friends and supporters of the emperor John Cantacuzenus) was to surface shortly after the end of the civil war. Arguably, the most original member of the group was the lay hesychast theologian, Nicholas Cabasilas (1320-1363/91). Apart from his deep personal piety, his most attractive trait as a writer, particularly evident in his popular classics, *The Life in Christ* and *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, was doubtless his conceptual clarity.[92] To this day ordinary readers have no difficulty with his typically practical approach to sacramental theology and spirituality. That he was one of the most creative followers of St Gregory Palamas is beyond doubt. Actually, both authors should be read together for a proper appreciation of the theological achievement of fourteenth-century Byzantium.[93] Like all Palamites, Cabasilas was to insist that man's spiritual growth in Christ "originates in this life and arises from it. It is perfected, however, in the life to come, when we shall have reached that last day. It cannot attain perfection in men's souls in this life, nor even in that which is to come *without already having begun here*."[94] Communion with God, in other words, is an experience that begins in the present age, within the ecclesial and sacramental framework of the historic Church, even if the fullness of grace will be revealed only on the "last day." The Christian's participation in the sacramental mystery of the eucharist and the other rites available to the Church as community has indeed no other meaning for Cabasilas: it is already the first fruits of divine life and, as such, an anticipation of the final glorification at the end of time. The layman Cabasilas also insists, understandably, that the spiritual life in general is not the exclusive preserve of monastics. Nowhere in fact does he presuppose that his readers were bound by monastic vows. The hesychast vocation with its practice of perpetual prayer could just as easily be set within the concrete reality of daily life. "One need not betake oneself to a remote spot [like an ascetic], nor eat unaccustomed food, nor even dress differently, nor ruin one's health nor venture on any reckless act. [Rather,] it is possible for one who stays at home and loses none of his possessions constantly to be engaged in the law of the spirit."[95]

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[90] For the *Diataxis*, see N. Trembelas, ed., *Aί Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι* (Athens, 1935), 1-16; and *PG* 154:745-66. Cf. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, chapter 8, devoted to Philotheus' active tenure as patriarch. For St Sava, see above, p. 258.

[91] Cf. J. Meyendorff, "The liturgy: A clue to the mind of worldwide Orthodoxy," in D.J. Constantelos, ed., *Orthodox Theology and Diakonia* (Brookline, MA, 1981), 79-90. See Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia, "The meaning of the divine liturgy for the Byzantine worshipper," in R. Morris, ed., *Church and People in Byzantium* (Birmingham, 1990), 7-28. For papal policy, see the perceptive comments of R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Princeton, 1993), 242.

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[92] For both texts, see *PG* 150:367-726. See also the critical editions of S. Salaville, *Explication de la divine liturgie* (Paris, 1967), (=*SC*, no.4 bis); and M.-H. Congourdeau, *La Vie en Christ* (Paris, 1989), (=*SC*, no.355). For an English translation of the first text, see J.M. Hussey and P.A. McNulty, trans., *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* (London, 1960); and C.J. deCatanzaro for *The Life in Christ* (Crestwood, NY, 1974).

[93] Meyendorff, *Theology*, 108. Cf. M. Lot-Borodine, *Un maître de la spiritualité byzantine au XIV*^{e} *siècle: Nicolas Cabasilas* (Paris, 1958); B. Bobrinskoy, "Nicholas Cabasilas and hesychast spirituality," *Sobornost* 7 (1968), 483-510.

[94] *The Life in Christ*, ed. deCantanzaro, 43.

[95] *Ibid.*, 173-74. That Orthodox spirituality and the practice of the Jesus prayer is not limited exclusively to a monastic context is also implicitly a central theme of the anonymous modern Russian classic, *The Way of the Pilgrim*, trans. R.M. French (London, 1972).

Cabasilas' evident preoccupation with the sacraments and, in particular, with the liturgy, was to make him one of the most important contributors to the general liturgical renaissance undertaken by the fourteenth century patriarchate. He is, as one recent specialist on the liturgy writes, "the classic exponent of Byzantine liturgical theology during the hesychast revival."[96] As noted earlier, the preferred approach of most Byzantine commentators on the rite, particularly after the eighth century, was symbolic exegesis. The need to reduce all action in worship to an illustrative symbol, representing some aspect of Christ's redemptive activity, was often irresistible. Although there was no explicit attempt to conceal the original significance of the eucharist, the typical "mystical commentary" often did so. In fact, the superimposed symbolism now and again threatened to replace sacramental participation itself, since the symbol was viewed as bestowing knowledge. Arguably, once the liturgy is approached exclusively as an initiation to or contemplation of some higher reality, actual eucharistic participation—the very centrality of communion—becomes peripheral if not altogether unnecessary. Characteristically, Cabasilas' own interpretation, by contrast, is often decidedly, if not systematically, anti-symbolic. Nowhere in his famous *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, at any rate, is the rite ever overshadowed by the symbolic exaggeration and rationalization practiced by his predecessors. The distinction between what is merely symbolic, and hence secondary, and what is properly sacramental and all-important, is always maintained. To be more specific, Cabasilas' *Commentary* is a comprehensive dogmatic treatment of the rite; the natural primary function and meaning of the eucharistic celebration, preserved in its individual actions, its texts and its structures, is always its real focus.[97] Symbolism whenever it is used is invariably muted. As a result, the often odd discrepancy between the liturgical action and symbol found in other commentaries, is avoided. As Cabasilas' introductory remarks unambiguously emphasize, it is the sacramental *anamnesis* of Christ's death at the consecration that is fundamental and not the lofty symbolism favored by his predecessors.

> The essential act in the celebration of the holy mysteries is the transformation [μεταβολή] of the elements into the divine Body and Blood; its aim is the sanctification of the faithful, who through these mysteries receive the remission of their sins and the inheritance of the Kingdom of heaven. As a preparation for, and

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[96] R. Taft, "Liturgy and eucharist I. East," Raitt, *Christian Spirituality II*, 415.

[97] H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York, 1986), 124-32; Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy*, 158-64.

> contribution to, this act and this purpose we have prayers, psalms, and readings from Holy Scripture; in short, all the sacred acts and forms which are said and done before and after the consecration of the elements. While it is true that God freely gives us all holy things and that we bring him nothing, but that they are absolute graces, he does nevertheless necessarily require that we should be fit to receive and to preserve them.[98]

Clearly Cabasilas' point of departure is the *theological* meaning of the rite. The liturgy's christocentric and communal dimensions are what really matter. Sacramental realism, the liturgy as true communion with Christ resulting in the believer's "sanctification," is its ultimate purpose. Like Palamas, Cabasilas is at once sacramental and christocentric in all that concerns the rites of the Church and the life in Christ.

No description of the intellectual and spiritual trends of the age represented by Cabasilas would be complete without reference to Palamism's own political patron, the emperor John Cantacuzenus. As is well known, soon after his voluntary abdication in 1354 he was himself to accept the monastic habit. All the same, his retirement from politics and his monastic vocation (which he retained until his death in 1383) did not prevent him from playing a dominant part in the intellectual and political life of the empire. For the next thirty years, as elder statesman and monk, he was to continue to defend and encourage his numerous friends and associates in both their scholarly and diplomatic careers. Both the remarkable Greek translator of Thomas Aquinas, Demetrius Cydones, and Cabasilas, belonged to his circle. He was himself a prolific author and wrote several works in defense of Palamite theology as well as a refutation of Islam. Although he was forced into political collaboration with the Palamites during the civil war, there is little doubt about his actual commitment to hesychasm. His attitude toward Christian unity was no less sincere and indeed parallels that of the patriarchate. This devotion to union is discussed in a later chapter. For the moment it will suffice to note only that Cantacuzenus was committed to theological dialogue in a joint general council. He was doubtless convinced that a thorough knowledge of Latin theology was a necessary precondition for such an encounter. It was in part for this reason that he approved the translation of Latin theological sources into Byzantine Greek by his contemporaries.

This unusual venture in translation, begun by Byzantine theologians almost immediately after the Palamite victory, is one more compelling proof of the remarkable vitality of the Church in late Byzantium. The effort has actually been described as "one of the glories of the fourteenth-century Byzantine Church."[99] Overall, Byzantine interest in the classics of Latin theology has no real parallel in western Europe. What Humbert of Romans had said in the thirteenth century of his Latin colleagues was still true. For the most part western scholars still refused to trouble themselves with such matters as the translation of Greek texts: submission to Rome continued to be their predominant approach to Christian disunity.[100] In Byzantium, on the other hand, the most important translator of the age was doubtless the diplomat, Demetrius Cydones. He and his brother, Prochorus, were the first to make available in a Byzantine Greek version some of the more important works of Augustine, Anselm of Canterbury, and Aquinas. Predictably, the knowledge of Greek philosophy enshrined in these Latin authors in translation, especially Aquinas, was a surprise to Byzantine humanists. For some of them, Latin scholasticism soon became preferable to the hesychast mysticism recently formally endorsed by several Church councils. For the first time, in any event, the once backward West was seen by many Byzantines in a different light, as being more "Greek" than their own Church. Predictably, Thomism was to prove especially attractive to Latinophronist theologians. In their role as Palamite critics they soon began to use the new western wisdom against Palamas' theology. Prochorus Cydones was one of the first to do so and before long others followed. It is worth adding that this new group of anti-Palamites differed from their predecessors specifically by their use of Thomism. By contrast, Akindynus, Gregoras, and to a lesser degree Barlaam, were staunchly anti-Latin. Additionally, eventually some of these Byzantine Thomists were also to defect to the Roman faith. A few even joined Aquinas' Dominican order. Maximus Chrysoberges, Prochorus Cydones and Manuel Calecas (another translator) were all destined to become members of the Roman Church.[101]

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[98] *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. Hussey and McNulty, 25.

[99] R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1970), 80. S.G. Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνιστικαί Μεταφράσεις Θωμιστικῶν Ἔργων* (Athens, 1967); Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, 173-80.

[100] Cf. Southern, *Western Society*, 82. Humbert advocated not only the translation of Greek theological texts into Latin but of Latin texts into Greek; he was also in favor of an exchange of scholars who would live and study together. See especially E.T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto, 1984), 186-91.

[101] Cf. *Regestes*, no.2541 (condemnation of Prochorus). The recent contribution to Byzantine intellectual history by E. de Vries-Van der Velden, *L'Élite byzantine devant l'avance turque à l'époque de la guerre civile de 1341 à 1345* (Amsterdam, 1989), also contains individual portrait studies of, among others, Demetrius Cydones, Cantacuzenus, Gregoras, and Palamas. The dismissive, even contemptuous approach of the author, who evidently has an axe to grind, makes for unpleasant reading, however.

Although this personal submission was doubtless sincere, it is important to note that western scholastic theology was probably not the only attraction. The discovery of Thomism as a philosophical system was also a consideration in conversion. Devotion to secular Hellenism, and not to theology proper, in other words, was often the decisive factor. This passionate admiration for antiquity was to become even more obvious in the next generation of Byzantine scholars, as the careers of the expatriate Bessarion, metropolitan of Nicaea, and that of his friend, George Gemistus Plethon, illustrate. In Plethon's case commitment to Hellenism was actually to lead to the renunciation of Christianity altogether. That these fifteenth century humanists came close to identifying the philosophy, language, and culture of ancient Greece with Byzantium, is quite clear. In a very real sense, the supra-national Christian ideology of the ecumenical patriarchate and the universalism of the Byzantine state were replaced by a narrow "nationalistic" Hellenism.

Understandably, interest in the classics of medieval Latin theology was not limited to the small circle of Byzantine Thomists and humanists. Many Palamite theologians also took advantage of the translations and became knowledgeable in Thomism. They readily recognized the usefulness of this knowledge for diplomatic and doctrinal negotiation and ecclesiastical controversy. Doctrinal compromise or conversion was not an option for these individuals, however, no matter how admirable western achievements in theology and philosophy were thought to be. Some even considered refutation to be necessary. The Palamite metropolitan of Thessalonica, Nilus Cabasilas (Cydones' own teacher and uncle of Nicholas Cabasilas) was actually one of the first to attack the scholastic method. His searching analysis of Thomism is both impressive and learned.[102] Joseph Bryennius, Angelus Panaretus, patriarch Philotheus, and George Boilas, to name only a few, were also capable defenders of Orthodoxy. Others, by contrast, refused to attach much importance to the scholastic method, and instead preferred to oppose Thomism with proofs from the fathers and Scripture. This was the attitude of Nicholas Cabasilas as well. Despite his friendship with Demetrius Cydones and his familiarity with western sources, his theology remained rooted in the Church fathers and in Palamism. In contrast with his humanist friends and correspondents, true wisdom for Cabasilas was not to be found in Thomism.

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[102] E. Candal, ed., *Nilus Cabasilas et theologia S. Thomae* (Vatican, 1945).

CHAPTER VIII

THE METROPOLITANATE OF RUSSIA: FROM KIEV TO MOSCOW

The vast expanse of the East European plain has been for centuries a passageway for invading tribes moving westward. Its human and economic potential remained largely unknown to the centers of Christian civilization on the Mediterranean. It always remained beyond the Roman *limes*. However, by the ninth century, the northern forests were already settled by Finnish peoples, and the southern plains had a permanent Slavic population, which resisted continuous inroads from the East by Turkic invaders: the Pechenegs, and later Cumans (or Polovtsy). The Byzantines encountered this yet unknown world when a dynasty of Varangian (Scandinavian) warlords succeeded in controlling the important commercial river route, which allowed boats to carry merchandise from the Baltic and Western Europe to the Black Sea, avoiding the Arab fleets, which periodically threatened Mediterranean commerce. This Nordic dynasty, and its military contingents, were known as the Rus', and occasionally menaced Constantinople itself. They governed the country from fortified centers located along the river route: Novgorod, on the river Volkhov, and Kiev, on the Dniepr, were preeminent. Soon after they settled in the country, the Varangians seem to have adopted the Slavic language as the language of their state.

The Christianization of the Rus' was a major—probably the major—achievement of the medieval Byzantine missionary expansion. It was a gradual process, which involved competition with German missionaries from the West. It began in the ninth century under patriarch Photius, and was crowned by the baptism of the powerful Kievan rulers: the princess Olga (†969) and her grandson, Vladimir (†1015). The results were not only religious, but political and cultural as well. The Russians were a direct menace to the empire: Olga's son and Vladimir's father, Svyatoslav, attempted a direct attack on Byzantium by land, and conquered Bulgaria, so that last-minute salvation came only from a spectacular military victory over the Russians by emperor John Tzimisces (971).

Baptized in 988 (or 989), the Kievan prince Vladimir married emperor Basil's sister. Although occasional military confrontations still occurred, the Kievan realm, extending from the Carpathian mountains to Novgorod in the north and Rostov in the forest of the northeast, became solidly a part of the Byzantine "Commonwealth," although at no time was it politically subjected by the empire.

The Church served as the major channel by which Byzantine Christian civilization penetrated medieval Russia. The lack of direct documentary evidence concerning the original organization of the Church in Russia has led a number of historians to hypothesize about possible jurisdictional dependence of the clergy, which came to Kiev with Vladimir, upon the Bulgarian patriarchate of Ohrid, or the bishop of Cherson, or the bishop residing in Tmutarakan, or even the Roman pope. Today, the view originally expressed by Russian church historians Makary[1] and E. E. Golubinsky[2] rallies a practically universal consensus: from the very beginning, the patriarchate of Constantinople was responsible for the organization of the church, in a country ruled by the emperor's brother-in-law.[3] What might still be subject to debate is only whether in the original four decades (988-1037), there was in Kiev (or perhaps in neighboring Pereyaslavl) a Byzantine primate, with the title of metropolitan; the alternative would be that the church had a provisional status, with missionary bishops sent to Russia from Byzantium, in accordance with canon 28 of the council of Chalcedon.[4]

Be this as it may, in the year 1037, during the reign of Vladimir's son Yaroslav, the Greek metropolitan of Kiev, Theopemptus, presided over the second consecration of the "Church of the Tithe" (*Desyatinaya*) in Kiev.[5]

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[1] *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* I (St Petersburg, 1857), 35 ff.

[2] *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* I (Moscow, 1901), 179-80.

[3] A full critical review of bibliography on the issue in G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988-1237)* (Munich, 1982), 24-30; also, even more recently, V. Vodoff, *Naissance de la chrétienté russe. La conversion du prince Vladimir de Kiev (988) et ses conséquences (XI-X)* (Paris, 1988), 81-99.

[4] The canon grants the archbishop of Constantinople the right to consecrate "metropolitans" in the three Roman "dioceses" of Pontus, Thrace and Asia, and also "bishops" located in "barbarian lands," if previously they were ordained by the above-mentioned metropolitans. The twelfth-century Byzantine canonists, Balsamon and Zonaras, still considered the Russians "barbarians" dependent upon the diocese of Thrace; their "bishops," accordingly, were to be consecrated by the patriarch of Constantinople (Rhalles-Potles, II, 283, 285). By then, however, this opinion was anachronistic, since at that time a "metropolitan" was in residence in Kiev, and he was the one who consecrated all "bishops"; however, the canonists may have been routinely expressing a traditional view, which was fully applicable in the tenth century.

[5] *Russian Primary Chronicle* I (*Povest' vremennykh let*) D. S. Likhachev *et al.*, eds., (Moscow-

Since that time and until 1441, the church in Russia was governed by a "metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia" appointed from Constantinople. Conflicts about this appointment did occur in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, but they were relatively rare, and were clear exceptions to a rule firmly held by the patriarchate and accepted by the Russians.

1. The Legacy of Vladimir and Yaroslav

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the "land of the Rus'" was dominated by economic and military centers originally established by the Varangian dynasty. These centers served as fortified residences of princes, and naturally became episcopal sees. Kiev, the uncontested capital, and Novgorod were the most important. In both cities cathedrals were built dedicated to St Sophia, clearly symbolizing the Byzantine religious legacy in Russia. By the end of the eleventh century, the metropolitan of Kiev had nine suffragan bishops (Belgorod, Novgorod, Chernigov, Polotsk, Pereyaslavl', Yuryev, Rostov-Suzdal, Vladimir-in-Volhynia, and Turov). Three more dioceses were erected in the twelfth century (Smolensk, Halich, Ryazan'). The beginning of the thirteenth century saw the development of two major ecclesiastical groupings in the northeast and the southwest around the new grand-princely capitals of Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma (around Rostov, with new dioceses at Suzdal' and Tver) and Vladimir-in-Volhynia (with new dioceses at Pereyshl', Kholm and Lutsk).[6]

A canonical tradition which went back to the council of Nicea (325) granted the metropolitan of an ecclesiastical province the duty to preside over a semi-annual council of bishops, at which episcopal elections and consecrations took place. Later patriarchal centralization (cf. canon 28 of Chalcedon, AD 451) tended to reserve the right of consecrating metropolitans to the patriarch. In the case of the metropolitan of Kiev—whose ecclesiastical, diplomatic and political importance was quite exceptional—the patriarchate reserved for itself not only the right of consecrating him but also his appointment, which occasionally provoked some resistance in Russia. The metropolitans were normally Greek prelates who came directly from the imperial capital. Some of the bishops were also Greek, but the majority were local Russians. Their election and appointment—nominally sanctioned by a council of bishops and sometimes agreed

Leningrad, 1950), 153, 155; tr. S. H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, MA, 1953). According to A. Poppe, the tenure of Theopemptus was preceded by that of two other metropolitans: Theophylactus, and John (in Podskalsky, *op. cit.*, 283-4).

[6] Cf. A. Poppe's convenient chart in Podskalsky, *op. cit.*, 281; cf. also a slightly new chronology and full bibliography in J. P. Arignon, "La création des diocèses russes des origines au milieu du XIII^{e} siècle," in *Mille Ans de Christianisme russe* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1989), 27-50.

with local princes—were in fact made single-handedly by the metropolitan. Only the bishop (later archbishop) of Novgorod was elected by a town assembly, and then confirmed by the metropolitan. The tradition of a very strong primacy, exercised by a foreign prelate, often independent of local politics, is an important aspect of the Church in Russia. It is also expressed in the frequent use, in Greek sources, of the title "metropolitan of Russia" (ὁ Ῥωσίας) to designate the incumbent of the see of Kiev; he was, indeed, perceived as the religious head of an entire and vast nation.[7]

All the sources point to the zeal of Vladimir himself, as well as his successors, particularly Yaroslav, in promoting the Christian faith throughout the land of the Rus'. In Kiev the baptism of the people took place by the order of the prince, but the acceptance of the new religion may have been facilitated by the acceptance of Christian missionaries before Vladimir. The propagation of Christianity in the southern and western regions—the contemporary Ukraine—was also effected by Vladimir personally, and, as it seems, met with little resistance. Missions, going back to the time of Sts Cyril and Methodius, may have left significant traces in the area. In the cities of the river route from the Baltic to the Black Sea, paganism was stronger. Ancient traditions, reflected later in the so-called "Chronicle of Joachim," report that, in Novgorod, Christianity was introduced by force, against violent resistance, by Joachim, the Chersonian—perhaps a Greek—and a military intervention by two envoys of prince Vladimir, Putyata and Dobrynya.[8]

This resistance to the introduction of Christianity continued throughout the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly in the Russian north inhabited by Finnish tribes. The case of Rostov is a good example. Local traditions trace the beginnings of Christianity to the time of Vladimir, but they also report that the first bishops of Rostov, Theodore and Hilarion, were expelled by the pagans, and that St Leontius, a bishop of Greek origin, suffered a martyr's death as late as 1076, as a result of his missionary efforts in the Rostov region.[9] In 1227 the Novgorodian prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, "baptized a great number of Carelians (eastern Finns), almost all of them."[10]

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[7] Cf. texts in J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), 74-5, 81-2.

[8] Cf. the detailed bibliographical discussion in O. M. Rapov, *Russkaya tserkov v IX-pervoi treti XXI v.* (Moscow, 1988), 255-276; see also A. Kartashev, *Ocherki po Istorii russkoi tserkvi* (Paris, 1959), 159. The identity of Joachim as the city's first bishop is legendary.

[9] On the various versions and editions of the very popular ancient Life of St Leontius, see G. Iu. Filipovsky, *Zhitie Leontiya Rostovskogo*, in D. S. Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti drevnei Rusi*, I.

[10] *Lavrentievskaya Letopis'* (Leningrad, 1928; repr. *Die Nestorchronik*, Bd 1 [Munich, 1977]), col.

He also built the city of Yuriev, with a church in honor of St George, among the Ests.[11] The fact that the Christian faith was expanding not only among Slavs, but also among tribes speaking other languages, is shown by the fact that Niphon, bishop of Novgorod (1130-1156), required, before baptism, a catechumenate of forty days for a Bulgar, a Cuman, or a Finn, and only a week for a Slav.[12] The longer period of instruction was needed for those who could not understand the usual worship and preaching, done in Slavic. But resistance to Christianization was by no means limited to non-Slavs. The Chronicles frequently mention the activities of pagan religious leaders (*volkhvy*) and, at the beginning of the twelfth century, in the very center of Slavic country, north of Chernigov, a former monk of the monastery of the Caves in Kiev, St Kuksha, was killed, together with his disciple Nikon, by the pagan people of the Vyatichi, whom he came to convert.[13]

Actively supported by the princely authority, the spread of Christianity in Russia was also the result of a rapid emergence of local, native spiritual leadership, which was able to apply creatively and spontaneously the lessons received from the Greeks. During the reign of Yaroslav the "Wise" (1036-54), Christian Russia acquired not only cathedrals—often built and decorated by Greek artists—but also a major monastic center, the monastery of the Caves (Pechersky) in Kiev, founded by St Anthony, a former Athonite hermit, and organized by St Theodosius in accordance with the rule of the Studios monastery of Constantinople. With some monks living as hermits in caves near the Dniepr river, and others following the rules of a disciplined community, the monastery became a model of asceticism, but also a major center of mission and literary culture. In the early thirteenth century, a correspondence between the bishop of Suzdal', Simeon, and the monk Polycarp Pechersky, formed the basis of what is known as the Paterikon of the Caves[14]—the foundation of Russian hagiology. The holy missionaries Leontius of Rostov and Kuksha were monks of the Kievan community, which also

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449. The Novgorod chronicle informs us also that four pagan religious leaders (*volkhvy*) were killed on that occasion.

[11] "Yury" (or George) was prince Yaroslav's baptismal name. The city of Yuriev is the contemporary Tartu in Estonia.

[12] *Otvety Nifonta*, 40, in *RIB* IV, col. 33.

[13] *Paterik Kievo-Pechersky*, D. Abramovich, ed., (Kiev, 1931) (reprt. D. Tschizewskij, Munich, 1969), 110-111.

[14] Cf. note 13. There is an abundant literature on the Paterikon and the first Russian monastery; for convenient reference, see I. Smolitsch, *Rusiche Mönchtum* (Würzburg, 1953), 61-78, and G. Podskalsky, *op. cit.*, 50-56; for the figure of St Theodosius, see G. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, I, *Kievan Christianity* (New York, 1946), 132-6.

included Nestor (early twelfth century), the traditional author of the *Primary Chronicle* and of the *Life of St Theodosius,* and bishop Niphon of Novgorod, mentioned above.

Perhaps the most famous of the early hermits of the Kievan caves was Hilarion, who, in 1051, was the first Russian to assume the title of metropolitan. A man of scholarship and authentic literary talent, he is the author of a famous encomium of the prince Vladimir and of a sermon on "Law and Grace." Other early Russian bishops have left us with monuments of their preaching and pastoral activity. The most prolific among them is Cyril of Turov († *c.* 1182), whose talented sermons appear in innumerable manuscripts, both independently and in collections of translated patristic homiletic literature.[15] If most of the religious texts available to the Russians consisted of translations from the Greek, often transmitted through Bulgaria but also translated locally, the Russian hierarchy showed authentic zeal in making the legacy of Byzantine Orthodoxy accessible to its flock. A newly-ordained priest would hear his bishop instruct him to be "the light of the world, the salt of the earth, the physician of the sick, the guide of the blind, the instructor of the erring, a teaching and a light, an eye of the body of the Church, the way and the doorkeeper, the holder of the keys, a worker and a builder..."[16]

This missionary and educational effort of the clergy did produce fruits. We know about them primarily on the level of the princely dynasty, its attitudes and policies, but, through them, we can also perceive a more popular understanding of the Christian gospel by the larger body of the faithful. This process can be followed through the story of Sts Boris and Gleb,[17] sons of Vladimir. Threatened by their older brother Svyatopolk, they were murdered, refusing to fight against their senior (1015). Their veneration was encouraged by their other brother, Yaroslav, who eventually suppressed Svyatopolk's rule and killed the usurper (1019). The political goals of Yaroslav were clear: to maintain the traditional order within the dynasty and affirm the respect due to elders.[18] But a widespread popular cult led the Church to interpret the death of the two young princes more widely, as martyrdom for non-violence, and as an implicit judgment upon the constant and bloody dynastic feuds between the heirs of Vladimir. In 1072 their bodies were solemnly enshrined in a church built in their memory in Vyshgorod. This was equivalent to an official "canonization." In 1115 a larger stone church was built in their honor, jointly by Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh and Oleg Svyatoslavich, two of their nephews who had fought against each other and were now reconciled by the memory of their holy grand-uncles. Three distinct accounts of the death of Boris and Gleb circulated in the twelfth century.[19] It is significant that the first canonized Russian saints were these two martyrs, innocent victims of political violence, and not the leaders of the dynasty themselves, as was frequently the case in the Middle Ages with princes responsible for Christianization (St Clovis in France, the Nemanids in Serbia, etc.). Vladimir himself was not canonized until much later, although metropolitan Hilarion, in his encomion, tried to compare him with apostles who preached in other countries, and with emperor Constantine.

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[15] Critical edition by I. P. Eremin, in *TODRL* 13 (1957), 400-426; 15 (1958), 331-348; cf. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, 136-141.

[16] Anonymous bishop, thirteenth century, in *RIB* VI, col. 104. The *Instruction,* found in many manuscripts, was widely used for several generations. Together with biblical and ethical precepts, it also contains practical guidelines for priests.

[17] These were their pagan names, under which they were canonized (as was also, eventually St Vladimir). Their baptismal names were Roman and David.

[18] Cf. D. S. Likhachev, "Nekotorye voprosy ideologii feodalov v literature XI-XIII vv," *TODRL* 10 (1954), 89.

This does not mean, however, that the message of Christian love and forgiveness went totally unheeded among Russian princes of the Kievan period. The impressive figure of Vladimir Monomakh (1053-1125), grandson of Yaroslav and, through his Greek mother, grandson of Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-55), is known to us through an autobiographical *Instruction* addressed to his heirs, in which he calls for princely solidarity, tolerance, forgiveness and responsibility. Having married Gytha, a daughter of King Harold of England, he was successively prince of the northern city of Rostov, of Chernigov, of Pereyaslavl' and finally, by popular acclaim, became grand-prince of Kiev (1113-1125). Constantly involved in princely feuds, and expressing pride for his exploits at war and triumphs in hunting boars and bison, he also showed devotion to the memory of his uncles, Sts Boris and Gleb, and became instrumental in their canonization. He was a man of prayer: "When you are riding forth upon your horse, if you have not anything special to discuss with a companion and do not know other prayers, then exclaim without ceasing: 'Kyrie eleison!' within yourself. This is the best prayer of all, and infinitely better than thinking evil thoughts while riding a horse."[20] Not a saint, but a simple, intelligent and devout Christian, he contributed to the gradual Christianization of society in the Kievan state.

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[19] A succinct account of the sources by L. A. Dmitriev in *Slovar' knizhnikov* (Leningrad, 1987), 398-408; see also A. Poppe, "O vremeni zarozhdeniya kul'ta Borisa i Gleba," *Russia Medievalis* I (Munich, 1973), 6-29.

[20] *Instruction*, Engl. tr. in S. A. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales* (New York, 1974), 97; original text in D. S. Likhachev *et al., Povest' vremennykh let* 1 (Leningrad-Moscow, 1950), 157; cf. the impressive portrait of Vladimir in D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 83-114.

Beyond such princely figures, patterns of Christian behavior are more difficult to ascertain in the masses of the faithful.[21] The extremely elaborate Byzantine Christian tradition—its liturgy, its canon law and its theological refinement—was transferred, in Slavonic translation, to a young society with a pagan past, but no literary history. Ecclesiastical discipline and ritual, based on "books" translated from the Greek, were accepted *in toto*. The initial absence of local cultural roots was compensated by a formal zeal in maintaining the literal, and often incomprehensible, meaning of the translated texts. This explains the meticulous and formalistic attitude of early Russian Christians in their attitude towards liturgy and moral discipline—a trend which remained a characteristic of Russian Orthodoxy for later centuries as well. Not all early Russian scholars (*knizhniki*) reached the level of Hilarion, or Cyril of Turov in adopting and using the Byzantine legacy.

Faithful to Byzantium, the metropolitanate of Russia entertained contacts with Western Christendom which paralleled the political relations of the Russian princes with other European powers. The mention of Western saints remained in Kievan liturgical books—a remnant of Western contacts from the time of Olga and Vladimir—and in 1091 a special liturgical service was composed to celebrate, on May 9, the "transfer of the relics of St Nicholas from Myra to Bari," i.e., an event which occurred in 1087, and which consisted in a theft of the relics by Apulian merchants. A western celebration of the event was sanctioned by pope Urban II (1088-99). Since it was undoubtedly celebrated also by the numerous Greek population of Apulia, the Russians may have obtained news of the event,[22] and started celebrating—very ecumenically—the "rejoicing of the city of Bari."

Almost simultaneously the Greek metropolitan of Kiev, John II Prodromus (*c.* 1076-89), exchanged polemical correspondence—but also gifts—with anti-pope Clement III (Guibert of Ravenna).[23] There is no reason to think, however, that such contacts implied canonical or doctrinal independence from the patriarchate of Constantinople.[24] Following Greek practice, bishop Niphon of Novgorod (1130-56) ordained that Latin converts to Orthodoxy be received through chrismation.[25] The Primary Chronicle, compiled approximately at the same time, also adopted a critical attitude towards Latin sacramental practice (the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist), similar to the Greeks, particularly at the time of Michael Cerularius.

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[21] The only direct attempt to study medieval Russian society with Christian ethics as a criterion is by G. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, particularly I, 228-264 and II, 36-112.

[22] Kartashev, *Ocherki*, 265-6.

[23] Cf. A. Poppe, *Pánstwo i kosiól na Rusi w XI Wieku* (Warsaw, 1968), 169-70.

[24] The view according to which Greek prelates imposed upon "pro-Western" Russians an antipapal attitude (cf. A. I. Sobolevsky, "Otnoshenie drevnei Rusi k razdeleniyu tserkvei," *St Petersburg, Akademiya nauk, Isvestiya, IV seriya, VIII* (1914), no. 2, 95-102; N. de Baumgarten,

Occasionally, ecclesiastical loyalty to Byzantium was undermined by the requirements of the princely struggles for supremacy. Standing above local politics, the Greek metropolitans of Kiev were often able to mediate between competing princes. This was the case with metropolitan Michael, who arrived in Kiev in 1130, and was (for a time) successful in bringing about peace between two pretenders to the Kievan throne. But in 1146, while the metropolitan was absent in Constantinople, prince Izyaslav Mstislavich usurped the position of Kievan prince. Against the opposition of three bishops, led by Niphon of Novgorod, Mstislav obtained from a council of six other bishops—a majority of the Russian episcopate—the election and consecration of an ascetic monk, Clement, known as Smolyatich,[26] as metropolitan of Kiev, without the canonical sanction of Constantinople. Niphon, a defender of Constantinople's rights, was imprisoned. There is no doubt that Izyaslav and his party were aware of precedents, particularly in Bulgaria, when independent churches were established through direct challenge to the patriarchate.[27] The struggle lasted for seventeen years, with the younger son of Vladimir Monomakh, the northern prince Yury (George) Dolgoruky of Suzdal, upholding the rights of Constantinople. Following the death of Izyaslav (1154), the Greek metropolitan Constantine I (1155-9) came to Kiev, annulling all ordinations made by Clement. The latter found refuge in Vladimir-in-Volhynia, and fought against both Constantine and his successor Theodore (1159-62). Eventually, he accepted the idea of obtaining for

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Saint Vladimir et la conversion de la Russie, OCP 27 [1932]; V. Meysztowicz, "L'union de Kiev avec Rome sous Grégoire VII," *Studi Grigoriani* 5 [1956], 83-108) reflects a Western anti-Greek prejudice.

[25] *Otvety* 10, *RIB*, 26. This practice is, if anything, more severe than the one then prevailing in Constantinople, where Theodore Balsamon recommends that Latins be received through confession of faith only (*Responsa et interrogationes Marci, PG* 138:968B). See also above, 98.

[26] It is not known whether the name "Smolyatich" indicates that Clement was originally from Smolensk, or whether this was a family name.

[27] Some historians also point to the case of Hilarion, elected metropolitan by Russian bishops under Yaroslav in 1051. However, no text or other evidence indicates that Constantinople disapproved of this action. Election of metropolitans by the bishops of their province was in conformity with canon law, provided a subsequent confirmation (κῦρος) was given by the patriarch.

himself a confirmation from Byzantium to succeed Theodore. But it was the Greek John IV who was enthroned in Kiev, with the somewhat reluctant consent of prince Rostislav, the brother and successor of Izyaslav.

The role played by Yury Dolgoruky in this struggle for the metropolitan see points to the new role, assumed under his leadership, by the northern principality of Rostov-Suzdal, which was further expanded under Yury's son Andrew Bogolyubsky (1157-74). A disciple and friend of Niphon of Novgorod, Andrew followed his father in his pro-Byzantine line and actively opposed Clement Smolyatich. However, he tried to obtain a substantial favor from Constantinople in return for his help: the erection of a separate metropolitanate in the new capital of his principality, which he was actively rebuilding and developing—Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma. He even promoted the candidacy of a local priest, Theodore, who, in advance of his elevation, acted as metropolitan-elect in Vladimir. The prince's request was met with a blunt rejection, which came in the form of a letter of patriarch Lucas Chrysoberges (1157-69/70): the principality of Rostov-Suzdal was not a separate country, and its bishop had to be subject to the metropolitan of the country's capital, Kiev. Furthermore, the patriarch reaffirmed the virtues of celibacy (Andrew's candidate Theodore was married[28]) and the discipline of fasting (Theodore seemed to have a relaxed view on the matter).[29] Not only was Theodore abandoned by his sponsor, prince Andrew, but he was brought to Kiev and subjected, by order of the Greek metropolitan Constantine, to punishments used in Byzantium for heretics and blasphemers: they included blinding, amputation of the tongue and the right hand.

But the mishap with Theodore did not prevent Andrew Bogolyubsky from pursuing his plans. The city of Vladimir had, in his view, to replace Kiev as the heir of Byzantium in Russia. Andrew's son Mstislav seized Kiev in 1169, and appointed Andrew's brother Gleb as its prince. The rebuilding of Vladimir continued with the erection of the large and beautiful Dormition cathedral, and of a "Golden Gate" (as in Kiev). The martyr-bishop of Rostov,

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[28] In principle, Byzantine canon law allowed for the election of married men to the episcopate, provided they would separate from their wives and place them in convents at sufficient distance from their diocese (Trullan council, canon 48).

[29] Slavonic version in *RIB* VI, 63-76 (the second half of the letter, which contains the discussion on celibacy and virginity, was interpolated in the seventeenth century). The case has been discussed by historians of the Church of Russia (Makary, Golubinsky, Kartashev) and, more recently, by N. N. Voronin, "Andrei Bogolyubsky i Luka Khorizoverg," *VV* 21 (1962), 29-50; "Zhitie Leontiya Rostovskogo i vizantiisko-russkie otnosheniya vtoroi poloviny XII v," *VV* 23 (1963), 23-46.

Leonty, was formally canonized and his Greek origins were recalled. A new and major feast, that of the Veil (*Pokrov*) of the Virgin, was instituted, reaffirming once more Russia's ties with Byzantium: the feast, set for October 1, celebrated a vision of St Andrew Salos (the "fool-in-Christ," prince Andrew's heavenly patron). According to his *Vita*, Andrew, standing in the church of the Blachernae in Constantinople, saw the Mother of God extending her veil as protection over the city.[30] To this feast Andrew dedicated the palace chapel of Pokrov-on-the-Nerl, a wonder of medieval Russian architecture. The stage was set for Vladimir to replace Kiev as the religious center of Russia. Andrew's younger brother and successor, Vsevolod III, called the "Great Nest" by the Russians (he had at least seven male offspring), continued, during his long reign (1176-1212) to build up the city of Vladimir (e.g., the cathedral of St Demetrius, whose architecture was related to Western Romanesque), and assumed formally the title of "grand-prince." His seniority was recognized by all of Rus, and even the distant southern prince Roman of Galicia addressed him as "father and master."[31]

2. The Church and the Mongol empire (1237-1380)

The thirteenth century was catastrophic for the Orthodox world. In 1204, a Frankish emperor and a Venetian Latin patriarch were enthroned in the imperial city of Constantinople. To many, it must have seemed that the future belonged to an exclusively Latin Christian world, centered in the Roman papacy. But eventually the Orthodox Church showed extraordinary resilience. The ecumenical patriarchate was restored in Nicaea and enjoyed universal recognition in Slavic lands. It returned to Constantinople in 1261. The other catastrophe occurred in Russia: the Mongol armies invaded central Russia in 1237, subdued the grand principality of Vladimir in 1238, and in 1240 burned down Kiev. Moving further west in 1241, the Mongols (or Tatars) conquered Galicia, Hungary and Croatia, and reached the Adriatic in Ragusa. In 1242, however, their leader, khan Batu, grandson of Ghengis Khan, returned to Asia, abandoning control over Europe, Russia excepted.

Following the invasion, the Russian princes kept their previous political status, but their enthronement, in each case, depended now on the approval of the Mongol khan. They had to pay heavy taxes under the threat of new destruction. The power of the khan—whose residence in Saraï on the lower Volga[32] was known as the "Golden Horde"—was decisive in appointing the grand-prince of Vladimir. The princes had to visit the khan personally to obtain his investiture. Since Russia became, in fact, a province of an Asiatic empire, economic, personal and cultural ties with the rest of Europe were reduced. They remained stronger, however, in the case of the southwestern principalities, which succeeded in retaining greater freedom from the Mongols by allying themselves to—or accepting the suzerainty of—Hungary, Poland and the newly developing power of the grand-principality of Lithuania. Novgorod, never directly conquered by the Mongols, remained more open to the West as well because of its trading activities.

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[30] *Pokrov* remains, until today, a very popular Marial feast in Russia, though not in Byzantium. Cf. Th. Spassky "K proiskhozhdeniyu ikony i prazdnika Pokrova," *Pravoslavnaya Mysl'*, 9 (Paris, 1953), 138-151.

[31] *PSRL* 1, col. 419. For a political picture of Russia ca. 1200, see J. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200-1304* (=Longman History of Russia, 2) (London and New York, 1983), 1-21.

In the face of the catastrophe, the Church stood in a greatly privileged position. The Mongol authorities, with a religious tolerance characteristic of their empire, exempted bishops, clergy and monasteries from taxation.[33] This secured the further economic development of church institutions. Furthermore, the metropolitan of Kiev, a prelate appointed from Nicaea and later from Constantinople, was considered by the khans as a privileged representative of a friendly power, which throughout the thirteenth and the fourteenth century promoted commercial exchanges between the Far East and Western Europe.[34] Before the conquest, the Greek metropolitan stood above local political struggles between the Russian princes. Respected as he was by the Tatars, he acquired additional and exclusive powers, since he headed the only administrative structure extending over the whole "land of the Rus'," divided as it was now between territories controlled by the Tatars, the Lithuanians and the Poles. But the new situation added an important ideological and religious problem to his mission. Which was the greater threat to the Church: the Mongol rule, or the advancing challenge of a militant Latin Christendom?

The sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, which soon followed the death of metropolitan Nicephorus II of Kiev, seems to have delayed the appointment of a successor, at least until patriarch Michael IV

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[32] The khanate of Saraï was itself dependent upon the "great khan," residing in Karakorum, and later in Peking.

[33] Cf. particularly S. Hackel, "Under Pressure from the Pagans? The Mongols and the Russian Church," in J. Breck, J. Meyendorff, E. Silk, eds., *The Legacy of St Vladimir* (Crestwood, NY, 1990), 47-56.

[34] There was practically no military confrontations between the Mongols and the Byzantines. Quite to the contrary, the Mongol empire, by constantly threatening the Turks from the rear, contributed to a prolonged Byzantine survival.

Autorianus, who was elected in Nicaea (1208). By 1210 the new appointee, Matthew, was already in Kiev and was succeeded by Cyril I and Joseph.[35] The establishment of Latin rule in Byzantium did not seem to have led to any real interruption in the administration of the Church of Russia by the patriarchate. However, in 1240, as the Tatars sacked Kiev, metropolitan Joseph disappeared from the scene,[36] and a new period begins in the history of the metropolitanate. The destroyed capital ceased to be the actual residence of the metropolitan. Only the title of "Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia" was still used by the head of the Church for two more centuries.[37]

The new metropolitan, Cyril II, had been, before his election, the "chancellor" (*pechatnik*) of prince Daniel Romanovich of Galicia (1221-64). The latter had also assumed the prestigious but now somewhat nominal title of "grand-prince of Kiev" (1238-9). The personality of the new metropolitan and the procedure of his appointment were unusual. Not since Hilarion (1051) or the usurper Clement Smolyatich had a Russian occupied the Kievan throne. Now, starting with Cyril II and until 1448, Russians and Greeks would alternate as heads of the metropolitanate. The one or two exceptions to the rule of alternation were caused by exceptional circumstances and will be discussed below. This deliberate policy of maintaining the alternation preserved the administrative control of Byzantium over the Russian Church without making foreign rule too cumbersome.[38]

Grand-prince Daniel of Galicia, who had sponsored Cyril's nomination, was successfully heading a buffer state between the Mongol empire and the West. It seems that the new metropolitan, during his long tenure (1242-1281), understood his policies very well, and continued to be Daniel's trusted advisor. In 1245 he was involved in welcoming a papal legate in Galicia. In 1246, he was the prince's envoy to Hungary, and celebrated there a wedding between Daniel's son Leo and a daughter of the Hungarian king. In 1253, as Daniel accepted the crown of "king of Russia" (*rex Russiae*) from the pope, we hear of no protests of the metropolitan.[39] Meanwhile, the prince also went to Saraï, to pay obeisance to khan Batu (1245-6) and metropolitan Cyril travelled to Nicaea to seek canonical confirmation of his metropolitanate (1248-9).

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[35] Dates and sources, gathered by A. Poppe, in Podskalsky, *op. cit.*, 294-9.

[36] There is no evidence concerning his personal fate: did he die during the burning of Kiev, or did he escape to Nicaea?

[37] For the events that follow, see detailed accounts in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 39 ff.

[38] The policy is specifically described by the Byzantine historian, Nicephorus Gregoras; cf. the discussion by D. Obolensky, "Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow: A Study of Ecclesiastical Relations," *DOP* 11 (1957), 23-78 (repr. in D. Obolensky, *Byzantium and the Slavs. Collected Studies* [London: Variorum, 1971]). Gregoras affirms that the policy went back to Vladimir's times, which is obviously incorrect.

But metropolitan Cyril's vision of his duties was also wider than the immediate interests of his sponsor, grand-prince Daniel Romanovich of Galicia. His responsibility, as he understood it, included the future of the Church in all of "the land of the Rus'," including Novgorod and the grand-principality of Vladimir, the latter being under solid Mongol control. In Novgorod, Orthodoxy was threatened not by the Tatars, but by Western Crusaders—Swedes and the Teutonic knights,[40] who were contributing locally to the great movement eastwards of Latin Christendom in the thirteenth century. Orthodox Novgorod stood exactly on their way. Happily, the young prince of Novgorod, Alexander Yaroslavich (grandson of Vsevolod III of Vladimir) was able to galvanize resistance and to repulse the Swedes on the river Neva (1240) and the knights on Lake Peipus (1242). Having later assumed the grand-principality of Vladimir (1252-63), Alexander adopted a policy of loyalty to the Tatars. Later canonized as St Alexander Nevsky, he typifies the dilemma of Russian Christianity at the time: Western Crusaders, who threatened the faith itself, were seen as more dangerous than the Mongols, who, while being political oppressors, remained religiously tolerant.[41] In his policies, Alexander received the full support of metropolitan Cyril. Travelling to Vladimir (1250), where he celebrated a marriage between Alexander's brother Andrew and a daughter of Daniel, he also visited Novgorod (1251); later he presided at Alexander's funeral (1263), and held in Vladimir an important council of bishops (1274); he died in the north, at Pereyaslavl'-Zalesky (1281). Having in fact, during the second half of his tenure, transferred the center of his activities to the north, Cyril is responsible, more even than his successors, for the new prestige of the Russian northeast, where the Church—under Mongol rule—was relatively prosperous, and where the cultural, religious and military danger coming from the West was less of a threat. These policies of metropolitan Cyril, undoubtedly supported by his ecclesiastical superiors in Nicaea and, after 1261, in Constantinople, did not imply a blind opposition to the West. Not only did he continue his contacts with the court of Galicia, where Daniel was succeeded by his son Lev in 1264, but in 1276 Cyril's suffragan, bishop Theognostus of Saraï, was sent to Constantinople as envoy of the metropolitan and the khan, for diplomatic business. He returned with canonical answers of the patriarchal synod concerning issues of interest to the Russians: no mention is made in the sources of two facts that, in 1276, the patriarchal synod was presided by John Beccus, a supporter of the Union of Lyons with Rome (1274), and that the Church of Constantinople was in the throes of controversy and internal schisms.[42]

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[39] One remembers that contemporary Bulgarian and Serbian Orthodox rulers were also receiving crowns of kingship from Rome. As a political gesture, the crowning did not signify on their part an acceptance of the Latin faith, but a symbolic integration into the Western political system. See above, 215-16.

[40] German settlements in the Baltic states, populated originally by pagan Lithuanians, Letts and Ests, began in 1198, with the founding of the city of Riga by bishop Albert from Bremen (cf. B. Gregel-Waitschies, *Bishof Albert von Riga. Ein Brenner Domherr als Kirchfürst im Osten* [Hamburg, 1958]). The settlement was reinforced by Livonian knights, who came to convert the Lithuanians by force, but failed, and settled in Latvia and Estonia. The Russian city of Yuriev became the seat of a German bishop (cf. E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525* [Minneapolis, MN, 1980], 89-109).

[41] The fame of St Alexander Nevsky as a national hero was enhanced when Peter the Great built his new capital, St Petersburg, on the traditional spot of Alexander's victory over the Swedes. Some modern historians, however, are critical of Alexander's record, particularly in regard to his cooperation with Tatar authorities (cf. for instance, J. Fennell, *op. cit.*, 97-121).

Cyril's successor, the Greek metropolitan Maximus, travelled personally to the Golden Horde—Saraï—in 1283, and in 1300 formally transferred his permanent residence to Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma,[43] where he died in 1305.

The moves made by metropolitan Cyril and, even more decisively, by Maximus, were aimed at securing the future of the Church by allying it firmly with the northern grand-principality of Vladimir. However, these same moves were understandably unwelcome to the princes of the southwest, whose policies were based on Western alliances—not on Mongol protection. Throughout the fourteenth century, they would struggle for the return of the metropolitan's see to Kiev or, as a second-best solution, the establishment of separate metropolitans, directly under Constantinople, in the southwest. In most cases, they were rebuked for this by the Byzantine patriarchate, which consistently supported the policies of the north. Only occasionally political circumstances allowed for the emergence of separate metropolitan sees in Galicia and later in Lithuania. Reflecting this polarization, the Greek sources of the period give a list of nine dioceses permanently belonging to what they called "Great Russia" (Μεγάλη Ῥωσία): Vladimir, Novgorod, Rostov,

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[42] *PSRL* X (Moscow, 1965), 157; the synodal "answers" brought back by Theognostus, in *RIB*, suppl. no.1, cols. 1-12 (Greek text); *RIB* no. 12, cols. 129-140 (ancient Slavic text). The establishment of an Orthodox diocese in Saraï (1261), the very residence of the Tatar khan (*PSRL* I, Moscow, 1962, col. 476) is, in itself, significant of the role of the Church in Mongol-dominated Russia.

[43] *PSRL* I (Moscow, 1962), col. 485.

Suzdal, Saraï, Ryazan', Tver, Kolomna and Perm'. Six dioceses were part of the territory of "Little Russia" (Μικρὰ Ῥωσία): Halich, Vladimir-in-Volhynia, Peremyshl', Lutsk, Turov and Kholm. The dioceses of Peryaslavl' and Belgorod existed intermittently, whereas that of Yur'ev (ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος εἰς τὸν Ῥῶσιν ποταμόν) disappeared. The dioceses of Chernigov, Polotsk and Smolensk shifted from one group to another in accordance with the changes in the borders of the Lithuanian grand-principality.[44]

Always listed in the "great Russian" group, the diocese of Novgorod occupied a special position. Since the twelfth century, its incumbent used the title of "archbishop," which would normally in Greek usage have implied his independence from the metropolitan and his direct dependence upon the patriarch. However, the metropolitans of Kiev succeeded in preventing the establishment of "autocephaly" in Novgorod, but they had to accept local popular elections of the archbishop before his consecration by the metropolitan. Theognostus also granted the archbishop the right to wear a *polystavrion*, or special *phelonion* (chasuble).

During the tenure of metropolitan Maximus, following his permanent installation in Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma, grand-prince Yury I of Galicia (1301-8) obtained from patriarch Athanasius I the appointment of Niphon as the first "metropolitan of Galicia." After the death of Maximus, Yury put forward the candidacy of a Galician abbot, Peter, to replace Niphon. The decision of the patriarchate is interesting: instead of appointing Peter to the see of "Galicia," it named him as sole "metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia," rejecting the candidacy for that position of one Geronty, put forward by the grand-prince of Vladimir, Michael of Tver. So the metropolitanate was, once again, reunited. Sources mention, between 1325 and 1347, two other metropolitans of Galicia, Gabriel and Theodore, but their tenures were brief. "The bishop of Galicia," a Greek source states, "received the honor of the metropolitanate many times, but he was again demoted to the rank of bishop by the power of the metropolitan of Russia."[45]

A similar decision to create a metropolitan "of the Lithuanians" (ὁ Λιτβάδων) with residence in Nowogrodek and with suffragans in Polotsk and Turov, was taken in 1315-1330 under the sponsorship of grand-prince Gedymin of Lithuania, a pagan, whose growing power was overtaking several western principalities of the former Kievan realm. But the see was suppressed by 1330, and the dioceses returned to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan "of all Russia."

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[44] Cf. particularly H. Gelzer, "Beiträge zur russischen Kirchengeschichte aus griechischen Quellen," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 13 (1892), 264-81; and Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 78.

[45] H. Gelzer, *op. cit.*, 261.

Arriving in northern Russia in 1309, metropolitan Peter was immediately involved in a political struggle for supremacy in Russia between rival claimants. The struggle would continue throughout the fourteenth century and involve Peter's successors as well. In principle, the position of "grand-prince of Vladimir" went to the senior member of the princely dynasty, who would keep his own appanage, but would govern the city of Vladimir as well, as a sign of his grand-princely dignity. In practice, however, the powerful Mongol khans Tokhta (1290-1312) and Uzbek (1312-42) bestowed the dignity upon their favorite, even without seniority rights. The main competition was between the princes of Tver and those of the initially quite obscure city of Moscow, the appanage of prince Daniel, a younger son of Alexander Nevsky, and later of Daniel's son, Ivan I Kalita. The struggle showed Moscow's shrewd ability to win the Tatar's favor, and therefore the grand-principality, not only on grounds of seniority, but as a hereditary privilege of the prince of Moscow. On a larger scale, a further and more decisive competition took place between the princes of Moscow and the grand-prince Olgerd, or Algirdas of Lithuania (1345-77), son of Gedymin. A pagan as his father was, Olgerd would extend his domains over Russian territories from the Baltic to the Black seas, including the prestigious city of Kiev. His avowed goal was to free Russia from Mongol rule and assume the legacy of the ancient Kievan princes. To reach that goal he was ready to embrace Orthodox Christianity, which was already the religion of his two successive wives (who were Russian princesses), of all his numerous children, and of the vast majority of his subjects.

In the circumstances, the Church was actually holding the trump card: the real center of the country had to be the metropolitan's residence, since that prelate controlled the only administrative structure covering Moscow, Novgorod, Kiev, Vilna (the Lithuanian capital) and distant Galicia. He was, in addition, a representative of Byzantium and a religious official respected by the Tatar khans.

Metropolitan Peter's historical role consisted primarily in the deliberate choice as his residence not even of ancient Vladimir, but of Moscow. Strongly challenged by Michael of Tver, he befriended prince Ivan I Kalita of Moscow, who built for him a stone cathedral of the Dormition. Peter died in Moscow and was buried in that cathedral in 1326.

The established order required that his successor be a Greek, Theognostus (1328-53). A prelate with close connections in Constantinople and a correspondent of Nicephorus Gregoras, Theognostus continued pro-Muscovite policies, and was clearly supported in these by the court and the patriarchate in Byzantium. As head of the church, he still preserved the title of "metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia," although he resided in Moscow. Personally administering the two dioceses of Kiev and Vladimir, he also exercised canonical control over the ecclesiastical establishment of the two "grand-princely" capitals: Moscow and Vilna. Theognostus travelled repeatedly to the Golden Horde, to Novgorod and to Lithuania. With his connections in Constantinople, he was successful in suppressing attempts at establishing separate metropolitanates in Galicia (conquered by Poland in 1349) and in Lithuania.

Before his death (1353), he personally arranged his succession in the person of a Russian, Alexis, whom he had consecrated as bishop of Vladimir (1352). However, in these same years, Moscow's leadership was strongly challenged by Olgerd of Lithuania. In 1352, the Lithuanian grand-prince strongly demanded from the patriarchate that the seat of the metropolitanate be returned to Kiev, and even sent his candidate, Theodoret, to Constantinople for consecration. Facing a rebuke, he took the unusual step of having Theodoret ordained by the Bulgarian patriarch of Trnovo. Understandably, Theodoret was labelled a schismatic in Constantinople and in Moscow. Upon the death of Theognostus, political confusion in Constantinople—and strong political and financial pressures from both Moscow and Vilna—led to the almost simultaneous (1354-5) consecration, in the Byzantine capital, of two metropolitans: Alexis (the candidate nominated by Theognostus) and Roman, pushed forward by Olgerd. Both claimed the see of Kiev as Theodoret was abandoned by his sponsor, Olgerd.[46] These serious administrative inconsistencies by a weakened Byzantium and a patriarchate engulfed in internal strife would prove to be quite harmful to Byzantium's prestige in Russia. Its further consequences will be seen below.

Metropolitan Alexis, an experienced, respected and able prelate (1354-70), continued the policies of his predecessors Peter and Theognostus. His prestige at the Golden Horde was enhanced by his visit there, during which he healed the influential widow of khan Uzbek, Taidul, from her sickness (1357). His influence in Byzantium led to the unification of the metropoli-

[46] On these episodes, see Meyendorff, "Alexis and Roman: A Study in Byzantine-Russian Relations (1352-1354)," *BS* 28 (1967), 2, 278-88 (repr. in *SVQ* 11 [1967], 3, 139-48); cf. also *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 164-170.

tanate, under his sole rule, following the death of Roman (1362). Since 1360, however, his ability to administer the western dioceses, located within the domains of Olgerd and of King Casimir the Great of Poland, were greatly limited by the fact that he had become the *de facto* regent of the Moscow government, during the minority of grand-prince Dimitri. In fact, the metropolitan held the ultimate responsibility for the political and military struggle against advancing Lithuanians, and was not welcome in western regions at all, where he was seen as an ally of the Tatars. Nevertheless, patriarch Philotheus continued to give his full support,[47] at least until 1370 when two stern protests, coming from Casimir of Poland and Olgerd of Lithuania respectively, were sent to Constantinople. Casimir even threatened forcibly to convert the Galicians to Roman Catholicism.[48] Faced with an emergency situation, Philotheus reestablished a separate metropolitanate in Galicia (1371), and called on Alexis to exercise more even-handedness towards Olgerd and his Orthodox subjects.[49] In 1375, he also consecrated a man of his immediate entourage, the learned Bulgarian monk Cyprian, as metropolitan in Lithuania. He made sure, however, that this consecration would not lead to a lasting division of the metropolitanate: Cyprian received the right to succeed Alexis. Upon his arrival in Kiev in 1376, he restored order and the prestige of the metropolitanate in territories controlled by Lithuania.

The main protagonists of these dramatic events disappeared fairly soon. Patriarch Philotheus was deposed by emperor Andronicus IV in 1376. Olgerd died in 1377, and was succeeded by his son, Jagiello. The death of Alexis, which occurred in 1378, opened up a prolonged crisis in the Russian Church. Political events in Russia and instability in Byzantium were responsible for the crisis. It came at a period when the Mongol grip over Russia was weakened by inner struggles within the Golden Horde. Cyprian—the first metropolitan of the period who never travelled to the Horde—saw the future in a unity of Christian forces, including Moscow and Lithuania (grand-prince Jagiello was an Orthodox Christian), able to resist the Tatar yoke.

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[47] Cf. the Engl. tr. of the patriarch's letters to the Western princes, subjects of Olgerd, supporting Alexis in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 283-6. It is at that time that three Orthodox young men who, at the court of Olgerd, refused to conform to his pagan ways and were executed by him in 1347, were canonized as martyrs by metropolitan Alexis and patriarch Philotheus (1374). The effect of the canonization was to discredit Olgerd as a potential leader of Orthodox Russia; cf. J. Meyendorff, "Byzantium, Moscow and Lithuania in the Fourteenth Century: The Three Lithuanian Martyrs in Literature and Iconography," *Eikon und Logos* (Festchrift Onasch) (Halle, 1981), 179-97 (repr. *SVQ* 26 [1982], 1, 29-44).

[48] Engl. tr. of both documents in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 287-9.

[49] Letter to Alexis, Engl. tr. *ibid.* 290-1.

However, grand-prince Dimitri and his entourage of the moment saw it otherwise. They opted for the old Muscovite solution: loyalty to the Tatars. Upon his arrival in Moscow, Cyprian was arrested, then forcibly expelled.[50] He received no support from Constantinople, where a pro-Genoese (and pro-Tatar) government was in power at the moment.

To fill the metropolitanate, Dimitri had a candidate: a Russian priest named Michael Mityai. He was sent to Constantinople, but died on the way, aboard his ship. The name of a member of his entourage, the archimandrite Pimen, was substituted for his on the letters of nomination, and Pimen was consecrated metropolitan, with jurisdiction in Moscow-dominated territories,[51] since Cyprian kept control of the Lithuanian-held dioceses.

Meanwhile, Muscovite policies were suddenly reversed. Faced with a direct menace from khan Mamai, Dimitri—advised by St Sergius—decided to resist and, in 1380, won the first major military victory ever by Russian forces over the Mongols—in the battle of Kulikovo by the river Don. Pimen had not yet returned from Constantinople to assume the metropolitan's seat. But in the new situation, not he but Cyprian was the man most acceptable to the grand-prince. So Cyprian, summoned from Kiev, was met solemnly by Dimitri in Moscow (1381).

Unfortunately, this moral vindication of Cyprian did not last. A destructive return of Mongol forces, headed by khan Tokhtamysh, led to the sack of Moscow (1382). Cyprian fled again. Dimitri, seeing the policy of submissiveness vindicated, called Pimen back from exile. The following years were full of intrigues and plots, both in Russia and in Byzantium, as Lithuania took a drastic political turn westwards. In 1386, Jagiello married Jadwiga, queen of Poland, and was baptized a Roman Catholic, ending the Lithuanian princes' claim to act as heirs to the Kievan Orthodox legacy. But at the same time, the Tatar power continued to wane. Metropolitan Cyprian kept good relations with the authorities in Lithuania, and continued to work for an anti-Tatar alliance. The power and legitimacy of metropolitan Pimen were challenged both in Russia and in Constantinople, following the election in 1388 of patriarch Anthony, who favored the policies of patriarch Philotheus. That same year, Pimen undertook a voyage to Constantinople to defend his

[50] Cf. his own account of the events in a letter to St Sergius of Radonezh, Engl. tr. *ibid.*, 293-9.

[51] This consecration of Pimen, a Russian and a Muscovite candidate as successor of Alexis, was breaking the policy of alternation between Greek and Russian metropolitans, which was practiced by the patriarchate. Cyprian, a Bulgarian who had been an official of the patriarchate, could be considered as a normal appointee.

position, but was deposed, and died in Chalcedon in 1389. The way was now open for Cyprian's full restoration. On March 6, 1390, he was solemnly received in Moscow as metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, by the grand-prince Basil I, the son of Dimitri. All the western dioceses, including Galicia, were reunited again in the one metropolitanate.

3. St Sergius and his monks; Metropolitan Cyprian and the universal vision revived.

Following the catastrophes of the thirteenth century, the entire Byzantine Orthodox world witnessed a remarkable revival of monastic life and monastic spirituality. To begin with, the liturgical *Typicon* of the monastery of St Sabbas of Palestine was adopted in the Greek and Slavic lands. Then, monks from Mount Sinai contributed to the revival of hesychasm on Mount Athos and the Balkans. Although some intellectuals in Constantinople thought in terms of restored Hellenic universalism (many of them later ended as refugees in Italy), the popular majority sided with the leaders of Athonite monasticism, and, in 1347 and 1357, gained the upper hand in the patriarchate itself, with the victory of Palamism.

The extraordinary growth of monasticism in northern Russia was certainly determined by local conditions, but it was also closely linked to Byzantine hesychasm. Many sought refuge in monasteries, as the country was despoiled by the Tatars. Monastic communities were seen as spiritual havens, but they were also centers of greater economic stability, being tax-exempt and generally respected by the invaders. Innumerable translated texts of hesychast literature found their way northwards. Russian monks lived on Mount Athos and in Constantinople, and kept in touch with their mother-country by welcoming visiting pilgrims in great numbers. Greek artists found work in Novgorod, Moscow and Vladimir, and trained talented Russian pupils.

During the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth, over one hundred and fifty new monasteries were founded in northern Russia.[52] Sometimes compared to the western Cistercians in their building and organizational zeal, Russian monks contributed to the development of the Russian north. Communities newly established in the forest would attract not only new members, but also peasant manpower. Land cultivation would begin, while the original founder, or his disciples, left to

[52] For surveys and analysis, see I. Smolitsch, *Russiches Mönchtum. Enstehung, Entwicklung und Wesen, 988-1917* (Würzburg, 1953), 79-100; G. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, II, 195-264. For the Palamite victory and the hesychast movement, see the preceding chapter.

create new settlements in the wilderness. Pagan Finnish tribes, who lived in the forests, would accept Christianity. Princely patronage would transform modest hermitages into wealthy communities, supporting hospices and schools. But this process faced a built-in problem: was material development the original goal of monastic life? Many monks thought that it was not, and chose to preserve the eremitic tradition of poverty and prayer. They were known as the "elders from beyond the Volga" (*Zavolzhtsy*).

The outstanding personality of St Sergius of Radonezh (*c.* 1314-92) stands at the very center of the Russian monastic revival. His extraordinarily balanced approach to monasticism always maintained the spiritual priorities inherited from the hesychast tradition, St Sergius also showed organizational skill and concerns for the life of society at large. Having founded a monastic community dedicated to the Holy Trinity in the forest not far from his native town of Radonezh, to the northeast of Moscow, he became, directly or indirectly, the spiritual father of the innumerable communities which are sometimes referred to as "the Thebaid of the north."[53] Originally, eremitic hesychasm was Sergius' ideal, but eventually, as his contemporary biographer Epiphanius "the Wise" reports,[54] he received a letter from patriarch Philotheus of Constantinople, the disciple of St Gregory Palamas and the patron of hesychasm in Byzantium, recommending the establishment of a ***koinobion***, or disciplined liturgical community, at Holy Trinity. The episode illustrates not only the close contacts which existed between leaders of monastic spirituality, but also the universality of the Athonite model, which combined the "eremitic" and "cenobitic" types of monastic life. Closely connected with metropolitan Alexis and the court of the Muscovite grand-prince, St Sergius, however, did not support Muscovite policies blindly. Metropolitan Cyprian—even before his arrival in Moscow—considered him a friend and corresponded with him.[55] Sergius also strongly supported grand-prince Dimitri's resistance to the Tatars, blessing him before the battle in 1380.

If monks, disciples of St Sergius, were active in developing the forests of the north and in bringing local tribes to Christianity, they also undertook educational tasks. A contemporary of Sergius, St Stephen of Perm' (1340-96), was able to learn the Greek language in Rostov—whose bishop was probably a Greek—and to consecrate his life to a translation of biblical and liturgical texts into the language of the Zyrians, a Finnish people living in the region of Perm'. Stephen—a disciple and follower of Sts Cyril and Methodius—was eventually, in 1383, consecrated as the first bishop of Perm' by metropolitan Pimen.[56] His example was followed by many Russian missionaries of later centuries.

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[53] The term refers to the numerous monastic communities settled since the fourth century in the desert of Thebes in Egypt.

[54] Epiphanius was the author of the *Life* of St Sergius, which is one of the important literary documents of the age; cf. a shortened Engl. tr. in G. P. Fedotov, *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality* (New York, 1950) (Harper Torchbooks, NY, 1965), 54-83. On St Sergius, see also Fedotov's *Religious Mind* II, 195-229.

[55] Cf. Engl. tr. of Cyprian's letters (1378) in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 292-9.

When Cyprian finally became the unchallenged incumbent of the metropolitanate of Kiev and all Russia, he found that the achievements of men like St Sergius and St Stephen had prepared the ground for his peaceful tenure of sixteen years (1390-1406). In spite of all the struggles which had taken place throughout the fourteenth century, Cyprian was now able to keep unity in a metropolitanate whose flock was politically divided between Muscovy, Lithuania and Poland. The old concept of a "land of the Rus'," including the entire realm of ancient Kiev, was kept alive by the Church, as long as Cyprian was at the helm. Indeed, it was in the name of local Muscovite provincialism, which considered that the borders of Rus' coincided with those of Muscovy, that grand-prince Dimitri had rejected Cyprian and supported the first "Great Russian" metropolitan,[57] Pimen. However, Cyprian had always—even when he resided in Lithuanian territory—acknowledged the primacy of the grand-prince of Moscow.[58] He never departed from the policies inaugurated by the metropolitans in the thirteenth century, and expressed his views by writing a semi-autobiographic *Life* of his predecessor, St Peter, in which he compared Peter's struggles for his rights in Moscow and Constantinople with his own. He asserted himself very strongly as the sole, or "catholic" metropolitan (μητροπολίτης καθολικός) of Russia, restoring fully the situation which existed at the time of Theognostus, gradually suppressing centrifugal tendencies not only in Lithuania and Galicia, but also in Novgorod and Suzdal. In 1395, he solemnly transferred to Moscow the icon of the "Virgin of Vladimir," and the people attributed to its presence the unexpected withdrawal of the menacing armies of Tamerlane. Also symbolic of his ideological position was the canonization of Alexander Nevsky, the ancestor of the Muscovite princes;[59] he knew that Alexander's record as a vanquisher of the Teutonic knights was likely to be popular in Lithuania, where confrontation with the knights remained an even more immediate concern than in Moscow.

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[56] This involvement of Pimen indicates that the chaotic events which were occurring within the leadership of the metropolitanate was often ignored "in the field." The Life of St Stephen of Perm' was written by Epiphanius the Wise, biographer of St Sergius (ed. E V. Druzhinin [Moscow, 1897]; reprt. D. Čiževskij, *Zhitie sv. Stefana episcopa Permskogo* [Apophoreta Slavica II] 's-Gravenhage, 1959); cf. Fedotov, *Religious Mind* II, 230-245.

[57] Cf. G. M. Prokhorov, *Povest' o Mityae, Rus' i vizantiya v epokhu kulikovskoi bitvy* (Leningrad, 1978), 100-1.

[58] Even in Lithuania he mentioned Dimitri first in the liturgy among Orthodox civil authorities (*Letter to St Sergius, RIB* col. 181, Engl. tr. in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 297).

His policy of promoting unity was facilitated by his long-standing personal relationship with king Jagiello of Poland. Even the patriarchate in Constantinople was aware of the fact that the Polish king was a "great friend" of Cyprian.[60] The metropolitan also succeeded in remaining in great favor with grand-prince Vitovt (Witold, Vytautas) of Lithuania, Jagiello's cousin and vassal, and even arranged for the marriage of Basil of Moscow with Vitovt's daughter Sophia (1391). These connections were not broken, even when Jagiello and Vitovt were converted (through a "second" baptism) from Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism in 1386.[61] Thus, Cyprian remained in a position to administer freely the numerous Orthodox population, which was now subject to the Roman Catholic Polish monarchy. Since his arrival in Moscow in 1390, he did not travel even once to the Golden Horde—as his immediate predecessors had to do—or to Constantinople, but he made two long stays in Lithuania. In 1396 he took part in a meeting in Lithuanian-occupied Smolensk between Vitovt and grand-prince Basil Dimitrievich of Moscow; in 1405 he was for a week a guest of Jagiello. On both of these visits he presided over episcopal consecrations for vacant Orthodox dioceses.

In 1396-7, he was faced with a confused situation in Galicia. The see of the "metropolitanate of Galicia," established in 1371, was vacant since 1391. A Latin bishopric was already established in Halich in 1375. But the place was important not only because it represented the only Orthodox center in territories which were directly under the Polish crown, and therefore more immediately hard-pressed by the Latin Church, but also because the political situation allowed the metropolitan to consecrate bishops in neighboring Mavrovlachia and Moldavia.[62] Because of his ties with Jagiello, Cyprian thought himself—perhaps rightly—to be in a position to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs in both Galicia and Moldavia. He was faced with the challenge of a local usurper of the "metropolitanate of Galicia," John Baba, who—although rejected by the patriarchate—had received the support of the king before Cyprian made his first visitation to the region. Like his predecessors, Cyprian saw no need for the metropolitanate at all, and, since Constantinople faced difficulties in administering the Romanian principalities, he offered his services to carry out these functions himself. He earned a rebuke from patriarch Anthony, who reaffirmed that both Galicia and "Mavrovlachia" were metropolitanates directly administered from Constantinople.[63] Such an administration was soon reestablished in Mavrovlachia, but not in Galicia-Volhynia, where Cyprian consecrated a bishop of Lutsk (1396), and affirmed his own jurisdiction *de facto*.

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[59] Meyendorff, *op. cit.*, 225.

[60] *φίλος σου πολύς 'εστὶν ὁ κράλης*, *Letter of patriarch Anthony to Cyprian (1397)*, *MM* 2:283.

[61] Cf. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 242-3.

[62] On this situation, see above, 263-68.

The extraordinary prestige and influence which Cyprian was able to acquire in the last years of his tenure led him to engage in an even more ambitious project: the organization "in Russia"—i.e. its parts which were under Polish-Lithuanian rule—of an ecumenical council for the reunion of the churches. The idea that such a reunion required a council was a view promoted in Byzantium by conservative Orthodox circles, which included Cyprian's mentor, patriarch Philotheus.[64] Perhaps unrealistically, he envisaged, as the result of a council, a union of East and West within the one Orthodox faith. Cyprian's idea was not, therefore, a revolutionary one. In 1396, when he made it—with the agreement and cooperation of king Jagiello—Byzantium seemed about to breathe its last. Christian forces had suffered a crushing defeat in Nicopolis (1396), and sultan Bayezid began a siege of Constantinople. The metropolitan may well have thought that his project was a last chance for a Christian recovery. A country with a Roman Catholic king and a large Orthodox population—as Poland-Lithuania was under king Jagiello—would be seen as a natural place for a successful council. But patriarch Anthony rejected the idea of a council in Russia. However, he encouraged Cyprian to use his influence to organize a new Western crusade against the advancing Turks.[65]

Although he may have been occasionally annoyed with patriarch Anthony's reluctance to support all his moves, metropolitan Cyprian always remained loyal to the traditional Byzantine ideology which considered the Orthodox world as a "commonwealth" of nations, under the by then only symbolic leadership of the emperor of Constantinople. This ideology was the one which made his own position tenable as the head of a church which covered a politically divided land. Thus he insisted on mentioning the name of the emperor of Byzantium in the liturgy. While in Poland-Lithuania, he actually could not mention any other civil authority, since the liturgical commemoration of a Roman Catholic king would not be acceptable to the Orthodox, nor could he commemorate the grand-prince of Moscow. In Muscovy, his policy provoked a reaction of grand-prince Basil: "We have a church," wrote Basil to Cyprian's superior, the patriarch, "but we have no emperor, nor do we reckon one." The often-quoted answer of patriarch Anthony (1393) reminded Basil that the emperor "is anointed with the great chrism[66] and is elected emperor and autocrator of the Romans, that is of all Christians; and in every place and by every patriarch, metropolitan and bishop the name of the emperor is commemorated wherever there are Christians...For Christians it is not possible to have a Church and not to have an emperor, for the empire and the church have a great unity and community, and it is impossible to separate them. Christians reject only the heretical emperors, but [at present] the most powerful and holy emperor [Manuel II Palaeologus] is, by the grace of God, quite orthodox, and very faithful; he is the champion and defender [δεφένστωρ] and advocate of the Church, and no bishop can abstain from mentioning him."[67]

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[63] *MM* 2:283-4.

[64] The ex-emperor John Cantacuzenus had offered a plan of this sort to a papal legate in 1367, and patriarch Philotheus had started to implement it even then. The metropolitan of Russia was specifically mentioned as a desirable participant. The project was rejected by Rome (cf. J. Meyendorff, "Projets de concile ecuménique en 1367," *DOP* 14 [1960], 147-77). See below, 382-3.

[65] *Letters to Jagiello and to Cyprian, MM* 2:280-2, 282-5.

Whether Cyprian himself introduced the imperial commemoration, or whether he was only insisting on an existing practice which Basil sought to discard,[68] the answer of the patriarch was clear enough: the Russians were told that unless the emperor was a heretic, his universal power and prestige in the Church could not be challenged. They learned the lesson well, and applied it when the emperor and the patriarch would "betray the faith" at the council of Florence.

A great diplomat, metropolitan Cyprian was also a talented writer and a copyist of patristic manuscripts. Under his sponsorship, a compilation (*svod*) of chronicles—each composed locally and reflecting the concerns of a particular principality—was prepared at the metropolitan's court. The compilation was completed two years after his death (1408), and is known as the *Troitskaya Letopis'*.[69] It envisages the entire legacy of Vladimir and Yaroslav as the history of a single nation, and thus reflects exactly the vision of the metropolitan himself: the metropolitanate of Russia is one, and is part of the Byzantine Orthodox *oikoumene*, centered in Constantinople.[70]

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[66] The anointment of the emperors with chrism at their coronation was not part of the older Byzantine practice. It was introduced in Nicaea to emulate the Latin emperors (cf. G. Ostrogorsky "Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung in spätbyzantinischen krönungceremoniell," *Historia* 4 [1955], 246-56).

[67] *MM* 2:188-92. See also above, 308-10.

[68] The issue cannot be solved without a full study of the manuscript tradition of Slavic liturgical books. In my opinion, the present available evidence makes it probable that Cyprian introduced the commemoration of the emperor, and that it is his innovation which provoked the grand-prince's reaction (*Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 255-6).

Politically centrifugal trends appeared again after metropolitan Cyprian's death in 1406. In spite of the relationship through marriage of the grand-princes of Moscow and Lithuania, competition for the control of the various principalities, and for influence in Novgorod, continued. Vitovt tried to present his own candidate for the metropolitanate, the Greek bishop of Plotsk, Theodosius, but the patriarchate remained faithful to the policies which required the metropolitan to reside in Moscow, and appointed another Greek, Photius (1408-31), a distinguished, strong personality, who endeavored to continue the policies of Cyprian. His program is best symbolized by his *sakkos*, or solemn episcopal vestment, upon which, under a majestic figure of Christ, were embroidered the figures of emperor John VIII Palaeologus and his first wife Anne, the daughter of Basil I of Moscow, as well as the portraits of grand-prince Basil and his wife Sophia, Vitovt's daughter. Between the two princely couples, one discerns representations of the three young martyrs, Anthony, John and Eustathius, killed by Olgerd in 1347 and canonized by patriarch Philotheus in 1374, with an inscription: "The Russians" (οἱ Ῥῶσοι).[71] The *sakkos* describes the metropolitan's mission: to keep the Church of Russia within the Byzantine Commonwealth by assuring peace between Moscow and Lithuania. But it was also a reminder of the fact that, in Lithuania, where the princes were either pagan or Roman Catholic, the Orthodox faith was not as secure as in Muscovy, and some of the faithful could even die as martyrs.

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[69] The text was reconstructed by M. D. Priselkov (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950).

[70] The extraordinary figure of St Cyprian deserves more attention than it has received until recently from historians of the Russian Church; see now A. Tachiaos, *Ἐπιδράσεις τοῦ ἡσυχασμοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν πολιτικὴν ἐν Ρωρία,* (Thessaloniki, 1962); G. M. Prokhorov, *Povest' o Mityae;* and especially D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 173-200; cf. also the detailed discussion of his ecclesiastical policies in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 226-260.

[71] The *sakkos* is now kept in the Armory of the Moscow Kremlin (cf. A. V. Bank, *Vizantiiskoe iskusstvo v sobraniakh sovetskogo soyuza* [Leningrad-Moscow, 1965]; Engl. tr. by I. Sorokina, Leningrad, 1977, plates 300-4 and 329); cf. Meyendorff's study of the cult of the three martyrs, quoted above, note 47.

Metropolitan Photius remained faithful to that mandate. He visited Lithuania and Polish-occupied Galicia repeatedly (in 1408, 1412, 1420-1, 1423, 1427 and 1430), but soon after his arrival in Moscow, he faced a serious revolt, sponsored by Vitovt, which may have been provoked by Photius' energetic measures in the field of church taxation and fund-raising. But much more threatening actions were also taken by the leaders of the revolt; eight bishops of the Polish-Lithuanian territories—including the Greek bishop Theodosius of Plotsk—met as a synod in Novgorodok on November 1415, elected a metropolitan of Kiev and declared themselves an autocephalous church. They specifically invoked the precedent of Clement Smolyatich and, more importantly still, that of the Bulgarians and the Serbs, and quoted the ancient canons of Nicaea, authorizing provinces to elect their own metropolitans. Furthermore, they accused Constantinople of simony and caesaropapism: "The gift of the Holy Spirit is bought and sold," they wrote, "as this was done for the Church of Kiev by the emperor [John V] in our own days in the case of metropolitans Cyprian, Pimen, Dionysius,[72] and many others." Hence they refused to accept Photius who, they claimed, was "appointed for money by an emperor who is a layman, and not by the will of the patriarch and by decision of an authentic apostolic synod." They informed Photius of their decision, calling him "former metropolitan."[73]

The metropolitan elected in Novgorodok, Gregory Tsamblak, was not an unknown person. Although he was not, as many scholars believed, Cyprian's nephew, he was a fellow-Bulgarian, a great admirer of Cyprian, and one of the most prolific and scholarly Slavic rhetoricians and scholars of the fifteenth century.[74] His involvement in the schism was not very much in tune with his literary and scholarly merits, and the accusation of caesaropapism against the Byzantines was somewhat strange, coming from a man who accepted to become the tool of grand-prince Vitovt. The latter's plans, apart from hostility towards both Byzantium and Moscow, involved the Orthodox Church in his lands in the Western conciliarist movement. He made Gregory visit the Council of Constance (1418). In a letter to the council, king Jagiello and Vitovt expressed their readiness to facilitate a union of their Orthodox subjects with the Latin church, in the hope that once such a local union was achieved, all the "Greeks" would follow. To his credit, Tsamblak did not play the game that far. He delivered a conciliatory speech at an audience with pope Martin V, and even kissed his foot, but made it clear that he was not joining any union without the rest of the Eastern Church.[75] In any case he knew that he had been anathematized by metropolitan Photius and deposed and excommunicated by the patriarchal synod of Constantinople.[76] He disappeared from the scene upon his return home (1419), and the authority of Photius was restored in Poland-Lithuania.

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[72] Archbishop Dionysius of Suzdal had been appointed in 1384-5 by the patriarchate as administrator of the metropolitanate during the struggle between Pimen and Cyprian (Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 231-3).

[73] Text of the decision and of the bishops' letter to Photius in *RIB* VI, cols. 309-14.

[74] Cf. G. Prvev, "Konstantskiiat subor (1414-1418) i uchastieto na Grigorii Tsamblak v nego," *Trnovska knizhovna shkola* 2 (Sofia, 1980), 484-513, where earlier literature is quoted.

From Galicia and Muscovy, metropolitan Photius was not in control of all the dioceses. His pastoral letters are an important source for our knowledge of canonical and liturgical regulations enforced in Russia. He also wrote against the *Strigol'niki*, the first known anti-ecclesiastical and anti-institutional sect to appear in the regions of Novgorod and Pskov. Under Photius, the ecclesiastical control of Constantinople over Russia was as strong as ever, and the vision of a united Orthodox world was clearly expressed in the metropolitan's policies. Thanks to the spiritual leadership of men like patriarch Philotheus and metropolitan Cyprian, and the more profound spiritual revival, promoted by the monastic movement, the church survived successfully the Turkish and Mongol onslaughts. This was also the period when Theophanes the Greek and Andrei Rublev were creating their finest work in Novgorod, in Moscow and in Vladimir, and when the literary tradition of late Byzantium—the "weaving of words" (*pletenie sloves*)—was producing its remarkable fruits in Russia. Most of these achievements occurred in the northeast, and no comparable culture was discernible in the southern regions. Those regions previously constituted the heart of Rus', but were by the fifteenth century increasingly dominated by Western cultural trends, setting the stage for the Ukrainian culture of the later centuries.

4. *The Council of Florence and Moscow's self-determination*

In the year when metropolitan Photius died (1431), the negotiations between the embattled leadership of Constantinople, the papacy and the newly-assembled Council of Basel were well advanced. The West had accepted

[75] The visit and actions of Tsamblak in Constance are described in the *Chronicle of the Council of Constance* by Ulrich Richental, in L. R. Loomis, tr., *The Council of Contance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 105, 176-8, and in the *Gesta* of the council by the French cardinal Guillaume Filastre (tr. *op. cit.*, 434-7). On the visit of Gregory to Constance, see also O. Halecki, *From Florence to Brest* (Rome, 1958), 29-31; J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1961), 24-6. See also above, 271.

[76] Texts in *RIB* VI, cols. 315-360.

the idea of a union council, and the Byzantines were bracing themselves for an encounter with the Latins. For political, economic and ecclesiastical reasons, the participation of the powerful metropolitanate of Kiev and all Russia was a prerequisite of success.

If the policy followed since the thirteenth century was to be maintained, it was the turn of a Russian to become metropolitan, and candidates were to be presented by the Russian authorities. Unfortunately for Moscow, two claimants to the grand-princely throne of Vladimir-Moscow were again competing bitterly, and it was only in 1432 that Basil II, son of Basil I Dimitrievich, won his appointment at the Golden Horde. Indeed, the Tatars continued to exercise control of princely appointments, especially in times of internal strife between Russian princes. Returning to Moscow, Basil II had the bishop of Ryazan', Jonas, chosen as metropolitan-elect. But another candidate, sent by the Lithuanian grand-prince Svidrigiello, Gerasim, bishop of Smolensk, was already in Constantinople. He returned as metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia.[77] It is possible that the Greek authorities considered a "Western" Russian metropolitan a better candidate for involvement in the proposed union of the churches. It is not quite clear whether or not Gerasim, who resided in Kiev, was formally recognized in Moscow, but Basil II did not insist on the candidacy of Jonas. But Gerasim did not remain in Kiev for long. He became involved in the bloody battle between Svidrigiello and a rival pretender to the throne of Lithuania, Sigismund, brother of the late Vivovt. As a result, he was publicly burned alive by Svidrigiello (1435), an event which must have further discredited Lithuania as a desirable location for the metropolitan's see of "all Russia."

With the see vacant again, Jonas travelled with great pomp to Constantinople, expecting to receive the appointment this time without further delay. But, as the preparations for the union council were advancing, the Byzantine authorities were making concrete plans to form an authoritative delegation. The credentials of Isidore, the Greek prelate who was appointed metropolitan of Russia instead of Jonas, were strong: well-educated, a disciple, like Bessarion, of the humanist Gemisthos Pletho, and an experienced diplomat, he had already been in Basel (1433) negotiating union. He was sent to Russia to make sure that the metropolitanate would conform to the current stage of Byzantine diplomacy.

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[77] This appointment illustrates the political weakness of Moscow at the time. Dynastic struggles for the grand-principality between Basil II and his cousin, Shemyaka, were continuing, preventing any coherent ecclesiastical policy. Gerasim seems to have been—at least *de facto*—recognized as metropolitan. In 1434 he consecrated Euthemius as archbishop for Novgorod.

The disappointed Jonas had to accompany him on his way to Moscow, where his party arrived on April 2, 1437. His acceptance by the grand-prince and the Muscovite authorities, although he was not the expected nominee, shows that the basic loyalty to Byzantium still prevailed in Russia following the successful tenures of Cyprian and Photius. Isidore did not occupy his see in Moscow for more than five months. His stay is described only in Russian sources composed after the council. They report the alleged reluctance of Basil II to let his metropolitan go to the council, and Isidore's promises to return without betraying the Orthodox faith. In fact, the prince gave full support to the conciliar enterprise. Isidore left for Florence on September 8, 1437, with a suite that included Avraamy, bishop of Suzdal, as well as other clerics, and a personal representative of the prince of Tver.[78] His activities in Ferrara and in Florence were reported back to Moscow together with the council's decisions (discussed in the next chapter) by members of the metropolitan's Russian entourage, who preceded him on the way home. Bishop Avraamy of Suzdal' had signed the conciliar decree, in obedience to his metropolitan, but upon leaving Florence recanted, as many Greek signatories also did.[79] There is no doubt that these and other Greek opponents of the council found a way to make their feelings known to the Russians.

Appointed cardinal of the Roman Church by pope Eugenius IV on December 18, 1439, Isidore also was named papal legate (*legatus a latere*) for Russia. Slowly he proceeded towards his see in Moscow. From spring to fall of 1440, he sojourned in territories belonging to Poland and Lithuania, where a positive welcome could normally be expected. However, the situation in the country was politically and ecclesiastically unstable. Two young sons of Jagiello, aged sixteen and thirteen, occupied the thrones of the king of Poland and the grand-prince of Lithuania, while the Roman Catholic hierarchy favored the council of Basel and the antipope Felix V, and was markedly less enthusiastic for a cardinal of Eugenius IV. Isidore was allowed to celebrate a Byzantine liturgy in the cathedral in Cracow, but the nature of the "union" was not made clear. However, the prince of Kiev Alexander Vladimirovich recognized Isidore as his legitimate metropolitan, and so did, apparently, all the bishops of the metropolitanate. Their attitude towards union was thus, paradoxically, more positive than that of the Poles. Being theologically uninformed, they must have hoped that the "union" of Florence was an acceptable formula for their promotion to social equality within the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy.

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[78] Isidore's travels and activities in Florence are recorded by four Russian sources (cf. analysis in M. Cherniavsky, "The Reception of the Council of Florence in Moscow," *Church History*, 24 [1955], 1, 347-59). The account of the Suzdalian monk Symeon, who accompanied Isidore to the council, is probably the common source of the accounts.

[79] In fact the behavior of the Russian clerics and laymen, who were part of Isidore's staff in Florence, seems to have been somewhat dishonorable, as reported by an intelligent witness, Gennadius Scholarius (cf. texts in I. Ševčenko, "Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence," *Church History* 24 [1955], 1, 307-9). For the council itself, see below, 379f.

But in Moscow things turned out differently. Isidore arrived there on March 19, 1441. He brought with him, in chains, the priest Symeon, a member of his suite, who opposed union. Preceded by a processional cross, made in the Latin manner, he entered the cathedral of the Dormition in the Kremlin and celebrated the liturgy commemorating the pope.

The decree of union was read aloud after the service. This event was followed by four days of negotiations, during which Isidore must have shown his total commitment to the conciliar decrees of the council of Florence. Perhaps the Russians hoped that he would renounce his signature, as so many others did in Constantinople. Eventually, however, the grand-prince, having studied the papal letters, brought by Isidore, as well as the general situation, had Isidore imprisoned. He was eventually allowed to escape with his companion, the deacon Gregory, before being again arrested in Tver. Finally he fled to Italy in 1443, and became a trusted papal legate, dealing with Greek affairs. It is he, in that capacity, who had union proclaimed at St Sophia in Constantinople on December 12, 1452, before being taken prisoner by the Turks during the final assault on the city on May 29, 1453. Escaping again to Rome, he died (1463) as titular patriarch of Constantinople, appointed by the pope.

Meanwhile, in Moscow, the authorities took almost eight years before taking any decisive further step. In a highly respectful letter to the patriarch,[80] the grand-prince emphasized the unusual rejection in 1438 of the candidacy of Jonas, and the appointment of Isidore. Feigning astonishment, he recalled Isidore's arrival with the decree of Florence in his hand, and with letters from the pope "written in Latin and in your Greek letters." "We beg your most holy lordship," he continues, "to examine your holy and divine Greek canons and the aforementioned letter of the pope...and authorize the appointment of a metropolitan to be effected in our own country. The need for a long and difficult voyage, the invasion by the godless Hagarenes of our Christian world, the troubles and conflicts occurring in neighboring countries and the multiplication of powers, are the reasons [for our request].... Furthermore, in cases of necessity, the appointment of metropolitans [by a synod of Russian bishops] had already occurred in the past."[81]

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[80] The text (*RIB* VI, cols. 525-36) does not indicate the name of the patriarch and another manuscript contains the same text addressed to the emperor. The authenticity of the texts containing the correspondence between Moscow and Constantinople in 1441-8 has recently been questioned by Ta. S. Lur'e in D. S. Likhachev, ed., *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti drevnei Rusi*, vyp. 2 (Leningrad, 1988), 420-2. However, whether or not the letters of Basil II were actually sent to the Byzantine authorities in the preserved version, they do reflect the official posture of the Muscovites in 1448, the date of the election of Jonas as metropolitan.

As no reply came from Constantinople, on December 15, 1448 bishop Jonas of Ryazan' was enthroned as "metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia," following a decision of a synod which included the bishops of "Great Russia." The step was taken seven years after the expulsion of Isidore. The general tone and attitude of the synod was quite different from the decision which had been taken by the bishops of the southwest, under Vitovt's sponsorship in 1414. There was no reference to Bulgarian or Serbian precedents for the establishment of national churches separate from Constantinople, and no attack on the church of Constantinople, except indirectly, on the single issue of Isidore. There is no doubt that, at least in the minds of some, a return to the former method of appointing metropolitans, once Orthodoxy was restored in Constantinople, was considered a possibility. There was some local opposition to the election of Jonas, particularly by a severe ascetic, St Paphnutius of Borovsk, who as a result suffered physical punishment at the court of the new metropolitan.[82] But history, and particularly the fall of Constantinople, made the independent election of Jonas in 1448 into a final and irreversible establishment of Russian ecclesiastical independence.

The arguments used by grand-prince Basil and metropolitan Jonas himself to justify the action taken in 1448 underwent a significant evolution, made necessary by circumstances. This is made clear in the few documents that have survived, although numerous personal contacts between Moscow and Constantinople must have also occurred during that period.

In 1448-51 the official position was that the election of Jonas was an emergency decision, made necessary by the actions of Isidore, and set no precedent for the future. To the princes of Poland-Lithuania, Jonas wrote that his installation occurred canonically, in virtue of "the will of the holy emperor [of Constantinople] and the blessing of the ecumenical patriarch." This paradoxical affirmation was based on an alleged promise given to the Russians after the death of metropolitan Photius, that he, Jonas, would succeed him.[83] To prince Alexander Vladimirovich of Kiev, who had recognized Isidore in 1440, Jonas stated that the metropolitan see had been "vacant" since 1431; that this was due to "division and hesitation among emperors and patriarchs," and to "violence from Turks and Latins"; that the pope was commemorated in St Sophia of Constantinople,[84] but that there was opposition to union in all monasteries and churches in Byzantium; that, in such circumstances, it was inevitable that the grand-prince of Moscow supported the independent election of an Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, since precedents for such independent elections had occurred in Kiev[85] (although not in Moscow or Vladimir), and that the patriarchate had approved of the election of Jonas in advance in 1431.[86]

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[81] *Ibid.*, col. 535-6. The last allusion must be a reference to the case of Hilarion and Clement Smolyatich.

[82] Golubinsky, *Istoriya*, II, 1, 490-1.

Remarkably, the election of Jonas as metropolitan of Kiev won recognition not only in Muscovy but also in Poland-Lithuania. King Casimir IV of Poland granted him official investiture, and allowed for the traditional appointment of a metropolitan's vicar in Vilna, receiving in return from Jonas the most effusive thanks.[87] The bishop of Brest, Daniel, had to obtain a formal pardon from Jonas for having accepted consecration by Isidore.

Preserved also is a letter, dated July 1451,[88] of grand-prince Basil to emperor Constantine XI, who had succeeded his brother John in Byzantium (1448). Addressing him with deference as the Orthodox emperor, the Muscovite grand-prince, after recalling again the story of Isidore and the consecration of Jonas, continued: "We beg your holy Majesty not to accuse us of spite, because we acted as we did, without consulting your great Lordship. We acted out of urgent necessity .... [Even now] the most holy metropolitanate of Russia requests and seeks the blessing of the most holy ecumenical, catholic and apostolic Church of the Holy Wisdom of God, in Constantinople, and submits itself to it in accordance with ancient Orthodoxy. And our father, the lord Jonas, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, also seeks blessing and union in every way, *except for the disagreements which appeared of late* [my italics—J.M.]." The letter recognized further that Jonas should have written to the patriarch, but "we do not know," it continues, "whether there is a patriarch in the imperial city, within the limits of your holy empire, because we have heard nothing of him from anyone and we do not know his name..." Once an Orthodox patriarch is elected, "it will be our duty to write to him...and seek his blessing in all things."[89]

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[83] *RIB* VI, col.540.

[84] This particular information is incorrect, since union was not formally proclaimed in Constantinople before December 1452. But the official pro-union attitude of the patriarchate was a fact in 1451.

[85] An allusion to the consecration of Hilarion and Clement Smolyatich, and also, possibly Gregory Tsamblak.

[86] *RIB* VI, cols. 555-564.

[87] *RIB* VI, cols. 563-672.

[88] One of the copies carries the notice: "not dispatched" (*Akty Istoricheskie* I [St Petersburg, 1841], 495). It is not known whether the delay (or cancellation) of the dispatching was caused by diplomatic or military difficulties. The letter nevertheless represents the official stand of the grand-prince in 1451.

Side by side with this official, deliberately "naive" diplomacy, which still left all doors open in principle to the restoration of the old canonical order between Constantinople and Russia, some documents of the period begin to exalt the providential role of Moscow and its grand-prince in "saving Orthodoxy," betrayed by "the Greeks." In the years immediately following Florence, the Russian delegates at the council, who at the assembly itself had followed in every way the leadership of Isidore,[90] had engaged in self-justification by exalting the role of the Muscovite grand-prince, their protector. The presbyter-monk Symeon ends his account of the council with a long rhetorical praise of Basil, "the confirmer of Orthodoxy and of all Russian lands...the joy and happiness of the Church of God and of all Orthodox Christians."[91]

Three events greatly enhanced this attitude of Russian, and particularly Muscovite, self-affirmation: the formal proclamation of the union in Constantinople by Isidore himself, as papal legate (December 1452), the fall of Byzantium (May 1453) and the appointment and consecration in Rome by the exiled unionist patriarch Gregory of another Gregory, the former deacon of Isidore, as "metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia," and his recognition, in the place of Jonas, by the Polish king (1458). The consecration of Gregory was performed in virtue of a decree of pope Calixtus III, which had distinguished ecclesiastically "Superior Russia," i.e. Muscovy, "occupied by schismatics and rebels, and in particular by the monk Jonas, son of iniquity, who acted as archbishop of all Russia," from "Inferior Russia," which was controlled by the Polish king Casimir, and now had its own metropolitan.[92]

[89] *RIB* VI, cols. 583-6. In 1451 the pro-union patriarch Gregory had been forced to leave Constantinople for Rome. No successor was elected.

[90] Avraamy of Suzdal had signed the decree, whereas the boyar Thomas, representing the prince of Tver, took part in the Latin mass, which celebrated the union, by ritually offering the bowl of water for the papal hand-washing.

[91] Text in V. Malinin, *Starets Eleazarova monastyrya Filofei in ego poslaniya* (Kiev, 1901), app. XVII, 99-100; cf. comments by M. Cherniavsky, *op. cit.*, 356-7.

[92] Cf. the detailed account by Halecki, *op. cit.*, 84-86. The decree makes clear that the pope did not understand the union of Florence in terms of a simple restoration of communion with the

These circumstances encouraged the Russians to consider the fall of Constantinople as a divine punishment for the union of Florence and to adopt a highly defensive attitude towards the new metropolitan of Kiev, appointed by Rome. The two metropolitans, both claiming the title of Kiev, fought for the allegiance of the various dioceses. And although in 1470 Gregory formally switched allegiances and recognized the canonical authority of the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, by then under the Turks, Muscovites maintained the established principle of choosing and ordaining their metropolitan themselves. The unity of the "metropolitanate of Kiev and all Russia," maintained with such great efforts by metropolitans Cyprian and Photius, had collapsed for good. The successor to Jonas, Theodosius (1461-75) was still appointed metropolitan "of Kiev," but the title was later dropped. This implied the *de facto* recognition in Moscow of a separate Orthodox metropolitanate "of Kiev," under the patriarchate, by then a captive of the Turks. The division further encouraged separate linguistic and cultural development in Muscovy and in the areas which later would be known as Ukraine.

Chronologically, the *de facto* "autocephaly" established in 1448 with the election of Jonas coincided with the end of Tatar control over Muscovy and the growth of the Muscovite empire, within which the Church, whose head had no canonical recourse to Constantinople any more, would be tightly controlled by the authority of the grand-prince, and later of the tsars. The doctrine of Moscow the "third Rome" was developed in some circles, primarily in an apocalyptic context: the "third Rome" had no "future" and was the last refuge of Orthodoxy before the end of history, which was expected to occur soon. The official circles of Church and state were not, normally, very enthusiastic about this approach, since they were building the future of a nation-state. Normal communion was eventually reestablished with Constantinople and with the other Eastern patriarchs, and it is from captive Constantinople that the Muscovites would receive approval for the coronation of their first tsar, or emperor, in 1547, and for the establishment of a patriarchate (1589). The new primate would receive the fifth, and not the first place (as the theory of the "third Rome" would demand) within the "pentarchy" of the Orthodox patriarchs.

patriarch of Constantinople—in whose jurisdiction the metropolitanate of Kiev lay—but really in terms of an affirmation of papal jurisdiction over the entire East.

CHAPTER IX

THE TRANSITION TO MODERN TIMES

Stressing the theme of decline and decay has long been traditional for historians of the late Middle Ages. As a rule, the period surveyed in the present chapter (1300-1453) was until recently at any rate portrayed as the autumnal epilogue to the history of medieval Europe, the somber twilight interval of decline preceding the Protestant Reformation and the dawn of the modern age. Social unrest was no doubt a prominent feature of the fourteenth century as were of course the sudden outbreak of bubonic plague and the endless warfare between France and England. These developments had a traumatic, even devastating, effect on society, and in the end caused a protracted demographic crisis. Both the repeated visits of the Black Death and the Hundred Years' War were to brutalize and depopulate Europe. "As never before, not even during the century of the Roman Empire's collapse, western people walked through the valley of the shadow of death."[1] The substantial reduction of the population, in both town and countryside, to say nothing of the shrinking territorial frontiers and the contracting economy, have long served to confirm scholarship's gloomy vision of a "waning" or declining civilization.[2]

In a very real sense the age was of course something of a turning point for both East and West. If on the one hand the incursions of the Turks brought an end to Christian Byzantium and changed the ecclesiastical geography of the Orthodox world forever, the threat of both "statism" and conciliarism, on the other, convinced papal Rome to curb its theocratic rhetoric. The whole medieval theory of supreme papal authority actually failed and foundered on the new nationalist and conciliarist realities of the late Middle Ages. And yet, nonetheless, contemporary historians have successfully shown that the age was also not as radically discontinuous as was implied by the older literature. If the discontinuities were indeed present, so were the continuities with the preceding period, in both theological creativity and ecclesiastical and religious life and history.[3] The criticism of Protestant propaganda (in part responsible for the conventional interpretation) has as such been greatly qualified. Recent assessments have in any case preferred to place the stress on transition as opposed to disintegration. The oversimplifications of the past have been largely replaced by emphasis on the truly complex character of the age. Seeing the late Middle Ages exclusively through the lens of the Reformation is widely (and justifiably) perceived to be both misleading and simplistic.[4] This is not to say that such mutually related realities as Church reform and conciliarism, the proposals of secularist philosophers and religious radicals, or the ecclesiology of John Wycliffe and Avignonese "fiscalism" were not important signs heralding the subsequent Protestant movement.[5]

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[1] S.E. Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250-1550. An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven and London, 1908), 8.

[2] See especially, Johan Huizinga's popular guide to the period, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1954), originally published in 1924. H.A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), 5, notes that the Dutch title of Huizinga's study literally means "harvest-tide."

1. A divided papacy

Events during the stormy pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294-1303) at the very dawn of the fourteenth century were to set the stage for papal history in the late Middle Ages. To describe this particular reign as the swan song of the medieval papacy would be altogether permissible.[6] After all, the pope's dramatic clash with Philip IV (the Fair) of France has all the characteristics of a watershed episode: the conflict unambiguously compromised both the credibility and the authority of Rome. Actually this earliest confrontation between the newly emerging monarchical nation-state and the late medieval papacy was to result in the collapse of the old Gregorian system of government. The conduct of papal diplomacy was to change radically. In this sense the quarrel marks a break in papal history. The days of the "imperial" papacy—envisioned as a significant international power—were in any event numbered, particularly after the brutal physical assault on the pope at Anagni (1303). Strictly speaking, all the same, the quarrel was also in continuity with the preceding age since the papacy had already come under the secular political domination of the ambitious Angevin, Charles of Anjou, shortly after the

[3] F. Oakley, *The Western Church in the Late Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1979); H.A. Oberman, "The shape of late medieval thought: the birthpangs of the modern era," in C. Trinkaus and H. Oberman, eds., *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974), 3-35; S.E. Ozment, ed., *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective* (Chicago, 1971); W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, "Seeing the Reformation in medieval perspective," *JEH* 24 (1974), 297-308.

[4] F. Oakley, "Religious and ecclesiastical life on the eve of the Reformation," in *idem, Natural Law, Conciliarism and Consent in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1984), 5-32 (no.1).

[5] H. Jedin and J. Dolan, eds., *Handbook of Church History*, vol.4: *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation* (New York, 1970), 487 (K.A. Fink).

[6] Cf. W. Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), 275.

1250s. Long before the Anagni affair, to be short, the Roman curia had become dependent on the French royal family. (As we have emphasized in an earlier chapter, this pro-Angevin papal policy in the end affected the still-born union of Lyons in a decisive way.) Evidently the mounting self-confidence of governments and their secular view of politics were not entirely new phenomena. The only difference is that concepts such as secular sovereignty, statism, and secularism, simply became more articulate for the first time in the fourteenth century.[7]

Although the conflict between Philip IV of France and Boniface could be compared (especially in its fierce intensity) with the earlier controversy between Gregory VII and Henry IV of Germany, the issues were decidedly different. The same could be said of its immediate cause involving royal clerical taxation and jurisdiction in both France and England. Whether a secular ruler actually possessed absolute authority in his own kingdom was at the heart of the struggle. For the purposeful Philip le Bel national sovereignty was non-negotiable; theoretical debate was perceived as unnecessary. Boniface, on the other hand, framed his strong theocratic response in *Clericis laicos* and in *Unam sanctam*, his two papal bulls issued in February 1296 and November 1302 respectively. In both of these documents, kings were in essence denied the right to tax their own clergy without first obtaining papal approval. Clergymen were commanded to disobey uncooperative rulers. In sum, kings were told in no uncertain terms that they were not in fact masters of their own homes; national internal sovereignty was not theirs outright. Boniface's papal pretensions to a plenitude of power, to a theory of universal theocratic sovereignty, is particularly obvious in *Unam sanctam*; its concluding statement was in actual fact a summons to subjection. "We declare, state, define and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."[8] Originally, significantly, the sentence—a direct paraphrase from Thomas Aquinas' *Contra errores Graecorum*—was aimed at Eastern Christendom or, more precisely, at Orthodoxy's refusal to accept Roman absolutist claims. Later apparently the fifth Lateran council (1516) found dogmatic significance in the statement as well, as its formal endorsement implies![9]

To repeat, Philip was not interested in theory but in effective action. Overwhelming both the papacy and its supposed political program (which

[7] See R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), 45.

[8] *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1881), 2:1246.

[9] See *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation*, 278 (H. Wolter).

the king pretended to see enshrined in *Unam sanctam*) was his only aim. His order forbidding the export of all gold and silver to Rome proved ingenious as did his equally practical maneuver of mobilizing national sentiment against Boniface through his obliging agents. The latter were of course in the end also responsible for the storming of the papal palace and the violent attack on Boniface personally—in his native city of Anagni (7 September 1303). Although eventually the pope managed to escape his assailants, the shock itself was to prove fatal. He died in Rome six weeks later (12 October). All things considered, Boniface failed to recognize that his vision of the papacy would have rendered the rise of the secular monarchical state impossible. His anachronistic preoccupation with power was to blind him from seeing that feudal particularism was giving way to nationalism. The balance was tipping in favor of national or territorial divisions rather than regional local loyalties. Put another way, monarchy and the nation-state were being placed above Church and pope, even above Christendom as a whole. This bias in support of secular sovereignty was to grow to a deep swell by the age of Luther; widespread political centralization and consolidation had long set the pace. In fact by the end of the fourteenth century the preference of late medieval Christianity for a secular view of politics had made the exalted declarations of *Unam sanctam* empty formulas.[10]

Neither the practical nor the symbolical significance of this confrontation, needless to say, has been lost on historians. The fact that Boniface's successors were obliged to consent to a number of humiliating concessions, including the pardon of Philip's agents, the repudiation of *Unam sanctam* and other papal declarations, is eloquent evidence of the growing power of the French monarchy. Before long Philip was even threatening to have Boniface tried posthumously as a heretic. In the event, the Roman curia after Anagni convinced itself that proximity to the French court was both urgent and prudent—if the scandal of a papal trial was to be avoided. Actually, the result of Philip's blackmail soon became apparent. The next Roman pontiff chosen to succeed in Rome, Clement V (1305-14), was a Frenchman, as were to be virtually all the 28 cardinals he was to create. (Although Philip's role in the election of this "neutral" pope is unknown, it is safe to assume that it was considerable.) What is more, before long Clement resolved to settle in the French-speaking city of Avignon on the French frontier.[11] The decision marks the beginning of the so-called Avignon exile in the history of the papacy (1305-1378). The papacy finally had been captured by the Capetians. For contemporaries everywhere at any rate the Roman pontiff had become a tool of French political policy. As an instrument of the French monarchy, he was no longer deemed credible or reliable—let alone impartial.

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[10] Y. Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy 1305-1403* (Hamden, CT, 1970), 15. Actually, the conviction that the Church should be stripped of political authority in favor of the state and royal centralization in general had been voiced early in the century by the anti-papalist Marsilius of Padua; see Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, 150-55; M.J. Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1964).

It comes as no surprise that the extended papal residence at Avignon between 1305 and 1378 has been viewed with extreme suspicion. Until recently in fact the traditional verdict was positively critical. The papacy's alleged compromising conformity and adaptability to French political interests (of which English and German contemporaries were usually understandably critical) were the basis of this negative assessment.[12] It is of course impossible to ignore the fact that all seven popes of the Avignon period were French in nationality, as were 112 of the 134 cardinals created by them (to say nothing of the French national complexion of most curialists at the time).[13] The papacy beyond the Alps, moreover, was judged to have been morally corrupt and financially extravagant. Its factionalism, extorting fiscalism, and open nepotism (Clement V promoted five of his family as cardinals), it has been argued, were the source of most of the evil in the Church in the fourteenth century. In the end, of course, some of these same shortcomings were also responsible for the schism that followed. No doubt, episodes such as the condemnation of the doctrine of apostolic poverty by pope John XXII, the tragic fate of the Templars in France at the council of Vienne, and the proverbial luxury and venality of Avignon's "financier-popes" (to say nothing of curial avarice) somehow seem to justify such assessments. Remarkably, John XXII is also known to have spent more than half of his papal resources on warfare.

And yet, although the conventional portrait of the papacy at Avignon has not vanished altogether from the literature, recent scholarship has modified it and at times even altered it beyond recognition.[14] In the first place, the argument has been made that papal submissiveness and timidity have been exaggerated. The papacy quite simply was not a tool of French policy *tout court.* In actual fact evidence suggests that the papal court frequently followed strategy altogether independent of the French government. And there is also proof that it could stand above national rivalries and disputes as an impartial international tribunal. It is worth adding, in this connection, that the move beyond the Alps in 1305 must not be explained exclusively in terms of the need to appease the French crown. Revolt in the papal states, the violent factionalism of Italian politics, and the need for security against a hostile German empire, were important and no less decisive reasons for settling at Avignon. Besides, technically, the city by the Rhone river was actually governed by vassals of the Roman Church; it was not legally in French territory. Typically, it has also been stressed that papal incumbents in the past had often chosen to reside beyond Rome. In the thirteenth century popes actual spent more time outside than inside the eternal city.[15] And of course the move to Avignon was never deemed permanent. Finally, recent historical rehabilitation also involves the personal moral character of the popes. Papal failings, it is suggested, have also been inflated. Finding themselves in an essentially manufactured situation—for which in the end they were not responsible—the pontiffs did the best they could.

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[11] J.N.D.Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986), 212-14.

[12] D. Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1975), 271.

[13] Cf. B. Guillemain, "Les carrières des officiers pontificaux au XIV^{e} siècle," *Le Moyen-âge* 69 (1963), 565-81; for brief biographies of the seven popes with excellent bibliography, see Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 210-27.

[14] B. Guillemain, *Le Cour pontificale d'Avignon, 1309-76. Étude d'une Société* (Paris, 1962); Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy*; G. Mollat, *The Popes of Avignon (1305-1378)* (London, 1963); Oakley, *The Western Church*, 32-55.

Arguably, the main failing of the Avignon papacy, for which perhaps historians have been most reproachful, has been the extensive centralization and fiscal exploitation of Church structures.[16] Scholarly emphasis on Avignon's rigorous tax collection system, to an unusual degree, is itself a reflection of the critical assessment of contemporaries and their objections to a secularized and materialistic Church. Remarkably, the bureaucratic structure of the Church while at Avignon was to expand almost beyond recognition. The administration was overhauled and reorganized thoroughly and, as a consequence, the curial staff alone was to grow from 200 to over 600 by the end of the century. That the collection of revenues was pursued systematically is beyond doubt, as the yield from direct taxation in this period clearly demonstrates. The distribution of privileges, honors, and favors for hard cash was equally organized and perfected. The juridical basis of the papal *plenitudo administrationis* was carried to extremes as everything was gradually placed on a systematic foundation. Characteristically both the administrative and financial operations were to surpass the elementary structures available to the secular state. It would be some time at any rate before the latter would be able to overtake the elaborate revenue-raising operation of the popes at Avignon. St Bernard's great fear had actually come to pass: the papacy had virtually become a law-court and a business office. "In the course of the fourteenth century the papal administration reached a level of activity which would have been unimaginable two hundred years earlier... The situation foreseen by St Bernard in 1150 was realized two hundred years later. The papacy had become identified with the most complicated, and for its time the best, legal and administrative system in western history."[17]

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[15] Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy*, 37.

[16] See the short summaries in Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy*, 96-110; Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*, 227-50.

The so-called system of papal "provisions" involving the nomination and appointment to various ecclesiastical offices throughout Christendom, has commonly been associated with Avignon. Although provisions actually pre-date the fourteenth century, it was at Avignon that they first became normal for all major benefices (to say nothing of papal rights to lesser ecclesiastical positions involving parishes and cathedral churches).[18] Because they were accompanied by an elaborate system of fees (clerical candidates, in other words, had to pay for the appointment by papal provision) they have been fiercely criticized. The operation has indeed been pronounced as "systematized simony." The argument that this method of appointment provided the Church with better qualified or better trained men, quite simply, was false. Indeed, the abuses of non-residence or absenteeism, sinecurism, and pluralism were the true rewards of the system.[19] Holding positions in several ecclesiastical provinces simultaneously and never once actually visiting them (because substitutes were engaged to discharge the involved duties) was by no means uncommon. To paraphrase the angry contemporary, St Catherine of Sienna, the fortress-palace of Avignon stank like Hell as a source of abuse and corruption.

As we should expect, the theory behind this vast patronage system was based on the idea that the pope was "universal ordinary"; insofar as he possessed a plenitude of immediate ordinary jurisdiction he had the right anywhere in Christendom to "reserve" such appointments (even down to the parish priest level) to the papacy. Theoretically all local rights involving elections to ecclesiastical office were subject to papal provision. Ignoring individual episcopal or diocesan autonomy evidently posed no problem for western canon law. Precedence invariably belonged to papal jurisdiction. Indeed, long before the end of the twelfth century, papal requests to bishops to provide someone with a benefice had been transformed into solemn commands *de providendo*.[20] The pope's direct and universal right to make appointments was beyond question. To say it once more, this principle first gathered momentum with the Avignon popes who were to extend it widely by way of a series of papal pronouncements. By the 1330s virtually every office was reserved for the papacy. One such papal decree (issued in 1335 by Benedict XXII) reserves all "patriarchal, archiepiscopal and episcopal churches, all monasteries, priories, dignities, parsonages and offices, all canonries, prebends, churches, and other ecclesiastical benefices... whether secular or regular, of whatever kind, vacant or in future to become vacant" exclusively for papal provision and disposition.[21] For the most part, secular authorities did not much oppose or object to this obvious extension of papal privilege. Actually individuals were still often candidates of the secular power. The only difference was that by the fourteenth century they had to have papal approval, and to pay for it. Besides, local authorities did not mind because in the end they were able to share fees with the papacy.

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[17] Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, 168-9.

[18] See the standard guide in English by G. Barraclough, *Papal Provisions* (Oxford, 1935); and B. Guillemain, *La politique bénéficiale du pape Benoît XII, 1334-1342* (Paris, 1952).

[19] W.A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), 36.

The argument has often been made that the ecclesiastical bureaucratization and centralization of the fourteenth century, involving the proliferation of offices and departments, the exploitation of papal provisions, and the growth of a vast and efficient collection machinery must not all be blamed on the Church. As it happened, the papacy in the fourteenth century was confronted with unprecedented expenditures. Financing the papal court at Avignon, the mission programs beyond Europe, and warfare in Italy do in part explain the ever-expanding bureaucratic machinery. Then, too, the Church had to compensate for the loss of revenue from its patrimony in Italy while residing at Avignon. More fundamentally, it has also been suggested that Avignon "fiscalism" is not unique to the period. Its roots were traceable to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the machinery was first devised. To be short, it is an error to consider the late medieval papacy in isolation. As one scholar notes regarding papal provisions: "The abuses which have ordinarily been ascribed to the centralized administrative practices, and above all to the centralized administration of Church benefices through the papacy, appear as the result of developments which were already inveterate long before the days of the Babylonish exile at Avignon."[22] Given the unlimited jurisdiction claimed by the Roman pontiffs, the endless flow of petitions for benefices could not be impeded. Significantly, this process has parallels with the distribution of indulgences as well. These, too, were of course sold for hard cash by the papacy and, like provisions, were from the outset a "peculiar personal expression of the papal plenitude of power."[23] Characteristically, it was an Avignon pope, Clement VI, who was to sanction the crucial link (made earlier in the thirteenth century) between Rome's seemingly limitless treasury of merits and indulgences.

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[20] Cf. Guillemain, *La politique bénéficiale*, 129-40; "Provisions," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967), 11:924 (L.E. Boyle).

[21] *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2:1266.

To be sure, this summary statement of the sorry plight of the papacy in the late Middle Ages is not the full picture. The reality was more complex. Time and again, the declared goal of the popes, since the Gregorian reform, had been to see that justice was done. To eliminate feudal intrusion, full canonical procedure was to be followed in all matters. All elections, trials, and even matters of taxation were handled in this altogether proper fashion. These were of course admirable aims and, indeed, serve to offset the foreboding and apprehension of the papacy's early critics, including St Bernard. Still, the system evolved, and as it did it also became excessively cumbersome, forcing Rome to streamline the process. Increasingly, however, with organized efficiency and uniformity came also the possibility of abuse and corruption. This shift, in the end, is what best explains much of the situation with which Avignon is habitually identified. For the most part, the development was the consequence of institutional logic. Papal ethical or moral indiscretion was not at the root of the problem.

Although contemporaries were frequently shocked by Avignon ways, nothing was to scandalize them more than the unforeseeable schism that followed immediately after the papacy's return to Italy in 1378. It bears repeating that the so-called Western Schism (1378-1417) was in large part the direct result of earlier developments at the papal court, especially within the college of cardinals. That contemporary critics were fully conscious of the cardinals' responsibility for the onset of the schism is beyond doubt.[24] In the

[22] Barraclough, *Papal Provisions*, 59; E.F. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (Notre Dame, 1963), 20-23.

[23] Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, 136.

[24] Cf. the translated documents in C.M.D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460. The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (London, 1977), 45-7 (no.2). For a detailed reconstruction of the schism with a rich bibliography, see A. Fliche and V. Martin, eds., *Histoire de l'Église*, vol.14: *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliare (1378-1449)*, 2 parts (Paris, 1962-64) (E. Delaruelle *et al*).

first place, the pope's consultative body was no longer a supra-national circle of papal confidants as in earlier centuries. Long before 1378 it had become primarily a factious and ambitious group of French professional ecclesiastics. It was inevitable that these careerists would devote a great deal of their energy to increasing their ruling power. In fact it was during the Avignon exile that they attempted to transform the papacy into an oligarchic form of government by limiting the rule of all future popes.[25] The unsuccessful device of election "capitulations," by which the cardinals attempted to restrict or to curb papal power to their own advantage, was but the most obvious manifestation of this development within the sacred college in the fourteenth century. Cardinals were asked time and again to agree to assign half of the papal revenues to the college and not to appoint new cardinals without the consent of the college if they were ever elected pope. Not surprising, many scholars have argued that the Western Schism was the result of this drive for controlling power. At any rate, it was because the newly elected pope in 1378 was to threaten this desire of the college to increase its status that the schism began.

On the whole, the sequence of events between the solemn return of the last French pope, Gregory XI, to Rome (17 January 1377) and the onset of schism eighteen months later is well known (20 September 1378). Gregory simply did not long survive the homecoming. By the following year the last of the authentic Avignon popes was in point of fact dead (26 March 1378). In sum, the return to Rome had to be followed almost immediately by the election of a new pope. Inevitably, as we should expect, the pressure on the sacred college to elect an Italian pope was considerable. Crowds outside the conclave did in fact demand that the next pope be a Roman or "at any rate an Italian." Predictably, the choice was a compromise candidate, Urban VI, a Neapolitan. Although he was at the time of his election (April 8) archbishop of Bari, he was by no means an unknown. Earlier, the new pontiff had been a familiar figure at Avignon, where, as a member of the curia, he had been admired for his competence and discretion. His brutal and inflexible temperament, revealed only subsequently as pope, was nowhere in evidence while at Avignon. In the event, originally, the cardinals had no misgivings about the canonicity of Urban's election or his suitability to be pope; that is to say, they had no reservations regarding the turbulent, even menacing, circumstances surrounding the conclave. Doubts about the validity of the proceedings were raised only after the election, when Urban's behavior be-

[25] Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, 456-78.

came both erratic and violent. To be sure, Urban did not wait long to display his uncontrollable temper. Towards the cardinals he was both physically abusive and tactless and frequently criticized them for their corrupt and complacent ways. Within a matter of weeks after his coronation he showed himself to be a neurotic tyrant and, as such, positively intolerable. Significantly, the cardinals (along with some modern scholarship) soon became convinced that the pope was actually mentally disturbed or even insane.[26]

In the end, the signs of possible mental derangement were also to convince the cardinals that Urban could no longer govern properly and that his appointment had been a mistake. By August they were in fact claiming that Urban's election was illegal: the undue duress of the Roman crowd during the conclave had ostensibly disabled the college. Moving swiftly the cardinals first declared the April election invalid (2 August) and then, for good measure, excommunicated Urban for illegally holding the papal office (9 August). This public repudiation was succeeded the following month by a second conclave in which Clement VII was chosen pope (20 September).[27] Technically, this second election marks the launching of the Western Schism. To repeat, the argument used initially by the cardinals to justify their cancelation of Urban's appointment was the fear and intimidation they had experienced at the April conclave. On the other hand, the truth of the matter was that the pope's behavior also proved too much for the cardinals. In retrospect, the popular pressure argument seems like an excuse, or at best a rationalization, of the cardinals' action in both August and September. For although Urban was elected in fear, he was never actually elected through fear.[28] To put it in legal terms, the cardinals found themselves in a genuine dilemma insofar as the law of the Roman Church did not provide any constitutional solution for removing an obviously irrationally violent or incompetent pope. Legally, such a pope (even if insane) could not be removed from office after his appointment. In the absence of any constitutional check on the papal power, the only alternative apparently was to declare the election itself null and void by arguing that it had never been free in the first place.

The double election of 1378, unlike other sharply contested elections in the past, was without parallel or precedent. In the final analysis, with Clement's election the Western Church promptly found itself with two rival popes, neither of whom was actually absolutely valid or invalid. Remarkably, both contending claimants had been elected by a majority of the same sacred college. Granted some historians have insisted on writing the history of the schism from the perspective of the Roman line, by treating Urban as the only legal or legitimate claimant to the papal title.[29] From this rather narrow viewpoint, Clement and his successors at Avignon (the town became their residence in 1379) was a line of antipopes.[30] The approach no doubt has its merits and of course simplicity. Still, for all its attractiveness, it has failed to convince most scholars. The truth of the matter is that it is impossible to know who was the authentic pope during the Western Schism. The alternatives at any rate do not lack validity. "It may be that Urban was invalidly elected in 1378 as the cardinals claimed; it may be that the cardinals unanimously lied about the matter. It is also possible that the election was valid in form but the candidate mad, in which case he was ineligible to become pope."[31] As it happens, moreover, Rome itself has never pronounced officially on the legality or illegality of the two papal lines created by the one and the same college of cardinals in 1378.

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[26] M. Seidlmayer, *Die Anfänge des grossen Abendländischen Schismas* (Münster, 1940), 8-18; *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation*, 401-406 (K.A. Fink); W. Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism* (London, 1948).

[27] Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy*, 69-73.

[28] D. Waley, *Later Medieval Europe: From Saint Louis to Luther* (London and New York, 1976), 124.

What seemed at first like a shameful squabble among churchmen soon turned into permanent schism. Before long the two papal lines became opposing "obediences" largely as a consequence of their fatal decision to perpetuate themselves. The creation of two competing groups of cardinals and two colleges, to say nothing of separate papal administrations, was perhaps inevitable. On the other hand, the development transformed the unseemly quarrel between a few churchmen into a genuine crisis: neither rival claimant was willing to consider reconciliation or accommodation. Stepping down was unthinkable. On the contrary, mutual anathemas were soon issued by both sides with the result that the whole of Western Christendom—at least formally—found itself excommunicated. The scandal was doubtless also prolonged by the western monarchies. European governments instantly realized that a weak and divided papacy—in contrast to a united Church speaking with a single voice—would be an advantage. The desire to dominate the clergy in their own domains (an ambition affirmed earlier at Anagni) was simply made easier by the sudden ecclesiastical rivalry. Put

[29] Ullmann, The *Origins of the Great Schism*. Roman line: Urban VI (1378-89); Boniface IX (1389-1404); Innocent VII (1404-6); Gregory XII (1406-15).

[30] Avignonese line: Clement VII (1378-94); Benedict XIII (1394-1423).

[31] B. Tierney, *Western Europe in the Middle Ages 300-1475* (New York, 1974), 483.

another way, the Western Schism gave European secular powers the opportunity to exploit the Church and to profit from the disarray. By the end of the conciliar age the control of national churches by western monarchies was noticeably tighter. In particular, historical Gallicanism (the principle that the local church enjoys complete freedom from the ecclesiastical authority of the papacy) had its birth in these same decades. Significantly, because France championed the Avignonese line, states supporting the Roman line were in the main hostile to France. In fact, from the outset, the political division of Europe provoked by the formal schism of 1378 was for the most part a reflection of the French style of alliances and coalitions.

Although Church historians are not usually amused (as most college students are) on discovering the schism of 1378, they are often puzzled. Its longevity seems unusual, even absurd, particularly since the solution was so obvious. Put otherwise, why the Christian West suddenly went amnesiac about the corporate and conciliar history of the Church—in which the solution to the schism evidently lay—seems at best peculiar. It is after all a shock to realize that many medieval authors (followed on occasion by some modern scholars) often cheerfully proclaimed the extraordinary *novelty* of conciliarism, as if early Christian and medieval Byzantine ecclesiology was beside the point, even non-existent; indeed, certain anti-conciliarists even insisted that councils were suitable only to the primitive Church![32] And yet, this realization should not come as a surprise. The truth of the matter is that papal claims to world monarchy and supremacy were by then so self-evident and unassailable that contemporaries viewed conciliarism, and its attendant ideas of collective judgement through fraternal episcopal consultation, as unreal. It bears repeating that without the "accident" of the double election of 1378 there would never have been a "conciliar age."[33] The fact that conciliarist ideas were not taken seriously for decades is of course itself revealing and supports what has just been emphasized. To be sure, papalists became conciliarists only as a last resort—when they realized under the pressure of events that there was no other solution to the existing division. After thirty years, it was still difficult both legally and psychologically to accept the *via concilii* as the course to take.[34] To argue from the above that the papacy had lost its sense of ecclesiological balance by the late Middle Ages is perhaps unnecessary. As a contemporary theologian, speaking for the tradition of undivided Christendom and its historical continuity in Orthodoxy, justly notes, the truth of the Church is "essentially falsified" when it is identified "with infallible institutions and authoritative structures."[35]

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[32] Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, 8-9.

[33] Cf. Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, 155-64; and the exemplary summary of A. Black, "The conciliar movement," in J.H. Burns, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1985), 573-87.

[34] B. Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050-1300* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1964), 159.

2. *Papal monarchy on the defensive: Conciliarism*

There is little doubt about the sheer ecclesiastical chaos that soon followed the election of Clement VII. It was not just the secular rulers who were eager to extend the scandal in time. There were, above all, the two recalcitrant rival pontiffs both of whom were unwilling to submit to anything like arbitration or simultaneous resignation. Besides, in their desire to perpetuate their claims both camps had created thirty-eight new cardinals by December 1378 (twenty-nine by Urban VI and nine by Clement VII). Given these developments, the often tortuous negotiations and debates between academics and ecclesiastics that soon followed were initially altogether unproductive in resolving the problem. The liquidation of the schism was to be an unusually slow, even painful, process. The deadlock was officially broken only in 1417 at the council of Constance (although the stubborn Benedict XIII of the Avignonese line actually remained shut up in his castle as "pope" until his death in 1423).

Not surprising, it was only after the attempts of both sides to settle the issue by force had failed (the so-called *via facti*) that a more peaceful course was suggested: the way of voluntary resignation (*via cessionis*). It was of course the ideal (non-judicial) solution and had many supporters, including the university of Paris.[36] Mutual withdrawal would have cleared the way for yet another conclave and a new election. All the same, given the strong personalities of the two contenders, the hoped-for spontaneous double abdication never materialized. Another proposal, the way of compromise (*via compromisi*), also suggested by Paris academics, involved the establishment of an independent board which was to decide who of the two rivals would resign. Again, however, neither side was inclined to accept the decision of a presumably impartial tribunal, and the idea was quickly abandoned. Although the *via regalis concilii,* the royal way of the council, had been proposed by Henry of Langenstein and Conrad of Gelnhausen at the outset of the conflict, the idea was generally ignored until about 1400. To say it once more, the use of coercive action by a council to resolve the existing two-way schism was not a particularly attractive route for anyone. How could a general council try to depose or even force the resignation of a duly elected pope? Indeed, how could a conciliar body legally and canonically summon itself to decide a problem when only a pope was empowered to convene such a body? As the provost of Worms, Conrad of Gelnhausen, was to stress, legally the situation was a blind alley offering no escape.

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[35] C. Yannaras, *Elements of Faith. An Introduction to Orthodox Theology* (Edinburgh, 1991), 144.

[36] *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme,* 1:67 (Delaruelle). On the role played in the schism by universities, see especially, R.N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1979).

> It is impossible for the general council to be held or celebrated without the authority of the pope. But to convene such a council in the present case the authority of the pope cannot step in, because no single person is universally recognized as pope, nor is any individual generally obeyed as pope, and if the council were to be convoked by the authority of the one or the other person now in question, he would in virtue of this be recognized as pope; and from this it is to be inferred that they cannot both authorize it, because there cannot be more than one supreme pontiff.[37]

Besides, following again canon law, Roman pontiffs were supposed to be preserved or exempt from all human judgment. As Innocent III once noted in a sermon, St Peter's successor, being set between God and man, is "lower than God but higher than man, who judges all and is judged by no one."[38] Evidently, for many contemporaries, a council possessing sovereign power superior to the pope, was seen as a positively freakish way to resolve the schism.

In the end, nonetheless, the principle of conciliar supremacy was accepted. Ordinary partisans and cardinals from both sides were running out of patience after twenty years of formal schism. They were also doubtless convinced that the much-needed reform of the Church (the abuses generated by Avignonese centralism and fiscalism worried everyone) could be accomplished only by a general council. Characteristically, many secular rulers were by then also willing to declare their neutrality by denying all support to their favorite papal line. More importantly, churchmen were being converted increasingly to the ideas first expressed by the earliest advocates of conciliarism. By 1400, then, many Europeans were willing to recognize that if the doctrines of absolute papal sovereignty and immunity from all judgement were not qualified, unity could not be restored. In effect, both moderates and conservatives were ready to endorse the notion that in an emergency, a council, representing the entire Church, could be called without a papal convocation.

[37] *Epistola concordiae*, F. Bliemetzrieder, ed., *Literarische Polemik zu Beginn des grossen Abendländischen Schismas* (Vienna, 1910), 127; see also Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, 9.

[38] *PL* 217:658A.

Even influential academic figures like Jean Gerson, the chancellor of the University of Paris, were appreciative of such solid arguments.[39] To summarize, the legal impasse created by the phenomenon of two popes after twenty years came to be viewed as surmountable. If the double election of 1378 had accomplished anything after two decades, it was the realization that the pope was not altogether immune from reproof and censure, even pressure, from a council.

The council of 1409 meeting at Pisa was an unconditional affirmation of these conciliar ideas, including the belief that a general Church assembly was superior to the pope. By then a partial fusion of the two sacred colleges had also been achieved. Indeed, dissident cardinals from both obediences were responsible for convoking the council (25 March).[40] That the rival papal claimants of both the Roman and Avignon line (Gregory XII and Benedict XIII respectively) were declared deposed is of course no surprise (5 June). The cardinals in attendance were then predictably authorized by the council to elect a new pope, and by 26 June a Franciscan, Peter Philargus, was chosen as Alexander V (1409-10). The step was of course designed to resolve the schism conclusively. Given the fact that both Gregory and Benedict had refused to attend the council or resign, nonetheless, the measure merely added to the problem. Essentially, the creation of a third "Pisan" line of claimants (Alexander V was soon followed in 1410 by John XXIII) meant that the former dualism became a three-way schism.[41] Perhaps unity also failed to materialize because the council's authority was for some still in doubt. As a leading conciliarist at Pisa implied, the need to convince certain individuals of conciliarism was still urgent.[42] On the other hand, the contribution of Pisa to the conciliar movement is undeniable. Although modern papal apologists have often denied its significance by labeling it a pseudo-council (even if contemporaries did not see it that way), Pisa in the end paved the way for the final liquidation of the schism at Constance.[43] In fact,

[39] J.B. Morrall, *Gerson and the Great Schism* (Manchester, 1960); L.B. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson, Principles of Church Reform* (Leyden, 1973).

[40] J. Vincke, "Acta concilii Pisani," *Römische Quartalschrift* 46 (1941), 81-331; Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform,* 58-65 (no.6.).

[41] H. Jedin, *Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church* (Edinburgh and London, 1960), 111.

[42] See the English translation of Pierre d'Ailly's memorandum to the council in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform,* 51-55 (no.4); F. Oakley, "The Propositiones utiles of Pierre d'Ailly: An epitome of conciliar theory," *Church History* 29 (1960), 398-403; also the biographical sketch in Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages,* 301-12.

[43] According to J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), 17, the council of Pisa was convoked independently of both papal claimants "and in contradiction to age-long ecclesiastical tradition, Church law, and Catholic faith in the universal jurisdiction of the pope." Cf. the very different assessment in *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation,* 423 (Fink).

without the council of 1409, it is difficult to imagine the success achieved by Constance five years later.

It was predictably under pressure that the second pope of the Pisan line, John XXIII, accepted to convoke the council of Constance (1414-18).[44] Although he, too, hoped to outwit conciliarism (he expected the condemnation of his two rivals, among other things) the council in the end was able to frustrate his plans and censure him as well. Indeed, by 1415, the assembly had been able to bring about the formal resignation of Gregory XII (Roman). The deposition of John XXIII (Pisan) and Benedict XIII (Avignon) then followed swiftly. Support for these claimants had all but vanished by 1415. In the event, when a new pope, Martin V (1417-31), was elected (11 November) there was no one to question his legitimacy. The great Western Schism had finally come to an end—forty years after its inception. In order to avoid further future division and to provide for reform in both "head and members" (best accomplished it was generally believed by councils meeting periodically) Constance saw fit to issue two important constitutional decrees. By the declaration *Frequens* (9 October 1417) general councils were actually transformed into a permanent institution of the Church. Councils were to assemble after five years, then after seven, and subsequently permanently every ten years, for the rooting out of all heresy and schism.[45] The intention of this perpetual edict evidently was to place Church government on a permanent conciliar basis. By creating a fixed conciliar machinary Constance in effect was attempting to limit the papal *plena potestas* for the future. For such general councils, meeting frequently and at regular intervals, were to function independently of the pope.

Arguably, an even more controversial edict, with an even more pronounced conciliarist bent, was the famous *Haec sancta synodus* decree, also known from the opening word in an alternative draft as *Sacrosancta* (6 April 1415).[46] This so-called "revolutionary" document was an attempt to define the function and limits of ecclesial sovereign power. By explicitly asserting that a representative general council of the Church was the trustee or depository of this power, Constance actually transformed the pope into a limited monarch. Such councils were expressly declared superior to the pope not only in matters of schism and reform but also of doctrine. "Thus was the bull *Unam sanctam* reversed and the principle of autocracy formally denied."[47] It is, to be sure, no surprise that this "decree on superiority" of the fifth session of Constance is considered today by Roman theologians and historians as one of the most controversial texts in the history of the entire papacy. Depending on whom you read, as we shall see presently, the decree is defined either as an authentic declaration of faith (expressing some permanent truth about the nature of the Church) or as outright heresy (subverting the divinely ordained constitution of the papacy).[48]

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[44] See L.R. Loomis, trans., *The Council of Constance* (New York and London, 1961), for several narrative sources on the council; Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 65-139 (nos. 7-22); A. Franzen and W. Müller, eds., *Das Konzil von Konstanz; Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte und Theologie* (Freiburg, 1964); and B. Botte, ed., *Le Concile et les Conciles* (Chevetogne, 1960) (contributions by P. de Vooght and G. Fransen).

[45] Mansi 27:1159; Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 128(no.21); *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme*, 1:198-203 (Delaruelle); and J. Gill, *Constance et Bâle-Florence* (Paris, 1965), 64.

[46] Mansi 27:590-1; Alberigo 385; Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 82-3 (no.12).

Whatever the case, it is obvious that conciliarism ultimately proved invaluable in ending the disastrous Western Schism of 1378. But conciliar theory—hammered out practically at Pisa, at Constance, and then also later at Basel (1431-49)—is inherently fascinating and deserves attention. Typically, in the last few decades scholars have been anxious to trace the origins of conciliarist thought to the writings and glosses of the Decretists and canonists of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.[49] The "foundations" of the movement did not spring from doctrinal theology, it is generally thought, but from established canon law. To be sure, occasionally conciliarists borrowed material from their contemporaries, William of Ockham and Marsilius of Padua. Overall, however, ultimately the roots of their central ideas were not to be found in the formulations of such radicals but in the earlier proven soil of Church law. Conciliarism, in sum, cannot be represented "as an unorthodox ecclesiology of revolutionary vintage foisted upon the Church" by dangerous dissidents.[50] In fact, its partisans were for the most part so conservative and cautious that they may have contributed to the extension of the schism by their moderation. Apparently, although canonists were in general high-papalists and believed in a strong papal office, they were also careful to see that power was not misused. Whenever possible papal absolutism was actually

[47] Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,* 87. See, however, the equally perceptive commentary of H. Jedin, *Histoire du Concile de Trente,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1965), 1:21.

[48] For the literature, see below note 57.

[49] See especially the decisive contribution of B. Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory; the Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1955). By the same token scholars have been reluctant to interpret the movement as an outgrowth of representative government or secular constitutional notions in general.

[50] F. Oakley, *Natural, Law, Conciliarism and Consent in Late Middle Ages* (London, 1984), 15 (no.1); cf. also B. Tierney, "Ockham, die konziliare Theorie und die Kanonisten," in R. Bäumer, ed., *Die Entwicklung des Konziliarismus* (Darmstadt, 1976), 113-55.

(grudgingly) limited. Even Gratian, for example, was able to maintain, admittedly very reluctantly, that a pope was liable to judgement if he deviated from the faith; and in emergencies, for a council to be legitimate, formal papal convocation was unnecessary; crises in fact justified independent action by a council.[51]

When after 1378 the *via concilii* was proposed as a way to end the schism, its leading advocates, both at Pisa and Constance, relied on canonist reasoning with its legal loopholes and limitations to support their case. In most emergency conditions, they were to insist, the power of the Christian community—the *congregatio fidelium* or *corpus Christi mysticum*—was greater than that of the pope (despite, apparently, the divine origin of his primacy). The *ecclesia universalis* acting through a council could criticize, condemn or depose a pope as his superior. This conciliarist conviction, as *Haec sancta synodus* unambiguously illustrates, was the fundamental doctrinal development during the great Western Schism.[52]

> This sacred synod of Constance...declares...that it has its power immediately from Christ, and that all men, of every rank and position, including the pope himself, are bound to obey it in those matters that pertain to the faith, the extirpation of the said schism, and to the reformation of the Church in head and members. It declares also that anyone, of any rank, condition or office—even the papal—who shall contumaciously refuse to obey the mandates, statutes, decrees or instructions made by this holy synod or by any other lawfully assembled council on the matters aforesaid or on things pertaining to them, shall, unless he recovers his senses, be subjected to fitting penance and punished as is appropriate.[53]

Again, to repeat, conciliar ecclesiology was not meant to be revolutionary. Its preoccupation with the papal *plena potestas* and its limitation through a council should not be understood solely as a radical tide against papal authoritarianism. On the contrary, historically, both *Haec sancta synodus* and *Frequens* reflect a moderate ecclesiastical system of government, one that was on the whole both more "democratic" and more "secular."

In a genuine sense the debate between the high-papalist establishment and the conciliarists of the fifteenth century was a debate about power. Their discussion regarding the *locus* of supreme jurisdictional authority in the Church dealt in large part with the latent contradiction between the collective power of councils and the divinely-instituted power of the popes.[54] It is important to emphasize that both parties chose to define power almost exclusively in legal terms. Indeed, the decisive "foundations" of conciliarism were not really primarily the patristic tradition or even early Church history, but the canon law of the post-Gregorian papacy. In this connection, the distinction between the power of ordination (*potestas ordinis*) and the power of jurisdiction (*potestas jurisdictionis*) found in western canonical literature, became crucial for conciliar theory. This dichotomy, by and large, had its origin in the assumption of imperial powers by the papacy after the eleventh century. As a result of an emerging "imperial" papacy, canon lawyers were in a sense obliged to distinguish between the pope's sacramental or sacerdotal functions, which belong to him as bishop of Rome, and his governmental powers (on which his preeminence in the Church is allegedly based). Conciliarists in the fifteenth century were to insist that the pope's priestly powers were his by virtue of his ordination and were identical to those possessed by all bishops. On the other hand, the *potestas jurisdictionis* was independent of the power common to the entire episcopate, since it is granted only to a papal candidate by election; it is in fact based on human nomination and confirmation. As we should expect, it was this *delegated* authority—juridical, administrative and magisterial—that the conciliarists were in the last analysis concerned with, and on which they based their ecclesiastical constitutionalism.[55] The pope for their part was in a genuine sense a limited monarch responsible ultimately to the Church which had elected him through its representatives. In insisting that Constance was an authority superior to the pope, they were applying the same principle: the fullness of the power to rule did not reside exclusively in the papacy.

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[51] Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, 160-62; Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, 57-67; see also (p.105) where thirteenth-century Decretalists are described as "extreme papalists" and "staunch upholders of the pope's sovereignty."

[52] Cf. Black, in *The Cambridge History of the Medieval Political Thought*, 576.

[53] Mansi 27:590.

Since the issue of papal power and primacy had been a major issue in the Christian East since the eleventh century (it was also predictably on the agenda at Florence a mere two decades after Constance) it is legitimate to ask what the reaction of Byzantine theologians would have been to conciliarism. Would their definition of ecclesial power and Church structures have been identical with that of a Jean Gerson or Pierre d'Ailly, for example? In particular, would their analysis have been a repudiation or a recommendation of the crucial conciliarist dichotomy between the pope's two powers, the sacramental and magisterial? Indeed, how would their concept of ecclesial conciliarity have stacked up with western conciliar supremacy? Suffice it to say, the Byzantine brief on the Roman primacy and its claims, discussed in earlier chapters, cannot be again analyzed here. It is worth adding only that its arguments in all essential respects could be described as an implicit rejection of the western distinction of powers. "Indeed, if there was an ecclesiological tradition, firmly upheld in the East, it was that such a dichotomy is impossible .... an authentic ecclesiological encounter between East and West in the fifteenth century would not have resulted in an endorsement of western conciliarism by the East."[56] This is deducible, above all, from the fact that the Orthodox world had long rejected the western thesis that the apostle Peter belongs exclusively to the Latin patriarchate. On the contrary, every bishop has as his model St Peter and perpetuates in himself Peter's ministry and so-called Petrine commission; in his community, a bishop occupies nothing less than the *cathedra Petri*. Of course some distinction regarding the distribution of power in the Church is necessary. Certainly the Byzantines were aware of this need as any review of the canonists of the twelfth century reveals. Balsamon, for example, is particularly suggestive when discussing the powers of patriarchs and emperors, or patriarchs and metropolitans. Then again, distinction is implied in the prominent role assumed by the highest ranking deacons of Hagia Sophia (the *exokatakoiloi*) within the permanent synod of the patriarchate. On the other hand, there is no systematic development of this question in the Christian East. Indeed, the sacramental and jurisdictional (Petrine) powers together were understood as constituting a unity. They are by no means independent or autonomous of each other. It is a simple matter of fact that this unity was also a characteristically integral feature of early Christian ecclesiology. Significantly, the Byzantine response to conciliarism's definition of an ecumenical council would have been equally qualified. The substitution of a standing committee of bishops for the papacy, at any rate, would have come under scrutiny. As in the case of the Petrine commission, the appeal to the past—to scriptural and historical exegesis—would have held center stage. After all, historically, general councils were never institutionalized as a perpetual ruling body over the Church. They had always been convened solely on an *ad hoc* basis to resolve

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[54] Black, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, 573; and also J. Meyendorff, "Was there an encounter between East and West at Florence?" in G. Alberigo, ed., *Christian Unity: the Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/39-1989* (Louvain, 1991), 164.

[55] F. Oakley, "The 'new conciliarism' and its implications: A problem in history and hermeneutics," *idem, Natural Law, Conciliarism and Consent*, 819 (no.8). For the complex wider issues involving the exercise of jurisdiction in the Church and the separation of functions, see especially *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique* 6 (Paris, 1954), 223-63.

[56] Meyendorff, in Alberigo, *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence*, 168, 169. Cf. Nilus Cabasilas' views note 35, p. 164.

a specific issue or crisis. And as it happens, Constance and its measures were a particularly good example of such a crisis.

In conclusion, it is worth noting the evidently lively disagreement at the time between conciliarists and curialists (or high-papalists) and its reflection in contemporary scholarship. That the councils of Pisa and Constance also had opponents who supported the deposed popes is quite clear. And of course, as we shall see, there was consistent, even systematic, resistance to conciliarism by the papacy itself, beginning with Martin V. This division generated by conciliarist thought is very much alive today as well, within scholarly Roman Catholic circles.[57] Quite simply, although Constance (to repeat) was successful in healing the stormy schism of 1378—it ended the juridical impasse and made possible the restoration of a lawful papacy—its ecclesiology has been criticized frequently by the conservative wing of recent Catholic scholarship. The "royal way of the council" and, in particular, the decisive measure, *Haec sancta synodus*, have often been rejected as "false theory" and "error," as invalid and radical doctrine. Doubtless, this conviction that the decree of 1415 is a fundamental break with the orthodox doctrine of the medieval papacy has been influenced by the constitutions of Vatican I (1870) which of course solemnly affirm the ordinary and immediate jurisdiction of the pope over the Church and its bishops. If these declarations are an expression of Roman Catholic faith, conciliarism can only be seen as revolution, even heresy.[58] The supremacy decree of 1415 is in any event unambiguously incompatible with the doctrinal provisions of Vatican I. On the other hand, there are those scholars who insist that Constance is a legitimate ecumenical council and, as such, obligatory for Roman Catholics. In contrast to the conservatives, the decrees of Constance are seen by these scholars as dogmatic definitions and are equally binding in their entirety.[59] Predictably, this modern conciliarist wing is not altogether agreed on all points. There are those who have even argued that *Haec sancta synodus* is not an immutable dogmatic pronouncement. Although it is a legitimate enactment of constitutional law, its provisions should not be viewed as an article of faith.[60] All in all, the arguments of contemporary conciliarists are stronger and more sound historically. Typically, by and large, their views coincide with those of fifteenth century observers.

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[57] The vast literature generated by the two sides is summarized and analyzed by H. Schneider, *Der Konziliarismus als Problem der neuren Katholischen Theologie* (Berlin, 1976); F. Oakley, *Council Over Pope? Towards a Provisional Ecclesiology* (New York, 1969), 105-41; see also P. de Vooght, *Les pouvoirs du concile et l'autorité du pape au Concile de Constance* (Paris, 1965); and K.A. Fink, "Zur Beurteilung des grossen Abendländischen Schismas," *Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte* 73 (1962), 335-43.

[58] Cf. the synopsis of Oakely, "The 'new conciliarism' and its implications," 815-40 (esp. 823-24).

[59] de Vooght, *Les pouvoirs du concile*, 198; *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation*, 467-68 (Fink).

3. The council of Ferrara-Florence

The election of pope Martin V in 1415 was by no means the end of conciliarism. On the contrary, conciliarist thought was to maintain itself against the papalist camp until the synod of Ferrara-Florence in 1438-39. As the standard guide to this council deftly demonstrates, it was then that the turning point in the struggle between the two sides came.[61] The fatal blow to western conciliarism was indeed struck by Florence. But of course the council is also memorable for being the last joint effort made in the late Middle Ages to end the fraternal rivalry and long-standing schism of the Churches. None of the previous attempts to reverse the course of Church history on this question can compare in importance with Florence. It was the most serious effort at unity known to the Middle Ages. True, Florence, like Lyons in 1274, does not qualify as a "union council." It failed in the end in its mission. And yet, on all counts, this particular assembly was very different from all earlier fiascos.

In the fifteenth century, predictably, the urgent need to save the empire from continuing territorial fragmentation was again the decisive factor in diplomatic and ecclesiastical negotiations. Whereas in the 1200s the aggression facing Byzantium came from the West and especially from the Angevins, in the 1400s it came from the East and the Turkish armies. By then (after the elimination of both Serbia and Bulgaria) the empire had been transformed into another Turkish dependency, a tribute-paying client-state of the sultans.[62] For the Byzantine Church this losing battle for survival was no less momentous. The transformation of the ecclesiastical geography of Anatolia and the Balkans was not only rapid but permanent. The patriarchal registers paint a grim picture of Turkish expansionism.[63] The systematic invasion, massacre, and enslavement invariably brought about the depopulation of many regions. Towns and villages were often left desolate without a single priest or bishop even after a desultory raid. Pastoral care was often provided only by an unaffected neighboring diocese. In fact, entire sees vanished into oblivion as the repeated merger of several bishoprics under a single bishop illustrates; the annexation of vacant dioceses to support indigent bishops simply became unavoidable. If in the thirteenth century the total number of sees numbered well over six hundred, by the early fifteenth century the total count was well below two hundred. To this unceasing material impoverishment and destruction must of course be added the elimination of ecclesiastical and monastic properties and institutions, to say nothing of the elimination of the Orthodox population itself not only through invasion but conversion and apostasy to Islam—forced or otherwise.[64] The breathless urgency by which military aid was pursued by 1400 is understandable. The need for assistance conditioned all alliances, politics and diplomacy of the empire, including the personal fruitless visits to the West by many Byzantine emperors (in 1369, 1400, 1423 and again in 1438).

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[60] B. Tierney, "Hermeneutics and history: The problem of Haec sancta," in T.A. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke, eds., *Essays in Medieval History Presented to B. Wilkinson* (Toronto, 1968), 354-70 (esp. 363-7); reprinted in the author's *Church Law and Constitutional Thought in the Middle Ages* (London, 1979), no.12.

[61] Gill, *The Council of Florence*, vii, 411: "The great achievement of the council for the West was that it secured the victory for the popes in the struggle of papacy versus council, and the survival of the traditional order of the Church."

[62] G. Ostrogorsky, "Byzance, État tributaire de l'empire turc," *Zbornik Radova* 5 (1958), 49-58.

[63] See especially the recent edition of documents covering the early fourteenth century, H. Hunger and O. Kresten, eds., *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel* (Vienna, 1980);

But the council of 1438 cannot be assessed effectively only against the background of Byzantine military decline and the broad ecclesiastical realities of western conciliarism. Florence was also in a very real sense a major papal concession to Orthodox ecclesiology and, more specifically, to Byzantine demands for a joint union council. The formal negative response of the West to these requests was actually reversed only in 1438. Florence, as such, constitutes a major sudden shift in papal strategy: Byzantine demands for a full-dress debate on the points dividing Christendom were finally acknowledged—after nearly two centuries of papal rejection. It was emphasized in an earlier chapter dealing with the council of Lyons that the Byzantine solution to the problem of Christian disunity was first articulated by patriarch Joseph I in 1273. No diplomatic scheme for ecclesiastical unity could succeed, he and

and its companion volume of studies edited by H. Hunger, *Studien zum Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel* (Vienna, 1981); and the brief but valuable paper of R.E. Sinkewicz, "Church and society in Asia Minor in the late thirteenth century: the case of Theoleptos of Philadelphia" in M. Gervers and R.J. Bikhazi, eds., *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1990), 355-64. For a timely denunciation of recent attempts by Turcologists to play down the unrelenting brutality and barbarity of the Ottoman conquests, see E. de Vries-Van der Velden, *L'Élite byzantine devant l'avance turque à l'époque de la guerre civile de 1341 à 1354* (Amsterdam, 1989).

[64] Cf. the fundamental volume by S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh Through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), chs. 4-5.

his synod had argued in their counter-memorandum to Michael VIII Palaeologus, unless it was thoroughly grounded in real debate. Accepting protocol items mechanically (as Michael was in fact insisting) as a means of restoring unity was pointless. Regardless of their military and political advantage, such solutions could not work. Besides, it simply was not the way the Church had traditionally resolved problems of schism or disunity. This resistance to all political schemes for achieving unity was not soon forgotten by Byzantine churchmen. In the Orthodox world throughout the fourteenth century after the Lyons debacle, the convocation of an ecumenical council—the call for dialogue—was seen as the only possible solution to Christian disunity.[65]

One of earliest expositions of the Byzantine brief in the fourteenth century was made by the opponent of Palamite hesychasm, Barlaam the Calabrian. Shortly before his disgrace he had been sent as ambassador to the papal court at Avignon by the Byzantine government. It is here in 1339 during an audience with pope Benedict XII that he argued the Byzantine view on reunion.[66] True, he had no official mandate from the Byzantine Church and was not acting as its spokesman. Still, his presentation was a true reflection of Orthodox sentiment on the lingering schism and on how best to heal it. "There is only one effective means to bring about union [the Calabrian monk firmly informed the pope] and that is through the gathering of a general council to be held in the East. For the Orthodox anything determined by a general council has the authority of law. You may object and say that a council has already met at Lyons to treat of union. But no Orthodox recognizes the ecumenicity of Lyons, since no subsequent council has declared it so. In fact, the [Byzantine] legates to that council were sent there neither by the four patriarchs who govern the Eastern Church, nor by the Orthodox people, but by the emperor alone, who without trying to gain the support of his people sought only by force to realize the union. To the four patriarchs therefore send legates, and under their presidency a general council will convene which will achieve union."[67] In sum, the East could never be won over by a dictated peace patterned after Lyons. Unconditional blind submission to papal authority was not the solution to the reciprocal East-West antagonism. On the contrary, only a synodal decision of a free ecumenical council could achieve unity. Barlaam, it seems, also had his own ideas for resolving the schism. Not surprising, as with his approach to Palamism, his suggestion that the Latins simply adopt the original text of the creed by suppressing their interpolation of the *Filioque* is a good sample of his theological minimalism and relativism (to say nothing of his ignorance of Latin theology).[68] On the other hand, he was certain every union would continue to be unacceptable to the Orthodox East if it was not the product of a genuine council.

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[65] For a good survey of the evidence, see especially D.M. Nicol, "Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council in the fourteenth century," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 1 (1969), 69-95; and more generally W. De Vries, "Die Päpste von Avignon und der christliche Osten," *OCP* 30 (1964), 85-128; H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen, 1980), 226-30; and M. Mollat du Jourdin *et al., Un Temps d'Épreuves (1274-1449)*, vol.6: *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 1990), 304-309 (M.-H. Congourdeau).

[66] Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirchen*, 206-207; Nicol, "Byzantine requests," 76-81; Vries, "Die Päpste von Avignon," 106-107.

[67] *PG* 151:1331-42 (here 1332); D.J. Geanakoplos, "The council of Florence (1438-1439) and

For a more sensitive and informed presentation of the need for a negotiated ecclesiastical settlement, we must turn to Barlaam's adversaries, to the allegedly staunchly conservative Palamites and their patron, John VI Cantacuzenus. More than anyone else, Cantacuzenus' program, as revealed in his own memoirs, politics, and conversations with visiting Latin clergy and envoys, anticipates the diplomatic bargaining which preceded the gathering at Ferrara-Florence less than a century later. In contrast with Barlaam, he refused to treat the East-West doctrinal impasse as a peripheral problem; the only way the disputed theological issues could be resolved (he was convinced) was through candid fraternal discussion; it was for him essential that both sides meet in an open council, as both friends and brothers. In sum, if it was to be genuine, a council could not simply serve as a formal setting for submission. Given this understanding of how union was to be realized—in an open-ended atmosphere of mutual affection and esteem—it comes as no surprise that the emperor condemned the diplomatic solution imposed by the papacy and Michael Palaeologus in 1274. Unlike his Palaeologan predecessor, he explicitly stressed time and again that no one could be bullied by imperial decree into accepting union "unless an ecumenical council has assembled and revealed what we must with certainty believe."[69] Doubtless his view that the proposed council should convene "at some point on the coast" is one of the more obvious examples of his anticipation of Florence. As he was to emphasize in a reply to pope Clement VI, dated 1350, if Europe and Asia had

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the problem of union between the Byzantine and the Latin Churches," in *Byzantine East and Latin West* (New York, 1966), 90-92.

[68] See the texts edited by C. Giannelli, "Un progetto di Barlaam Calabro per l'unione delle chiese," *Studi e Testi* 123 (1946), 157-208; and the discussion by J. Meyendorff, "Un mauvais théologien de l'unité: Barlaam le Calabrais," in *L'Église et les églises* (Chevetogne, 1955), 2:47-64.

[69] John Cantacuzenus, *Historiae*, 3 vols., ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, 1828-32), 3:59.

been under Byzantine rule as in the past, the council would have to convene in imperial territory. "But this is now impossible; for the pope cannot come here, and I cannot for so long leave my empire, beset as it is by enemies and barbarians. However, if the pope agrees, let us meet halfway, at some point on the coast, to which he would bring the western clergy and I the patriarchs and their bishops; and I believe that God will then guide us to the truth."[70]

This is the gist of Cantacuzenus negotiations with the papacy during his brief reign. They began in 1347, the year he became senior co-emperor following his victory in the civil war of 1341-47.[71] Although in general the papacy at Avignon evaded any immediate decision—presumably the imperial plans were deemed unacceptable or unnecessary—Cantacuzenus continued his campaign for a council even after his abdication in 1354. The perfect opportunity to present his point of view again, however, did not materialize until 1367, during the visit of the papal envoy, Paul, titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople, to the Byzantine court. Although the ex-emperor was by then only a monk, he was still powerful and influential, and a lengthy discussion was therefore arranged between himself and the papal visitor.[72] Cantacuzenus' exposition, broadly considered, did not differ significantly from his earlier attitude. Once again, he insisted on the need for a fully representative council (to be held either in Constantinople or a city near the sea) precisely because the schism was a problem involving the entire Church. Typically, the ex-emperor did not automatically equate the Church in its totality or representation with the traditional pentarchy of patriarchal sees, but rather with the entire Orthodox world in all its multinationality. All jurisdictions, including the distant Churches of Georgia, Trebizond, Alania, Zecchia, and Russia, as well as the traditional eastern patriarchates and the Balkan Churches, were to send delegates to the council. As in his earlier instructions to envoys, Cantacuzenus again emphasized that the papacy had to abandon its hope of union by decree; its understanding of reunion as "reduction" was unacceptable. The faith, quite simply, could not be forced.[73] Moreover, the papal penchant for sitting in judgment also had to be relinquished. In fact, Rome's refusal to treat others as equals was a genuine scandal, as the Hungarian practice of re-baptizing Orthodox Christians in the Balkans at the time emphasized. "But what prevents this desire [for union] from being accomplished is the fact that never since the schism have you [the Latins] sought its accomplishment in a friendly and fraternal manner. Always you have adopted a magisterial, authoritarian attitude, never allowing that we or anyone else can contradict what the pope has said or may say in the future, since he is the successor of Peter and therefore speaks with the voice of Christ."[74]

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[70] *Ibid.*, 3:60.

[71] *Ibid.*, 3:53-62; R.J. Loenertz, "Ambassadeurs grec auprès du pape Clément VI (1348)," *OCP* 19 (1953), 178-96; J. Gay, *Le Pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient* (Paris, 1904), 4-118; Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 2942, 2957.

[72] J. Meyendorff, "Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367: Un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul," *DOP* 14 (1960), 149-77.

[73] *Ibid.*, 174: ἀναγκαστὴ ἡ πίστις οὐκ ἔστιν. The request that the council be a fully representative congress was made by patriarch Joseph I in 1273 and again by his namesake, Joseph II, in 1422. See V. Laurent, "Les préliminaires du concile de Florence: Les Neuf Articles du Pape Martin V et la réponse inédite du patriarche du Constantinople Joseph II (Octobre 1422),"

To say it once more, these repeated calls for an ecumenical council were a genuine anticipation of Ferrara-Florence. In the end it was at Florence that the emperor's plan was actualized. It is highly significant that Cantacuzenus' project also expressed the position of the Palamite monastic leadership which had taken over control of the patriarchate in the fourteenth century. To be sure, the conviction that the Palamites were solidly anti-Latin is frequently emphasized in the secondary literature. As a monastic party of radical religious zealots and obscurantists, it is often argued, the Palamites were also systematically opposed to all union negotiations; presumably in the end their resistance accounts for the unionist failure. Be this as it may, nevertheless, this portrait of late Byzantine monasticism is unsound, if only because it is actually rooted in the views of the medieval opponents of the Palamites, in their allegedly more "enlightened" and "ecumenically-minded" humanist adversaries, such as Demetrius Cydones and Nicephorus Gregoras.[75] To put it otherwise, modern scholars are simply repeating a biased and bigoted position. Their conviction that the Palamite patriarchs and their partisans were routinely relentlessly anti-Latin is a cartoon distortion. There is no doubt of course that they resisted the ***political union schemes*** perpetuated by so many Byzantine sovereigns. Because of their religious convictions, however, they also shared with Cantacuzenus his belief in a true joint council. Healing the breach with the West in this way was repeatedly defended and supported by all Palamite leaders. Their attachment to a conciliar ecclesiology is beyond question. Like

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REB 20 (1962), 54 (5-60). For the idea that a council is ecumenical when the five patriarchates are represented, see J. Darrouzès, "Une conférence sur la primauté du pape à Constantinople en 1357," *REB* 19 (1961), 107.

[74] Meyendorff, "Projets de concile," 172.

[75] J. Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the fourteenth century: Spiritual and intellectual legacy," *DOP* 42 (1988), 161-63; *idem*, "Society and culture in the fourteenth century: Religious problems," in the author's *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* (Crestwood, NY, 1982), 139-42.

Cantacuzenus, they were persuaded that a union achieved without free discussion was self-deceiving and, indeed, worse than useless. Contemporary scholarly views notwithstanding, what separated the Palamites from the "Latinophrones"—both in the 1300s and later at Florence—involved methods and priorities, not the idea of Church union *per se*. "The 'mystical theology' which the councils of 1341 and 1351 had formulated implied [for the Palamites, but not for the pro-Latin party] an absolute primacy of the religious knowledge over politics and even national interest."[76]

Doubtless what also makes this Byzantine "ecumenism" unusual is the fact that it was expressed by a Church that had been the victim of the fourth crusade and the Latin conquest, to say nothing of the establishment in the East of a Latin hierarchy, and the humiliation of Lyons. Remarkably, despite these outrages, the Byzantines continued to lobby for a union council as the only seemingly equitable and indeed sensible solution to the schism. Presumably, significantly, the Byzantines were also undeterred by the absence of eucharistic unity between themselves and the Latins and were willing to set the issue aside, a least temporarily, as they had done with western ecclesiastical colonialism, for the sake of Church unity. Although the subject usually goes unnoticed, the fact remains that for the Byzantines, councils were always viewed from an ecclesiological context, as being essentially *ecclesial* events or affairs. This being so, delegates to such bodies had to confess an identical faith and indeed had to share a common eucharist. In the last analysis, only members of the Church could participate in them; heretics on the other hand could not, at least not on an equal footing. Needless to say, if strict ecclesiological principles were followed in the fourteenth century, the West would have been unable to participate in an ecumenical council. The crucial condition for its participation—eucharistic communion—was by then non-existent. The council, in sum, could not have been justified ecclesiologically. Be this as it may, to repeat, the Byzantines were willing to disregard the restriction. At Florence, at any rate, when eastern and western participants met together to sit in a common council, both credal and eucharistic unity was in fact lacking. The two sides presumably viewed each other as schismatics and possibly as heretics as well. The gathering, in any event, strictly speaking, was not an exact replica of the ecumenical councils of the past.

It is highly revealing of the western mentality that the early papal response to Byzantium's realistic approach to ecumenism was a ringing rejection. This

[76] Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the fourteenth century," 140.

short-sighted reply contrasts sharply even with the views of some Latin clergymen, including the Dominican, Humbert of Romans, who in the thirteenth century had already warned the papacy that its demands for complete capitulation were simply wrong-headed and would fail.[77] Broadly considered, the papal posture of the fourteenth century had not changed substantially from the previous century. Avignon's approach was virtually identical to the hard-line policy first pursued by Clement IV in his negotiations with Michael VIII. Papal thinking about an ecumenical council for solving the schism was the same: debating what was already firmly defined by the Roman Church and its pontiffs was simply not possible. The way to unity could be achieved solely by a return to Rome without reservations. Whether it was addressed to Cantacuzenus, Barlaam, or the Palamite patriarchate, the papal reply in the fourteenth century was virtually identical. Rome continued to emphasize that unconditional submission was the one acceptable settlement; it had at any rate no intention of placing its authority in doubt by convening a council. As Pope Urban V noted in a letter sent to the eastern clergy in 1370 (that is, shortly after Cantacuzenus' dialogue with the papal legate) Orthodox requests for a council were "vain" appeals for "useless debate."

> For many serious reasons we have not granted the convocation of a synod of Latin and Greek ecclesiastical prelates, which many people, as we have heard, vainly request, in order that those points in which you differ from the westerners and from some easterners (since, in accordance with what the holy Roman Church holds and teaches, these are known to be certain, seeing that they are proved by the witness of the sacred Scriptures and by the words and decisions of the holy doctors both Latin and Greek and from apostolic faith) may not be brought to the sifting of doubt and of prying discussion and that by useless debate we may not replace the old faith by a new. We shall, however, be graciously ready humbly to instruct any who are in doubt, if they will come to this see, about the witness, words and decisions in question.[78]

As one recent commentator puts it, if there was still some lingering doubt about the gathering of a council, the letter dispelled it entirely. There would not be one.[79]

The papacy's formula of intransigence remained the staple ingredient of its eastern diplomacy until 1415 and the council of Constance. The challenge from western conciliarism and the stress on conciliar supremacy, to say nothing of the confusion introduced by the Great Schism itself, necessarily forced Rome to rethink its rejection of Byzantium's practical solution to disunity. As it happened, Pope Martin V (1417-31) and his successor Eugenius IV (1431-47)—unlike their predecessors—were not quite as free to do as they pleased. Martin V—as a conciliar pope—was actually bound to obey the council and the reformers to whom he owed his election; he could not at any rate simply continue to pretend Orthodox requests for a council were unrealistic. Neither pope was indeed any longer in a position to dictate the "conversion" or "submission" of Eastern Christendom. As a consequence, Byzantine conciliar ecclesiology gradually became more acceptable among papal circles. Remarkably, the Byzantine program was no longer viewed as unworkable or unreasonable. Put another way, the eventual adoption of the Palamite suggestion that the two Churches meet without any pre-conditions and on a footing of equality was a fundamental papal concession and even a capitulation. Rome's previous objection that its doctrinal position and organization could not be put on trial was quietly (if reluctantly) retired. For the ultra-papalists at Florence it was doubtless unsettling that a council was sitting in judgement on western doctrinal developments. Given the fact that pope Eugenius was a hard-core defender of papal supremacy and, as such, despised the constitutional theories of conciliarism, the presence of the Orthodox delegation at the council of Florence may have seemed to him incongruous. Of course, he was never openly discourteous to his Byzantine visitors from Constantinople. On the other hand, "behind the smiles and ceremonious bows, the Greeks were being treated as schismatics and heretics prior to their submission to Rome."[80]

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[77] E.T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto, 1984), 186-91.

[78] A.L. Tautu, *Acta Urbani* V (Vatican, 1964), no.184 (22 February 1370); see J. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy 1198-1400* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1979), 220.

[79] *Ibid.*, 221.

Whatever the case, the idea of a union council began to be pursued by both sides almost immediately after the dissolution of Constance in 1418. Imperial envoys were in fact present at Constance, but due in part to their incompetence discussions did not get very far. A great deal of confusion was the only result. Oddly, Pope Martin actually had assumed that the Byzantine request for a council was a purely "face-saving device" thought up by the Orthodox to conceal their submission! He was somehow given the impression that Constantinople was willing to accept the Roman faith without discussion or qualification. He was of course before long informed otherwise by both the emperor and the patriarch. The papacy, through Anthony da Massa, its nuncio sent to Constantinople, was in fact promptly notified in 1422 that a council serving only as a

[80] H. Chadwick, "The theological ethos of the council of Florence," in Alberigo, *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence*, 235; cf. also 231-32.

ceremonial background for Orthodoxy's *de facto* ratification of union was unacceptable; only then was it realized that the imperial delegation sent earlier to the West had not been empowered to suggest anything of this sort. The nuncio was also told that the pope would have to finance any future council since imperial poverty ruled out all assistance.[81] To be sure, this misunderstanding was not the only source of delay in the preliminaries to Ferrara-Florence. There was also the ongoing struggle between curialists and conciliarists. In particular, Martin had no choice but to comply with the conciliar timetable established by Constance and its decree *Frequens*. The synod of Pavia-Sienna (1423) had to be convoked in a timely fashion regardless of the pope's own feelings.[82] To be short, incorporating councils into the regular working organization of the Roman Church (as was implied by the terms sanctioned at Constance) was not part of Pope Martin's ecclesiological vision. Governing Western Christendom "constitutionally" was by no means the great priority. To say it once more, both he and his successor, Eugenius IV (1431-47), were unwilling to support conciliarist constitutionalism. Their commitment to the restoration of a united papal monarchy took priority over the clerical parliaments of conciliarism. Both undoubtedly had a bent for power and proved frequently to be skilled politicians.

All things considered, nevertheless, the curial-conciliar competition within Latin Christendom was not fatal to the union overtures initiated by the Byzantines after Constance. Actually, in the end, the preliminaries to Ferrara-Florence were to benefit from the increasingly acrimonious conflict in the West, especially after it reached high tide at the council of Basel. Arguably, the decisive turning point in the history of this council (1431-49), convoked like its predecessor according to the terms specified by *Frequens*, was entirely the consequence of the negotiations with Constantinople.[83] Briefly put, Byzantium was soon courted by both sides—papal and conciliar—for their own aims. The contest for Byzantine favor was doubtlessly viewed by the conciliarists at Basel as politically important, since any success with the Orthodox would have added to their reputation. The fact that they carried on unilateral negotiations with Constantinople and even

[81] See especially Laurent, "Les préliminaires du concile de Florence," 5-60. Cf. J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425)* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), 323-29; and Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 33-6; *idem*, "Greeks and Latins in a common council," in *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1964), 235 (233-53).

[82] W. Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Pavia-Sienna 1423-1424*, 2 vols. (Münster, 1968-73).

[83] J. Helmrath, *Das Basler Konzil, 1431-1449* (Cologne, 1987); J.W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire* (Leiden, 1978); *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme*, 1:227-37 (Delaruelle).

sent their own rival delegation to the Byzantine capital (distinct from the papal party) is indicative of the depths of the council's opposition and hostility to Pope Eugenius. As its February 1432 re-enactment of *Haec sancta* illustrates, Basel saw itself as the legitimate heir to Constance. It was as such determined to assert its own sovereignty by limiting not only the pope's jurisdictional power and control of his financial resources, but also by subordinating papal authority to itself and its aims. Actually, after the successful settlement of the Hussite question, Basel's enhanced prestige even forced Eugenius to withdraw his decree of dissolution (issued against the council shortly after it had been convoked). On the other hand, Pope Eugenius was no less determined to outflank his adversary. Time and again circumstances and events were to favor him rather than the council. No less important, perhaps, was the fact that the papal finances were far more secure than those of the council; this was to be an important consideration for the Orthodox delegates travelling to Italy. The pope could at least rely on his bankers whereas the council could not.

By and large, all the same, in the end it was the Byzantine delegation which provided Pope Eugenius with the decisive advantage. Quite simply, the decision finally made in 1437 by both the Byzantine Church and government to go West for an open union council was based on an essential premise: the meeting place chosen for the congress had to be on or near the Italian coast. With the Turkish danger becoming daily more ominous, they were understandably anxious about their journey and their absence from the Byzantine capital; both had to be as short as possible. It goes without saying that these Byzantine conditions were virtually identical to those first advanced by John VI Cantacuzenus in the 1350s. Significantly, whereas the pope was able to grasp the significance of the Orthodox request and then, with dispatch, act on it, his adversaries at Basel were not. In fact, because of their squabbles with Rome, Basel's more doctrinaire conciliarists were convinced that the proposed union council with the Byzantines must not under any circumstances be held in an Italian city subject to the pope; they were, it appears, certain that the final result of such a move would destroy their own independence.[84] In May 1437, accordingly, Basel's majority moved to oppose Eugenius by agreeing to invite the Eastern Orthodox to a selection of cities north of the Alps. Probably the most promising choices were Avignon and less distant Basel itself. Predictably, the pope failed to comply with the resolution. By September he had decided to dissolve the council by removing it to Ferrara, Italy. Before long, the council's minority (having caused a schism by failing to support the extremists) joined him.

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[84] Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel,* 33-56; *idem,* "Christian unity from the perspective of the council fathers at Basel and that of Eugenius IV," in Alberigo, *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence,* 57-74. Cf. Dölger, *Regesten,* nos. 3476, 3478. For the competing embassies in Constantinople see also the documents in G. Hofmann, ed., *Orientalium Documenta Minora* (Rome, 1953), 29-32; and Gill, *The Council of Florence,* 79-82.

Needless to say, it was the papal decision that the Byzantines on their arrival in northern Italy (February 1438) chose to support. Travelling beyond the Alps, as suggested by the council of Basel, was for the Byzantines far too remote and unwise. Also, possibly, their resolve not to join the conciliarists may have been determined by their lack of any in-depth knowledge of the western ecclesiological confrontation. They were at any rate far more at ease with the papacy and its claims than with the more recent and unfamiliar phenomenon of western conciliarism. To be short, the Byzantines—as has often been said—failed to capitalize on the Latin division between pope and council. Finally, Basel's organization itself may have played some part in the Byzantine decision to go to Ferrara. Unlike its predecessors (Constance and Sienna) Basel did not adopt the system of representation by nations in which each nationality possessed veto power and was a participant in what could be described as a general steering committee. Still, the division of members into four major commissions or deputations at Basel (every delegate was appointed to at least one commission) would have puzzled the large Orthodox delegation. Had the Byzantines in fact gone to Basel instead of Ferrara, it is more than probable they would have been assigned to the council's various deputations. However, this would have been incompatible with their ecclesiology, their conception of themselves as representatives of Eastern Christianity, their general understanding of the status of the Byzantine emperor and the pentarchy of patriarchs. To be sure, from the outset, difficulties with protocol were also known at Ferrara. Still, Orthodox assumptions were by and large recognized and respected. Even the emperor's theoretical position within Christendom was not ignored or cold-shouldered.

4. *Doctrinal discussion at Florence: an "infallible" faith?*

Although the Byzantine delegates were in Venice by 8 February 1438, it was not until the following month that they finally arrived at Ferrara for the council (4 March). Even then, however, discussion was postponed for several months at the request of the emperor John VIII Palaeologus in order to await the arrival of western political leaders. It was after all from these secular princes that the hoped-for military aid for Constantinople was to come. To be sure, the emperor was before long disillusioned: virtually all of the European states failed to send envoys to Ferrara. But disappointment was also caused by the pope's considerable financial difficulties.[85] By January 1439, it was actually because of the pope's unpaid bills and empty treasury (and not the danger of pestilence) that the council was once more forced to move south to Florence. Increasingly these genuine embarrassments were recognized as unambiguous warning signs by the emperor.[86] There are in fact allusions in the extant sources that he did not believe an ecclesiastical union would be militarily or politically effective in the empire's struggle for survival. The suspicion that he was ready to return to Byzantium even without an agreement is at any rate often compelling.

On the other hand, the council was acknowledged by the Orthodox as being a decisive turning away from previous papal policy. To repeat, virtually all of Cantacuzenus' proposals had been met. Remarkably, the council was to assemble in a truly conciliar fashion for serious exchange and discussion without any preconditions. Additionally, the request that the meeting place be in Italy, as we have seen, was not brushed aside. Finally, the Orthodox concern that the membership of the council be realistically inclusive was acknowledge by the papacy. It bears repeating that the Byzantine Church in the fifteenth century was aware (as was Cantacuzenus previously) that a settlement achieved without the active participation of, say, the Georgians or Russians was unlikely to succeed in the long run. In the event, the Byzantine representation at Ferrara, when it did arrive, included some seven hundred persons in all.[87] As has been implied, both emperor John VIII and patriarch Joseph II of Constantinople were in attendance. The other eastern members of the pentarchy, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, though they had long ceased to carry much weight, were, nevertheless, also represented by plenipotentiaries (determined predictably by the Byzantine patriarchate). On the whole, Orthodox respect for these ancient sees has often been exaggerated. Undeniably, their attendance through their proxies at Ferrara and Florence was not seen as a decorative frill, but as a requisite item for conciliar ecumenicity (as was of course equally true of the presence of the bishop of Rome). On the other hand, this does not also mean that the pentarchic system was perceived as an indispensable component part of ecclesiology. As we should expect, the

[85] See the report of the grand ecclesiarch, Sylvester Syropoulos, V. Laurent, ed., *Les 'Mémoires' du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur la concile de Florence* (Paris, 1971), 188f, 296, 298; J. Gill, "The cost of the council of Florence," *OCP* 22 (1956), 299-318.

[86] Cf. *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini,* ed. J. Gill (Rome, 1953), 220-27; Gill, *The Council of Florence,* 174-79.

[87] For a rapid review, see *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme,* 2:544-49 (Delaruelle).

delegation of the Church of Constantinople proper was the largest and included scores of metropolitan bishops, clerics and monastics. The pro-Latin wing of contemporary Byzantine theological opinion was represented above all by the humanist Bessarion, bishop of Nicaea. His opposite, the spokesman for the Palamites, was Mark Eugenicus, metropolitan of Ephesus. Athonite monks from the Great Laura, St Paul and Vatopedi, were also envoys of this same circle. Among the laymen, several major intellectuals were part of the Byzantine entourage, including George Scholarius, who would become first patriarch under the Turks after the fall of Constantinople, and the philosopher George Gemistus Plethon. Finally, the catholicus of Georgia sent his own attendants as did the Church of Moldovlachia. More distant Russia was represented by its primate Isidore, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, who had long served as imperial ambassador and diplomat before his episcopal consecration. Evidently, geographically, the Orthodox commonwealth was well represented.[88]

At the same time, however, this evident inclusiveness was in part also purely formal and therefore deceiving. Millions of Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Balkans and Asia Minor, to say nothing of the Near East, were in point of fact not represented because their territories were by then under Turkish rule. The Byzantine delegates at Ferrara and Florence, in sum, should probably be described primarily as the spokesmen of the fifty thousand or so Orthodox still living in Constantinople and its outskirts, which of course was all that remained of the empire by the 1430s. In this connection, it is worth adding that the western delegation was itself not very representative of the Latin Church. Very few bishops were actually in attendance and almost all of them were of Italian origin.[89] Only a handful were from beyond the Alps. Equally, their spokesmen were limited to a few individuals such as cardinal Cesarini and the Dominican theologians John of Torquemada and archbishop Andrew of Rhodes.

But the eastern contigent in Italy was also plagued by other disadvantages. In particular, although there were a great many delegates from Byzantium at Ferrara-Florence, the fact remains that very few of them were theologically well-prepared. The assessment of Constantinople's cultural elite by its own more informed scholars is not very flattering. George Scholarius was at any rate startled and alarmed by his findings. In sum, the delegation as a whole was not up to snuff for the full-dress debates that awaited it at the council.[90] This theological incompetence was often particularly obvious among the bishops (as their largely non-participatory passive posture at the council illustrates). The leading negotiators at the council, who also acted as proxies for the eastern patriarchs, were actually almost always Mark Eugenicus of Ephesus and Bessarion of Nicaea. Arguably, it was to compensate for this evident weakness that a number of intellectuals (including Isidore, Mark, and Bessarion) were raised to the episcopate just before the Byzantine convoy left Constantinople for the council in 1437. This same lack of education also no doubt accounts for the presence at the council of such eminent lay advisers to the emperor as George Scholarius and George Amiroutzes, to say nothing of the neo-pagan Gemistus. All of them were part of the imperial entourage in Italy precisely because of their considerable reputation as philosophers.

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[88] For a number of very useful character studies of the council's participants, including pope Eugenius, Bessarion, Scholarius, John VIII and others, see Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence*. On Isidore of Kiev, see above, 350f.

[89] *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation*, 482 (Fink).

It is worth emphasizing in connection with this lack of readiness that the deductive theological methodology of the Latins invariably also caused difficulties. As George Scholarius, the Byzantine Thomist at the council openly confessed, the ineffectual dialectical expertise of his fellow countrymen could not compare or compete with the sophisticated syllogistic argumentation of western theologians; they always argued so it seemed far more ably than the Byzantines. "There are people with no qualifications who want to compete with the Latins in theology and philosophy. For among us matters are not at their best. A person can attain to the highest posts even if he knows just enough theology not to give the impression of a complete lack of education."[91] As heirs of Latin scholasticism, to put it briefly, western theologians at the council approached virtually every issue philosophically and dialectically rather than biblically or patristically. To the Orthodox, for whom as we have often emphasized theology was never seen exclusively as a scholastic or scientific discipline, this was a genuine problem. As Isidore of Kiev, another admirer of Latin scholarship and theology, was to put it, the unfamiliar philosophical categories and arguments used by western theologians at the council "have rather deepened the schism and have made the disagreement greater and stronger."[92]

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[90] L. Petit, *et al., Oeuvres complètes de George (Gennade) Scholarios* (Paris, 1928), 4:406, 407; Syropoulos, *Les 'Mémoires'*, 464. See also I. Ševčenko, "The decline of Byzantium seen through the eyes of its intellectuals," *DOP* 15 (1961), 169-86 (here 175); reprinted in the author's *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (London, 1981), no. 2.

[91] *Oeuvres complètes*, 1:299.

[92] Cited by Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 227.

But if the Byzantine delegation was unprepared theologically at Ferrara and was only formally representative of Eastern Christendom, it was also in some ways divided. This, too, was not in its favor. The polarization is perhaps best revealed by the different attitudes and approaches of its two main negotiators. Bessarion, who like his opposite, Mark of Ephesus, had studied with Gemistus Plethon, was unambiguously devoted to the Greek classical tradition. The preservation of this sacred legacy, as he conceived it, became a leading concern in his life. In time, before Byzantium actually expired, the great humanist came to believe that this was the mission above all of the Latin West. Given his passionate love of antiquity and his philosophical orientation, to say nothing of his firm conviction that Christian survival under Islam was not possible, he was in the end easily and sincerely convinced of the Latin position and signed the decree of union in 1439.[93] He was able to convince many of the other delegates at the council, including Isidore of Kiev and all Russia. Significantly, long before 1453, both he and Isidore became ex-patriates and, as converts, rose to the highest positions in the papal curia. Both became not only papal legates but eventually cardinals.

Mark of Ephesus on the other hand was a Palamite and as a follower of the monastic spirituality of hesychasm was distrusted by the Byzantine humanists at the council. He was also opposed by those who were willing to embrace union for the sake of short-term political advantage, which normally meant doctrinal concession.[94] Indeed, Mark's priorities were quire different and were the cause of his isolation. As a vigorous opponent of temporary political expediency he gave priority exclusively to the Orthodox faith. This is no doubt the basis for the frequent tiresome accusations of fanaticism and ultra-conservatism that have been leveled against him. It has even been cheerfully claimed that "if some one cause is to be assigned for the failure of the council of Florence, that cause was Mark Eugenicus, metropolitan of Ephesus."[95] And yet, his desire for union was genuine. He was also convinced that Rome had to make concessions especially in regards to its unilateral innovations, which for him included not only the illicit addition to the creed but the new scholastic doctrine of purgatory. No doubt, an over-reliance on proof-texts was one of his shortcomings. This linking of isolated passages from the fathers, used to support theological argument, does not of course have much to recommend it as methodology. On the other hand he was by no means alone. Their syllogistic reasoning notwithstanding, the Thomists in the Latin camp were just as guilty of abusing this methodology. It is in fact reasonably certain that "in the process both sides failed to advance discussion of the substantive dogmatic issues which divided the Churches. The Latins were oblivious to the basic intuitions and concerns of the Greek patristic tradition and even to many aspects of the Latin tradition. Misjudging the weight and consistence of their sometimes questionable sources, they sought only to fit the theology of others into their own narrow system."[96] At any rate, Mark, on his return to the Byzantine capital after the council—he alone had refused to sign the union decree of 1439—became the leader of the anti-unionists. On his death in 1445 this leadership was assumed by his disciple George Scholarius.

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[93] L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theolog, Humanist und Staatsmann*, 3 vols. (Paderborn, 1923-24); Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 45-54.

[94] *Ibid.*, 54-64; C. Tsirpanlis, *Mark Eugenicus and the Council of Florence* (Thessalonica, 1974).

[95] Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 64; *idem*, *The Council of Florence*, 225-26; 248-49; W. Ullmann, "A Greek démarche on the eve of the council of Florence," *JEH* 26 (1975), 346. A similar simplistic argument—personal vanity—is used by Gill (*Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 91-93) to explain Scholarius' later anti-unionist stand. See, however, the cogent and subtle refutation of this unjustified interpretation by C.J.G. Turner, "George-Gennadius Scholarius and the union of Florence," *Journal of Theological Studies* 18 (1967), 83-103.

Given Mark's essentially monastic and apophatic appreciation of the nature of theological truth (in contrast to the "scientific" Latin understanding of theology as conceptual knowledge) it is important to note that Palamite questions at the council were customarily carefully circumvented. Time and again all serious dialogue between Thomists and Palamites was intentionally cautiously avoided. Evidence suggests that the emperor opposed the advice that the distinction between the unknowable divine essence and the divine operations or energies be debated in public session.[97] When Mark at Florence was asked at one of the sessions devoted to the *Filioque* to expand on his understanding of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the Spirit itself, he declined. As one account put it, the reason was quite simple: he wished to prevent any official or direct "disputation on the question of created and uncreated [energies]."[98] He was probably following the general Byzantine determination which involved avoiding adding further points of formal theological disagreement to the existing conciliar agenda. Perhaps it was a wise conviction. Still, "it is hard to see how a council which shirked the main matters of discord could hope to achieve concord."[99] Indeed, obvious hedging of this sort raises serious suspicions or reservations about the aims of the council as a whole. After all, if formal debate between Thomists and Palamites was deliberately avoided, does this not also mean that "in fact, nobody either desired, or was ready for a dialogue of this sort"?[100] Given the fact that the Byzantine delegates were probably unanimously agreed on virtually most of the basic Palamite issues,[101] the question is by no means of peripheral interest.

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[96] J.H. Erickson, "*Filioque* and the fathers at the council of Florence," in *idem*, *The Challenge of Our Past* (Crestwood, NY, 1991), 166.

[97] Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 205-206, 225, 267; cf. also B. de Margerie, "Vers une relecture du concile de Florence grâce à la reconsidération de l'Écriture et des Pères grecs et latins," *Revue thomiste* 86 (1986), 75-79 (Appendix 2).

[98] *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini*, 346.

Although the council opened officially 9 April 1438 (a month after the Byzantines reached Ferrara) the emperor immediately requested a delay as noted earlier to await the arrival of the secular representatives. Be this as it may, two committees of ten, one from each side, did eventually begin to discuss purgatory early in June. This was succeeded by thirteen sessions (8 October–13 December) devoted to the addition to the common creed. Throughout these meetings, Mark Eugenicus was the principal spokesman for the Byzantine party, while Andrew of Rhodes and Cesarini were the Latin experts.[102] Shortly after the conclusion of these discussions, in the new year, the council was moved to Florence (10 January 1439). The first eight sessions to be organized in that town (2-24 March) focused exclusively on the trinitarian implications of the *Filioque*; these were often marked by heated debate regarding the accuracy of the patristic texts used by each side. A stalemate nonetheless was the only result and this in turn meant further negotiations and conversations in committee (24 March-27 May). The death of patriarch Joseph II which occurred shortly after (10 June) did not of course put an end to the council. (He was buried in the church of St Maria Novella, where his tomb is still to be found, and the council continued.)[103] Indeed, during the ensuing six weeks a number of subjects were considered, including the Roman primacy, the eucharist, and again purgatory. It was only after these debates were concluded that the union decree was finally promulgated, 6 July.[104]

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[99] S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), 105.

[100] Meyendorff, in Alberigo, *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence*, 165.

[101] See A. de Halleux, "Bessarion et le palamisme au concile de Florence," *Irenikon* 62 (1989), 307-32.

[102] G. Hofmann, "Die Konzilsarbeit in Ferrara," *OCP* 3 (1937), 110-40; 403-55.

[103] *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini*, 444-5. For the role played at this point by pope Eugenius, see J. Gill, *Eugenius IV, Pope of Christian Union* (London, 1961), 121-23.

[104] G. Hofmann, "Die Konzilsarbeit in Florenz," *OCP* 4 (1938), 157-88; 372-422; and the recent study by J. Wohlmuth, "Kircheneinigung durch Konsens? Eine systematisch-historische Überlegung zu den Unionsverhandlungen auf dem Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz," in Alberigo, *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence*, 187-202; and the summary review in *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme*, 2:555-65 (Delaruelle).

By and large, as the above summary of the council's proceedings illustrates, there were actually very few general sessions at Ferrara-Florence. A great deal of the important work was done in smaller groups or in committees. Significantly, it was at such meetings that prepared statements or cedulae were discussed, revised, and eventually approved, by the spokesmen-experts representing the two sides. It is these statements which were brought together in the end in order to be incorporated into *Laetentur caeli*, the decree of July 1439.[105] In point of fact all of the four formal sections of this famous formula of union, dealing with the eucharist, *Filioque*, purgatory, and primacy, were identical to the cedulae that had been agreed to previously in earlier preliminary meetings. Only the introduction and conclusion of the document signed in July were additions.[106]

It should perhaps be stressed that the signatures were not forced. With the exception of Mark of Ephesus and the metropolitan Isaias of Stavropolis, all the Orthodox delegates signed the text. Although the Byzantines were not entirely free of a number of disabilities and disadvantages throughout their prolonged stay at Ferrara and Florence, there is no evidence that they also suffered from either papal or imperial pressure, or that they accepted the union primarily under duress. Further, open and candid speech was never actually denied to the delegates. Their freedom of expression and action remained genuinely unassailable. But on the other hand, this is not to say that Ferrara-Florence was a success. Theologically certainly many scholarly judgments regarding this synod are untenable. Whether *Laetentur caeli* is indeed a definitive credal statement, or an "infallible document,"[107] is at any rate debatable. Every objective survey of the text (however monumental an achievement it seemed to its authors) will in fact fail to support such an unambiguous conclusion. If anything, pronouncements of this sort merely shroud the true tragedy of the Florentine settlement. The triumphalism of "la science catholique,"[108] to borrow a phrase, is at any event not borne out. In the end, on the contrary, the agreement was quite hollow, as the muted disenchantment of the delegates routinely betrays. As the exhausted author of the Greek *acta* phrased it, once the union was signed "and the thanksgiving was over everyone took himself home."[109]

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[105] Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 296. For the text of the decree, see the Greek *acta, Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini*, 457-67; Alberigo, 499-504 (both Greek and Latin). English translation in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 168-72; and Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 412-15 (Latin).

[106] For the signatures, see A. Mercati, "Il decreto d'unione del 6 Iuglio 1439 nell'Archivio segreto Vaticano," *OCP* 11 (1945), 5-44.

[107] Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 264. Cf. B. de Margerie, "Vers une relecture du concile de Florence," 31-33.

[108] M. Jugie, "La question du Purgatoire au concile de Ferrara-Florence," *EO* 20 (1929), 269.

As noted above, the Latin doctrine of purgatory was the first item on the agenda at Ferrara-Florence. Although for the Byzantines this teaching on purgatorial fire was almost peripheral in importance, at the insistence of the Latins it was discussed at length by both sides during the council. It was also treated in detail in *Laetentur caeli*. (This exposition, remarkably, is almost as long as the section dealing with the *Filioque*.) The discussion is a perfect illustration of what has already been said in the preceding pages about Ferrara-Florence. Both the hollowness of the settlement and the scholastic methodology used by the council are reflected in the debate. To an unusual degree, the syllogistic style preferred by the Latins also attests to the fact that the two sides differed in their approach to the doctrine of salvation. It is worth noting finally that the teaching, as defined by the union formula of 1439, became the theological support for the doctrine of indulgences. Its usefulness for their later traffic has often been emphasized (at least insofar as indulgences were said to be capable of reducing purgatory's punishments). To put it otherwise, indirectly, the "infallible" scholastic doctrine of purgatory was to prove an embarrassment to Rome decades after Florence. Martin Luther, for his part at any rate, was to note tersely that some of its consequences were not only scandalous but dangerous.[110]

Unlike the other items discussed at Ferrara-Florence, the question of purgatory—as a cause of division—was comparatively recent. It was not until the thirteenth century that the Byzantines were first briefed on the Latin teaching. For the most part it was another Latin innovation as far as they were concerned. Their initial reaction, accordingly, was alarm and confusion; this soon gave way to rejection. The first recorded discussion known to us took place in 1235, at the monastery of St Nicholas of Casole at Otranto, between the metropolitan of Corfu George Bardanes, and a certain Franciscan named Bartholomew. As his own subsequent account of the meeting indicates, the bishop was clearly troubled by the teaching.[111] The friar's explanations were in fact so novel that the bishop had to coin the neologism *porgatorion* to define them. Characteristically, virtually everything about the doctrine, including the idea of a "third place," a cleansing "fire," and the concept of temporal expiatory suffering, were for him a puzzle. In the event, the teaching was equated with the Origenist heresy of universal salvation or restoration (*apocatastasis*), which envisions the eventual redemption of everyone including those in hell by purification. This initial exposure to the Latin doctrine was then followed by a more official "briefing" a few years later. In 1254 the pope actually attempted to impose the dogma on the Orthodox in Cyprus. His formal letter (dated 6 March 1254) has been described as the "birth certificate of purgatory as a doctrinally defined place."[112] Remarkably, the first authoritative dogmatic pronouncement on the purgatorial process by the papacy is directly related to the puzzled posture of the Christian East. Predictably, the next stage in the history of the doctrine was the familiar council of Lyons (1274), in which the Byzantine ambassadors were asked to subscribe to the doctrine in the name of Michael VIII. The formula contained in this imperial profession of faith was later incorporated as an appendix into *Cum sacrosancta*—the council's only theological constitution.

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[109] *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini*, 467. Cf. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 167.

[110] J. Pelikan, *Reformation of the Church and Dogma (1300-1700)*, vol.4: *The Christian Tradition* (Chicago and London, 1984), 137.

[111] M. Roncaglia, *Georges Bardanès, métropolite du Corfu, et Barthélémy de l'ordre Franciscain* (Rome, 1953); J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago, 1984), 280-88; G. Dagron, "La perception d'une différence: les débuts de la 'Querelle du purgatoire'," in *idem, La romanité chrétienne en Orient: héritages et mutations* (London, 1984), no.13.

Evidently by 1438 a Latin theology of purgatory, involving those souls who die penitent but without having performed proper penance or satisfaction for their faults in this life, was well developed. By then western delegates at Ferrara and Florence were insisting that the teaching was apostolic and, as such, binding on the entire Church. For these theologians purgatory was the place in the next world where individuals went to perform appropriate penance. Although the *guilt* for sin is apparently expiated immediately after dying, according to the scholastic distinction, the *penalty* or punishment itself remains to be borne in purgatory. Arguably, the doctrine is impossible to comprehend outside its legalistic and syllogistic scaffolding. Juridical concepts are in fact employed to explain eschatology. Behind the doctrine undeniably lies the legalistic view that divine justice needs satisfaction. For this reason, it is argued, souls after death must undergo expiatory punishments as a form of "atonement" or "satisfaction" for their sins. This explicit eschatology was above all based on the authority of Rome, scholastic theology, and on certain Latin fathers, especially Ambrose and Gregory the Great. The proof texts of the latter, in a very real sense, were the matrix of the controversy at Ferrara.[113] For unlike western authors, Greek patristic literature is rather

[112] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 284.

[113] See especially A. de Halleux, "Problèmes de méthode dans les discussions sur l'eschatologie au

inarticulate on the subject of purification of sin after death as a whole. Unanimity or consensus is hard to establish.

Put another way, the Orthodox delegates at Ferrara did not possess the advantage over the question of purgatory. It was not they but the Latins who had a seemingly tightly argued doctrine at their disposal.[114] On the other hand, the Byzantines were obliged to address the question speedily and achieve some consensus in short order. The problem was that the issue had never been part of their own tradition. Still, their response was effective and forceful. Typically, the Byzantines had no objection to the practice of prayer for the dead used by the West as argument to support its convictions. The tradition of prayer for departed Christians was ancient, even apostolic, as the universal liturgical custom of the Church obviously betrays. As it happens, the unity and fellowship of Christians as members of the one Body of Christ is never destroyed by death. And yet, this necessary and indeed licit common practice of the Church did not also automatically imply a doctrine of purgatory. Mark Eugenicus was certain that neither the liturgy of the Church, nor the fathers, nor Scripture, actually justify the doctrine. By and large the practice and tradition of the Church were silent about an intermediate state or place for penitent souls after death, or about a material fire, to say nothing of the scholastic distinction between guilt and penalty. No doubt part of the difficulty faced by the Byzantines at the time was also linked to the legalistic and rationalistic model of redemption implied by the Latin teaching. This obviously did not square with their own understanding of the content of salvation as communion with God, as personal spiritual growth that continues in the next life.

For the most part the final definition concerning purgatory accepted by the council in 1439 was Latin in its details. According to *Laetentur caeli* certain souls are "purified by purgatorial punishments after death," while others already cleansed are received in heaven; others still "descend immediately to hell," if they are unbaptized or die in the state of mortal sin. At the same time, nonetheless, this formal definition is also a somewhat vague version of western teaching.[115] At

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Concile de Ferrare et Florence," in Albergio, *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence*, 251-301; J. Jorgenson, "The debate over the patristic texts on purgatory at the council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438," *SVQ* 30 (1986), 309-34 (here 317); and the older summary surveys of the documents of the council by M. Jugie, "La question du Purgatoire," 269-82; and A. d'Alès, "La question du Purgatoire au concile de Florence en 1438," *Gregorianum* 3 (1922), 9-50 (here 11-13).

[114] *Ibid.*, 45-6.

[115] A. de Halleux, "Problèmes de méthode," 267; Jorgenson, "The debate over the patristic texts," 333.

least two points to which the Byzantines had objected vigorously all the while at both Ferrara and Florence are nowhere to be found in the final text. The notion of a material fire and the idea of a place or state of purification known as purgatory are in fact not mentioned in the definition. To label this diluted rewording a Latin victory would therefore be inaccurate. All in all, in the end the text was a non-achievement. Some of its phrasing is certainly unfortunate and would probably not be viewed as "infallible" by all Roman theologians today. Then, too, it is regrettable that both sides in the debate failed to direct the discussion center stage, namely, on the broader issue of salvation itself. Had they done so perhaps many of the difficulties caused by the theological legalese of the Latins would have been resolved straightway.

The same sort of failure characterizes the more controversial issue of the *Filio que* as it was finally defined in 1439. Here, too, apologists from both sides of the fence did not really focus on the basic issue. The end result predictably was that the Orthodox were again asked to endorse formally an essentially Latin teaching. The western doctrine of the double procession has of course been discussed in an earlier chapter, especially in connection with patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus and the council of Blachernae (1285). Except for an outline, therefore, the arguments and counter-arguments repeated again at great length in Florence by both sides will not be reproduced here.[116] Briefly, the Byzantines opened the debate by first establishing the fact that the extra phrase added to the creed by the Latin West was an illegitimate modification; besides, the third ecumenical council at Ephesus had explicitly emphasized that the creed could not be altered by additions. As was the case in previous debate, the counter-argument was based on the plea that Ephesus was not referring to a change of words but a change of meaning; the Latin interpolation, as such, was not a modification in content. After failing to reach agreement on the propriety of the addition, the two camps proceeded to discuss the doctrine itself. The usual Latin protests were of course again made, including the pledge that the western interpretation did not entail or imply two "sources" or two "principles" of origin in the deity.[117] On this point, too, however, there was only disagreement. Finally, Byzantine unionists eager to resolve the impasse chose to focus on the alleged harmony among the Church fathers. Ultimately, it was argued, if both the Greek and the Latin saints had been inspired by the Holy Spirit, they could not have erred about the procession. Their theology of the Trinity must be identical; even if they had expressed themselves differently they had in fact meant the same thing. Procession *a filio* thus was equivalent to procession *per filium*. Both formulations were assertions of the same dogmatic truth. Remarkably, in the end, this highly arguable axiom (theologically speaking) was accepted as the key to the deadlock.

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[116] All the same, the following should be consulted: N. Lossky, "Climat théologique au Concile de Florence," in Alberigo, *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence,* 241-50; Gill, *The Council of Florence,* 131-79, 227-69; Erickson, "*Filioque* and the fathers," 157-69; B. de Margerie, "Vers une relecture," 31-81 (esp. 35-68).

[117] *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini,* 413-14. For Mark of Ephesus' protest against the addition, see Tsirpanlis, *Mark Eugenicus,* 88-9; cf. Lossky, "Climat théologique," 243.

It is significant that Eugenicus deemed the removal of the modification to the creed by the Latins as an essential preliminary to genuine unity. For his part, such a settlement would have doubtless also implied the rejection of the anathemas of the council of 1274 imposed on those who had long denied the orthodoxy of the *Filioque*. Nothing of the kind was of course achieved in 1439. To repeat, Florence for the most part dogmatized the Latin tradition. In fact, the text of *Laetentur caeli* explicitly declares that the addition to the ancient creed had been made "lawfully and reasonably"—θεμιτῶς τε καὶ εὐλόγως—by the Western Church.[118] This implies that the illegal interpolation was canonically and dogmatically warranted. On the other hand, the council did not also impose the phrase on the Christian East. And of course the decree to which everyone in the end subscribed states that the procession of the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son "as from one principle" (*tanquam ab uno principio et unica spiratione*). No doubt this interpretation was sustained by the exclusively filioquist exegesis given in the end to the Greek patristic formula *per filium*. The council in fact committed the same error that John Beccus had made in the thirteenth century in his opposition to Gregory II of Cyprus. In the event, the *Filioque* was never solved theologically at Ferrara-Florence. The *consensus patrum* to which the pro-unionists clung with such zeal may have been the key to the council's impasse but it was also never the solution to the theological problem. Significantly, George Scholarius who subscribed eventually entirely to the theology of Gregory II, later also argued vigorously and explicitly against the principle of patristic harmony used at Florence.[119]

Although the discussions at Florence regarding the problem of Church authority were never perhaps as emotional or as passionate as those devoted to the *Filioque*, their importance is beyond doubt. In the first place, any credal statement about the Roman primacy would have been of the greatest interest to the conciliarists. Indeed, in the end, the resolution regarding the pope's *plena potestas* probably had as its real target western conciliarism and the contemporary trenchant antipapalism of Basel.[120] It was in all essential respects composed not only to soothe the anxiety of the Orthodox delegates but also to respond to western conciliarists. This fact, of course, is another glaring illustration that at Florence from the outset the atmosphere was often heavily politically conditioned. The members of the council always "kept fully concrete political goals before their eyes."[121] It was not just the Byzantine emperor who needed the union but the pope as well. For the latter, quite simply, recognition of primacy was desired as a tool in the struggle against Basel. Indeed, at the signing ceremony the council of Basel was still meeting in the north, without the Orthodox delegates and the pope. And although it was soon to become a rump synod, it was not yet powerless. By the end of 1439 it was even able to depose Eugenius IV and elect Felix V as (the last) antipope. As far as Basel was concerned Ferrara-Florence was nothing more than a schismatic counter-council.

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[118] *Licite ac rationabiliter symbolo fuisse appositam.*

[119] Turner, "George-Gennadius," 98-9.

On the other hand, the fact that the Roman primacy was discussed only hastily during the last few sessions of the council, prior to the formal signing ceremony in July, is not without importance. Although the Byzantine participants were aware of Basel, they were also apparently singularly indifferent to its deeper implications. They failed at any rate (as was noted earlier) to raise crucial objections to papal power as interpreted at the time by western canonists and papal apologists. Instead of focusing on these matters at the sessions on primacy, they remained silent and acquiescent.[122] Their requests in the end were somewhat detached from reality, even archaic. The ecclesiological structure which they wanted to protect and which eventually was accorded a place in the decree of 1439 was undoubtedly necessary. It was, however, also unrelated to the reality of papal power as it had developed by the late Middle Ages. As the formula put it, as successor of St Peter the bishop of Rome "holds the primacy in the entire world" and is the "Vicar of Christ" and "head of the whole Church." To him, moreover, was delivered "the full power (*plenam potestatem*) of feeding, ruling and governing the universal Church, just as is contained in the acts of ecumenical councils and in the sacred canons. In addition we re-state the ranking of the other venerable patriarchs delivered in the canons; the patriarch of Constantinople as second after the most holy Roman pontiff, in third place Alexandria, in fourth Antioch, and Jerusalem fifth in order, that is saving all their rights and privileges."[123] To be sure, these final clauses of the union decree were not part of the original Latin proposal. Only the Byzantine draft contains them. This means that the Orthodox delegation was in the end partly successful in imposing some of its ideas on the Latins. And yet, these Byzantine provisions regarding the correct exercise of the Roman primacy and the rights of the four eastern patriarchates, do not really alter the larger portrait of papal sovereignty enshrined in the resolution. Whereas the clauses added by the Orthodox are vague and could be interpreted very differently by the Latins, the fuller vision of the pope feeding, governing, and ruling the universal Church, is anything but obscure or ambiguous. It is in fact a "maximalist" interpretation of the Roman primacy.[124] This vision seems to confirm a universal primacy of jurisdiction, and that is almost certainly what the final clauses wished to deny.

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[120] Gill, "The definition of the primacy of the pope in the council of Florence," *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 264-86; *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme*, 562f.; G. Hofmann, "Papato, concilarismo, patriarcato," *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 2 (1940), 1-82; M.A. Schmidt, "The problem of papal primacy at the council of Florence," *Church History* 30 (1961), 35-49.

[121] *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation*, 481 (Fink).

[122] Meyendorff, in Alberigo, *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence*, 167-69.

To say it once more, the definition of 1439 regarding papal authority was directed primarily at western conciliarism. As such, it marks the end of the movement. Conciliar sovereignty and superiority, established officially as law at Constance twenty-five years previously, was given its *coup de grâce* at Florence by the "infallible document" of *Laetentur caeli*.[125] "By its very existence it [Florence] counterbalanced and finally outweighed the council of Basel, and in so doing checked the development of the conciliar movement that threatened to change the very constitution of the Church. The great achievement of the council for the West was that it secured the victory for the popes in the struggle of papacy versus council, and the survival of the traditional order of the Church."[126] On the other hand, this same crowning "achievement" must be counterbalanced by the fact that less than a century later it would actually be contested and rejected by the Protestant Reformation. When all is said and done, the council of 1438-39 embraced not only a theology of purgatory (and indulgences) but also a theory of papal power which in 1517

[123] Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 414-15; translation in Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 171.
[124] Gill, "The definition of the primacy," 277.
[125] Alberigo, in *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence*, 9.
[126] Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 411.

contributed to the repudiation of the entire post-Gregorian papal structure by Martin Luther and his disciples.

Besides the three doctrinal definitions—primacy, *Filioque,* and purgatory—listed in detail in *Laetentur caeli,* a final fourth item of "rite" or usage was also given very brief mention. This concerned the problem of the use of unleavened bread or *azymes* in the Latin liturgy. Orthodox liturgical practice of course had long differed from the West in this respect with its exclusive preference for real leavened bread for the eucharistic celebration. Remarkably, past controversialists from both sides had used this diversity in practice as an obstacle to unity. An abundant polemical literature on the subject was the result. The arguments and counter-agruments—of a symbolical, christological and occasionally historical nature—were rarely convincing. The historical explanation was a favorite of the Latins. Specifically, it was argued that if the Last Supper was a paschal meal then the bread used at the time would have been unleavened. The Byzantines, on the other hand, were frequently impossibly obstinate on the subject. The notion, actually proposed occasionally by western theologians, that *both* leavened and unleavened bread were legitimate practice, was often met by the Byzantines with astonishment and dismay. As a consequence of this attitude, inevitably, the same issue was to prove an impediment to negotiations with the Armenians as well (who also did not use leavened bread or hot water, the *zeon,* in communion). They, too, like the Latins, it seems, saw the Byzantine posture as provincial and bigoted. Open-minded it was not. And yet, there were also churchmen who refused to take these polemics seriously. They were not convinced, at any rate, that any legitimate divergence in usage could result in schism. To paraphrase the twelfth-century Theophylact of Ochrid, contempt for the usages of the Latins is possible only when one is also ignorant of Church history; only those practices which had a doctrinal implication (he was convinced) were a true threat to unity.[127] Overall, the council of Florence agreed with this approach. As a consequence, each Church was allowed to retain its own usage. Both leavened and unleavened bread, according to the union decree, may be used in the sacrament; both are explicitly recognized as legitimate.

There was, another question related to the eucharistic liturgy that was also discussed at the council. The fact that the decree itself is entirely silent on the

[127] A. Papadakis, "Byzantine perceptions of the Latin West," *GOTR* 36 (1991), 237. J.H. Erickson, "Leavened and unleavened: Some theological implications of the schism of 1054," *SVQ* 14 (1970), 155-76; reprinted in the author's *The Challenge of Our Past,* 133-55. M.H. Smith III, *And Taking Bread...Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054* (Paris, 1978).

matter only means that a mutually acceptable definition was not found. It was a relatively recent issue dealing with the prayer of the *epiclesis*, and as a cause of division, like purgatory, went back to the thirteenth century. Essentially, the discussion concerned the relationship between the actual words of institution in the eucharistic celebration and the invocation of the Holy Spirit through the *epiclesis*.[128] The fact that the latter was found in the Orthodox liturgy, but not in the Roman canon of the mass, had long been a puzzle for Byzantines. The Christian East, quite simply, maintained that the change of the bread and wine in the eucharist cannot be ascribed to the repetition of the words of institution alone but to the explicit invocation of the Spirit of God as well, through the prayer of the *epiclesis*. For the East the matter was never purely a question of opposing "formulas." As Nicholas Cabasilas had expressed it in the fourteenth century, the central mystery of the Church (and for that matter every sacrament) has always been effected by prayer. "It is nowhere stated that this will happen to those who simply speak this or that word. It is the tradition of the fathers who received this teaching from the apostles and from their successors, that the sacraments are rendered effective through prayer; all the sacraments, as I have said, and particularly the holy eucharist."[129] The Byzantines evidently saw their liturgical practice as being entirely consistent with the sacramental theology of the Church fathers. In the liturgy the words of institution were doubtlessly necessary but so was the invocation of the Holy Spirit.

Although the theme of failure has been a subtext in the preceding analysis of the Florentine settlement, a few concluding remarks should be added. Actually, even before the last of the eccentric and "bizarre Levantines"[130] had left Florence for Constantinople, well-placed churchmen (including the pope) were expressing concern. Their conviction that very little had in fact been achieved stemmed in part from the realization that the doctrinal formulas invented at Florence were not in the end the "infallible document" needed for the reunion of the Churches. The problem of *azymes* was "the only sign of a pluralistic and dynamic attitude in a text that otherwise is ruled by the search for a strict and definite dogmatism."[131] In a real sense the reaction of the Orthodox world was predictable; it should have been obvious above all from Mark of Ephesus' categorical refusal to sign the final formula of 1439. "L'opposition de Marc d'Éphese contient en germe celle de tous les absents, et celle de tous les opportunistes de Florence."[132] To put it otherwise, the decree was often not even a compromise but an evasive and ambiguous definition that failed in the final analysis to resolve genuine differences. The inability of the council to see that the *Filioque* also involves two different trinitarian theologies is perhaps the most obvious example of this hedging. But there was also the attempt to avoid all discussion of Palamism and in particular the essence-energies distinction. Then, too, while trying to resolve the question of purgatory, the juridical Anselmian model of "justification" was neither really debated nor compared with the patristic vision of salvation as communion and deification. The soteriological and anthropological implications of the doctrine were virtually ignored. Finally, it should be added that the concept of the *consensus patrum* accepted by the council was rarely helpful. More often than not discussion was hindered by its use. Actually the Orthodox were routinely faced with only one permissible solution (usually Latin) as a result of this axiom. It is at any rate odd that all the controversial issues were decided in favor of the Latins and then defined almost always in typically Roman terms. It is worth adding that this was not the only reason why the Byzantines were often negotiating from a position of weakness. The fact that they were there for military and financial assistance should not be forgotten; for many politician-unionists at the council, arguably, the outcome must have been a "foregone conclusion"[133] from the outset. To say it once more, the council was consciously purposeful in its goals. And of course in contrast with similar initiatives in the past, conditions were much improved. The fact that Florence failed, however, illustrates that even a negotiated ecclesiastical union could not automatically guarantee success. Indeed, insofar as an authentic encounter between the two traditions never materialized, Florence was a genuine tragedy. As we have seen, "the inner ferment of the West—inherently a result of the ecclesiological imbalance, connected with the schism between East and West—was not even envisaged. And the Eastern delegation had neither the theological ability, nor the necessary information, nor the spiritual courage to confront the real issues."[134]

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[128] Syropoulos, *Les 'Mémoires'*, 474-79.

[129] *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. J.M. Hussey and P.A. McNulty (London, 1960), 75-76.

[130] Ševčenko, "Intellectual repercussions," 3.

[131] Alberigo in *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence*, 9.

All things considered, perhaps the only historical achievement of the council of Florence was really the defeat of conciliarism. To be sure, for the papacy the nightmare of conciliarism was not officially laid to rest until all appeals from pope to a general council were actually prohibited by the bull *Execrabilis*, 18 January 1460.[135] Still, this ban was only a formal and symbolic act. The movement was already dead by 1439 with the transformation of the council of Basel into a rump synod. Certainly by then Pope Eugenius was able to ignore Basel altogether as his ability to reconvene the council at Ferrara had already implied. No doubt, the fact that the moderate members of Basel were before long also willing to abandon their more extreme colleagues for the papacy further helped Eugenius. Equally, no less decisive was the repudiation of Basel by most European governments. In the end this lack of sympathy felt by the secular powers for the council's constitutional theories was probably crucial; the more familiar papacy was for them far more preferable as a political force than Basel's radical conciliarist constitutionalism. In the event, this ruined the council's chances of survival. Of course it also meant that all opportunity for Church reform and constitutional change was eliminated. As is well known, after the 1430s the popes refused to convoke any council for reform lest such an assembly try to revive the conciliar claims. Any council which the popes could not dominate became in fact anathema. Predictably, for some scholars Pope Eugenius will always be viewed as the papacy's savior from the "threat" of conciliarism. It was above all he who had managed to restore the "traditional" order in the Latin Church. On the other hand, the fact that reform was never achieved is also Eugenius' responsibility. Without a council after all reform was impossible. "From the viewpoint of Church history the decisive turning from the Middle Ages to modern times occurs around the middle of the fifteenth century, Rome had prevented reform and in return soon received the Reformation."[136]

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[132] *Un Temps d'Épreuves (1274-1449)*, 838 (Congourdeau). For the reaction in Constantinople, see Syropoulos, *Les 'Mémoires'*, 546.

[133] G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1968), 562.

[134] Meyendorff, in Alberigo, *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence*, 175.

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[135] English translation, Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 179-81. See also above note 61.
[136] *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation*, 487 (Fink).

CHAPTER X

L'ÉGLISE APRÈS BYZANCE

In the long history of the Church the council of Florence was perhaps no less a divide than the subsequent fall of Constantinople fifteen years later. To say it once more, the council's politically conditioned climate never really allowed for genuine dialogue or theological openness. The Florentine formula was never indeed the result of a meeting of minds; motivated by various non-theological considerations, the union was doomed from the start. After Florence, at any rate, the door of disunity stood wide open. As a matter of fact the stiff opposition to the union led by the influential metropolitan of Ephesus was so purposeful and popular that union was not proclaimed formally in Constantinople until 12 December 1452—six months before the fall of the city to the Ottomans. Granted all communication and contact between the two Churches ceased altogether only after 1453. On the other hand, the final Turkish conquest of the empire was merely the finishing stroke to the schism.

In more general terms, all the same, the heroic end of Byzantine Constantinople on Tuesday, 29 May 1453, was also a decisive turning point. There is undeniably an air of totality, of finality about the fall of the city and empire: as a political reality, Orthodox Byzantium, the God-established *oikoumene* of eleven centuries, was simply no more. The seismic changes brought about by the Turkish tide which finally overwhelmed the empire were arguably ecumenical in nature. Indeed, the date is frequently used as a marker both for the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. Although this is largely arbitrary convention, it should not be allowed to obscure the fact that for the world of Orthodox Eastern Christendom, 1453 has an entirely different and deeper meaning. As it happens, "for those more directly concerned, the Greeks, the Turkish conquest signaled the beginning of a second and prolonged Middle Age."[1] Indeed, for the first time, as a result of the Ottoman victory, the entire Christian East was completely submerged beneath the Islamic tide; what the Arab offensive had initially sought to achieve in the seventh century was only finally realized in the fifteenth century. It is true, in the end, Islam's bid for world

[1] N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires Grecs et Latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Montreal, 1979) 11.

supremacy both in the seventh and fifteenth century was not successful. And yet, the Turks, unlike the Arabs, were able to expand deep into Christian Europe; their aggressive Islamic state was to remain a great power well into the modern period. After 1500 at any rate, in the balance of power diplomacy, the Turk was neither ignored nor forgotten by the western states; as the neighbor next door, he was feared both for his military prowess and proximity. By 1550 (thanks to the Protestant Reformation) he was even more securely ensconced in the Balkans and the Near East than he had been a century earlier.

It bears repeating that the final success of the Turks was in a very real sense linked to the earlier crusading movement. Their westward thrust could be viewed in general as the natural reaction to two centuries of western crusading against Islam. That Latin colonization in the East in the end helped generate loathing and resentment of the West among the Turks and the Arabs is certain.[2] Even more fundamental and crucial for the Turkish victory, however, was the weakening of the Byzantine state by the crusades. Conceivably, the systematic Ottoman occupation of Asia Minor and the Balkans would not have been so effortless had the empire been able to retain its territorial unity and strength after the fourth crusade. To be sure, the West was much more indifferent to the Turkish threat after the fall of Acre (1291); its reaction was seldom prompt or decisive. Indeed, after the battle at Kossovo in 1389 the situation for Byzantine imperial universalism became desperate; although the Turkish sultan was actually killed during that engagement, the Serbs were defeated and the empire was entirely encircled. On the other hand, the western counter-offensive at Varna (1444) shortly after the council of Florence, and earlier at Nicopolis (1396), were disasters of the first order. Quite simply, by then western Europe was in no position to mount a sustained crusade against Islam or the Turks. Although the Ottoman advance into central Europe worried the West, the fate of the dying Byzantine empire as such did not do so. Saving Orthodox Byzantium from Turkish servitude was of marginal or peripheral interest. In the event, the skepticism expressed by several Byzantine sovereigns regarding western military aid was entirely justified. If it did exist, western concern was almost always centered on reviving the Latin empire rather than on assisting the frail Byzantine state.

All in all, although the events of the 29 May 1453 stunned Orthodox Christians everywhere, the same could not be said of the West. For the most part European tears were isolated, even hypocritical, and were quickly replaced by more immediate interests and concerns. In point of fact western culture was about to change profoundly as a result (among other things) of the revival of the humanistic heritage of Greece and Rome in northern Italy. A culturally brilliant period and a confident age were actually dawning in Europe on the eve of the fall of Constantinople. Then, too, the creation of foreign colonies and empires (with the expansion to other continents) was before long to give the West a renewed sense of self-satisfaction, assurance, and arrogance, which even the shattering disruption of the Reformation would fail to extinguish. All these changes were early signs of an evident secularization that was to flourish everywhere in the new Europe. This secularization was to affect the Western Church as well. It was at any rate foreshadowed by the spiritual emptiness of the Roman Church as a whole during the Renaissance. In addition to the papacy's transformation into an Italian princely court (which usually meant lax morals, corruption, and involvement in the local power politics of Italy) the popes became extravagant patrons of architects, painters and sculptors. The papacy was soon indeed behaving much like a secular power with its military adventures, diplomatic alliances, and ambitious promotion of the new humanism. Within this spiritual vacuum the initial papal reaction to Luther is altogether comprehensible.

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[2] H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford, 1972) 283.

Significantly, one characteristic feature of the ecclesiastical landscape in the West after the council of Florence was the direct power wielded by European rulers over their churches and clergy. This increased domination in effect was their reward for supporting the papacy's sovereignty against both conciliarism and the need for reform. That secular monarchy was actually able to exploit the papacy and even literally cash in on its need for defenders and patrons goes without saying. Indeed, invariably, royal control of *de facto* national or territorial churches also meant an agreed parcelling out between pope and king of all ecclesiastical revenues. Overall, it was the ruler who in the end was able to secure the rewards of the anti-papal movement represented by the Great Schism and conciliarism. The expensive concessions forced on the Roman Church illustrate that the papal victory against conciliarism at the council of Florence was by no means total. But the concerns of the restored papacy were not limited to its relations with the secular power. The demand or desire for reform was never really satisfied. Although unity was achieved at Constance, no full-scale reform was ever undertaken. The conciliar decree *Frequens*, with its emphasis on decennial reform councils, was abandoned after Florence, and this was of course fateful in every way. Indeed, the papal fear of conciliar meetings determined the situation until well after Martin Luther's challenge in 1517. It has actually often been argued that if the reforms sponsored at the council of Trent (1545) had been carried out earlier at Constance (1414), it is possible the Protestant Reformation would have never taken place.

To say it once more, the achievements of numerous Renaissance humanists, Protestant religious reformers, European navigators and discoverers were all important signs pointing to the dawn of a new era in the West. The post-Byzantine period, on the other hand, was a grim and depressing chapter in the history of the Orthodox world. To be sure, although the Byzantine state as a political reality lost its battle for survival in 1453, Orthodox Christendom managed to endure. The shrinking of the imperial frontiers long before the fall of the empire did not automatically also entail loss of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The spiritual power and prestige of the Church suffered no reduction; patriarchal control by the fourteenth century actually extended into regions in which the empire no longer had any rights. Besides, survival after 1453 was also made possible by the Turks themselves. Months after the collapse of Constantinople, a new patriarch was chosen; although the great church of the Holy Wisdom, "that heaven on earth, that second paradise,"[3] became a Sunnite Muslim mosque, another sanctuary, the church of the Holy Apostles, was used for his installation by the Turkish sultan (6 January 1454). George Scholarius (who took the name Gennadius II) was Mehmed II's preferred choice for that high office. The privileges and promises granted to the new patriarch by sultan Mehmed were to reinforce the growing authority of the Church of Constantinople.[4] Gennadius II Scholarius (and by extension all his successors) became in effect the spiritual leader of all enslaved Christians in the Ottoman empire. Specifically, all the Orthodox in both Asia Minor and the Balkans, regardless of ethnic or linguistic differences, were placed under the personal authority of the patriarch, as a single *millet* or nation.[5] Thanks to this so-called ethnarchic system (a sort of confessional compartmentalization employed by the Turks to solve their minority problem) the Church not only retained its canonical organization and physical existence, but increased its jurisdiction as well.

[3] John Eugenicus, cited in D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (London, 1971) 363.

[4] G. Herring, "Das islamische Recht und die Investitur des Gennadius Scholarius (1454)," *Balkan Studies*, 2(1961) 231-56.

[5] B. Brande, "Foundation myths of the millet system," in B. Brande and B. Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: the Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1982) 1:69-89, and 12 (introduction).

It is unnecessary to elaborate once again on what was said earlier regarding the extensive diplomatic activity of the ecumenical patriarchate throughout the Orthodox commonwealth before 1453. Its adaptability and open-handedness towards the Orthodox Slavic Churches (to say nothing of its zeal as a whole for the universal mission of the Church) also strengthened its authority immediately after the fall. Although other important developments were to affect this relationship in the post-medieval period (to be discussed in the next volume of this series) the authority of the see of Constantinople as the acknowledged head of Orthodox Christendom was never seriously questioned or doubted. Significantly enough, the same could be said of relations with Russia, the great heir of Byzantine civilization and the only remaining independent Orthodox state after 1453. Granted the subordinate status which had existed between Byzantium and the metropolitanate of Kiev since 988 came to an abrupt end with the council of Florence; by the end of the Middle Ages Russian ecclesiastical emancipation had become reality.[6] At the same time, however, the centuries-old mother church relationship between Byzantium and Russia was never sundered. Constantinople's spiritual primacy and supremacy continued to be respected and acknowledged (as the formal transformation of Moscow into a patriarchate in 1589 illustrates).[7] It is perhaps useful to mention in this connection the fact that the unity and identity shared by the Orthodox community in both the Balkans and Russia, were also sustained by the survival of the Byzantine cultural legacy in the former territories of the empire. This inheritance did not vanish immediately along with the state in 1453, but remained a potent force in the life of the Orthodox population everywhere. The distinguished Romanian Byzantinist, Nicholas Iorga, was so convinced of its persistence in the Balkan peninsula that he even labelled his study of the region in the post-medieval period as *Byzance après Byzance* (1935). In fact, the memorable title of his seminal study is still used by scholars everywhere to describe Byzantium's cultural and religious after-life during the Turkish period.

Nonetheless, the bleak centuries of captivity under Ottoman rule were without promise, despite the actual physical survival of the Church. Overall, the consequences of the stagnation, demoralization, and discrimination suffered by the Church (to say nothing of the effects of widespread ignorance and instability) were appalling. In particular, complete equality and full citizenship were unknown to minorities in the Turkish state. The only enduring reality for non-Muslims was in fact their permanent status of social inferiority, shaped by countless legal restrictions and limitations. As a consequence, both missionary propaganda and intellectual progress in the new Islamic environment were either strictly prohibited, and therefore impossible, or abandoned altogether. Invariably, the need for survival was more urgent. Under such circumstances theological creativity could not of course prosper or thrive. Until recently it was often said that Orthodox theology first hardened into inflexible traditionalism in the late Byzantine period. It was then that the flame of patristic thought flickered for the last time and went out. Given Byzantine scholarship's recent reassessment of Gregory Palamas, Athonite spirituality, and the theological trends of the late thirteenth century during the patriarchates of Gregory II of Cyprus and Athanasius I, such classroom clichés are no longer tenable or imaginable. Unrelenting theological conservatism and defensiveness, not to say total decline, did not precede but *follow* the fall of Constantinople in 1453.[8] Survival and preservation (and not theological development) were invariably always far more pressing in the centuries after 1453.

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[6] See above, 349-56.

[7] Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, "Byzantium after Byzantium," in J. Breck, *et al.*, *The Legacy of St Vladimir* (Crestwood, NY, 1990) 31-40; J. Meyendorff, "Was there a 'Third Rome'? Remarks on the Byzantine legacy in Russia," in J.J. Yannias, ed., *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople* (Charlottesville and London, 1991) 45-60.

The long second "Middle Age," which for the Christian East began in 1453, was also made possible by the survival of the Byzantine inheritance. Orthodox monastic mysticism, the entire hesychast tradition of contemplative Byzantine monasticism, to say nothing of Byzantine liturgical worship and its treasures, inspired churchmen and laymen alike everywhere during the long Turkish twilight. Without the spiritual leadership and example of monasticism and the treasures of the Orthodox tradition in general, survival would indeed have been difficult if not impossible. As it turns out, the very same tradition which had nurtured and preserved the spiritual unity of the Byzantine Commonwealth in the centuries covered by this volume, also in the end helped to uphold and sustain Orthodox Christendom into the twentieth century. It was not through the theology produced in this twilight period (imprisoned as it was in western categories, to paraphrase Georges Florovsky) that the Church survived, but through the spiritual tradition of its monasteries, its sacramental life and liturgy.

[8] See the synopsis by K. Ware, "A note on theology in the Christian East: the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries," in H. Cunliffe-Jones and B. Drewery, eds., *A History of Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh, 1978) 307-309; 455-57.

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